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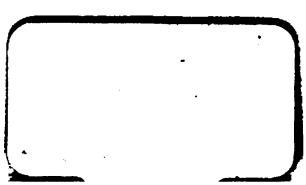
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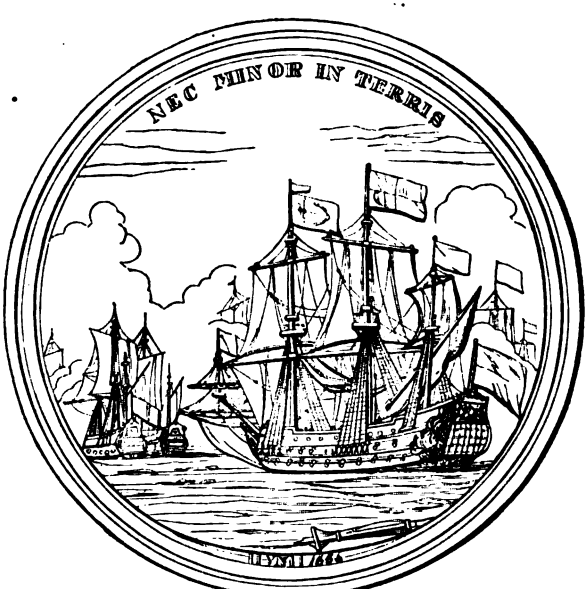
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The Student's Hume.

A

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

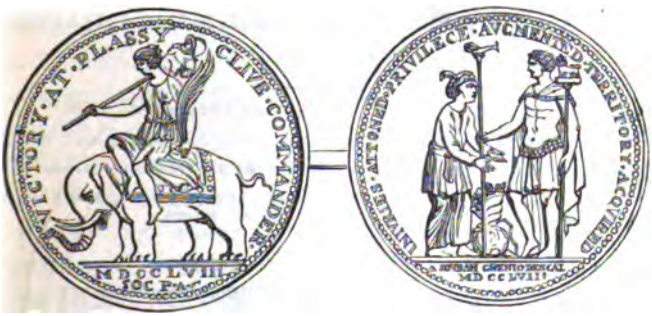
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By DAVID HUME.

ABRIDGED.

INCORPORATING THE CORRECTIONS AND RESEARCHES OF RECENT HISTORIANS;

AND CONTINUED DOWN TO THE YEAR 1858.



Illustrated by Engravings on Wood.

NEW YORK:
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PREFACE.

THIS work is designed to supply a long-acknowledged want in our School and College Literature—a STUDENT'S HISTORY OF ENGLAND in a volume of moderate size, free from sectarian and party prejudice, containing the results of the researches of the best modern historians, tracing more particularly the development of the Constitution, and bringing out prominently the characters and actions of the great men of our country. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the manifold difficulties of such an undertaking—difficulties which the editor of the present work would have deemed insuperable if he had not been able to avail himself of the clear narrative and matchless style of Hume.

It has lately been the fashion in some quarters to underrate the merits and exaggerate the faults of Hume; but the most competent judges have generally been among the first to render homage to his greatness as an historian. Thus Mr. Hallam remarks that the domestic transactions in the reign of Edward I. have been "extremely well told by Hume, the first writer who had the merit of exposing the character of Edward I.;" and a recent critic has observed, "that Hume's account of our English annals is still, with all its defects, the best history of the period over which it extends."* Indeed, the History of Hume will probably long remain unrivaled. It is not mere learning and the poring over records that constitute an historian. A writer may be accurate in his facts, but most erroneous in his deductions from them. With the best materials, he may completely misrepresent history from want of the ability to trace

* The *Times*, April 1, 1858.

the connection of events, and to reason from them correctly; above all, he may lack that power of historical narration without which the facts of history will ever remain mere annals—dry bones, devoid of form, and flesh, and vital motion. In all the great qualities of an historian Hume was pre-eminently excellent. His perception was the most acute; his judgment, except when occasionally warped by prejudice, the most sound; his historical views the largest and most enlightened. But the principal charm of his work lies in his inimitable style, the ease and grace of which inspired even so great a writer as Gibbon with "a mixed sensation of delight and despair."

It is not intended, however, to ignore or extenuate Hume's defects. The editor of the present work has carefully compared the historian's statements with the best and most recent authorities, retaining his language as far as was practicable, but at the same time introducing into the text numerous corrections and additions. Hume's political principles, as is well known, led him to uphold the royal prerogative against the popular element in our Constitution; and this bias may be observed, not only in the coloring of his narrative and the tone of his reasonings, but occasionally also, it must be added, in an unfair use of his authorities. The effect of these principles is most conspicuous in that portion of his work which he first published, namely, the history of James I. and Charles I. In the lives of the two following Stuarts there is not much to which any lover of constitutional freedom would be reasonably inclined to object; but with the view apparently of exculpating Charles I., the great hero of his work, in his maintenance of those principles which cost him his crown and his life, the historian has been led to represent the royal prerogative under the Plantagenets and Tudors as greater and more absolute than the facts will justify. These views it has been the duty of the

present editor to modify and correct from later and more unprejudiced writers.

Another defect in Hume's History is the carelessness with which he has treated the earlier portion, and especially the Anglo-Saxon period. This arose from two causes: his philosophical indifference for a people whom he considered little better than barbarians, and the want of authentic materials for his narrative. This want has been supplied in the present century by the impulse given to antiquarian research, and by the revival of the study of the Anglo-Saxon language and literature. The works of Turner, Palgrave, Lappenberg, and Kemble, have thrown an entirely new light upon this period of our annals, and, accordingly, the early history down to the time of the Norman Conquest has been in a great measure rewritten by the editor.

As much prominence as possible is given in the present work to the rise and progress of the Constitution; but, in order to economize space, and at the same time not interrupt the narrative, much important information upon this subject is inserted in a smaller type in the "Notes and Illustrations," where the student will find an account of the "government, laws, and institutions of the Anglo-Saxons," of the "Anglo-Norman Constitution," of the "origin and progress of Parliament," and of other matters of a similar kind. Several constitutional documents, such as the Petition of Right and the Bill of Rights, are printed at length. These Notes and Illustrations, which contain discussions on various other historical and antiquarian subjects, have been drawn up mainly with the view of assisting the student in farther inquiries; and with the same object a copious list of authorities is appended.

The continuation from the reign of James II., which it has been necessary to compress into narrow limits, has been compiled from the best authorities, among which Lord Ma-

hon's History deserves to be particularly mentioned, on account of the valuable assistance which has been derived from it in this portion of the work. All that could be attempted in so limited a space was a succinct narrative of the principal events; and it is hoped that no facts of any great importance have been omitted.

Another work which has been of great service to the editor is the "Historic Peerage of England," by the late Sir Harris Nicolas. As a peer is usually mentioned in history by his title, and the same title has often been borne by different families, the student frequently experiences no small difficulty in ascertaining the family to which a title belongs, and supposes a relationship between persons who are in no way connected. Sir Harris Nicolas has removed all difficulties of this kind; and, accordingly, the editor of the present work has taken pains to distinguish in the Notes between families bearing the same title, and to specify the times when titles of historical importance were created and became extinct. It is believed that such information, which is given for the first time in a history of this description, will guard the student against many mistakes.

All the coins and medals figured in the work have been drawn from originals in the Medal-room of the British Museum, and the editor desires to express his obligations to Mr. Hawkins and Mr. R. Stuart Poole for their advice and judgment in the selection of them.

NOTE BY THE AMERICAN EDITOR.

In those portions of this volume relating to America, a few errors of names and dates have been corrected in the text. Where any important correction seemed requisite, it has been made in the form of a note, bearing the signature of the American editor.



Coin of the Emperor Hadrian, p. 11.

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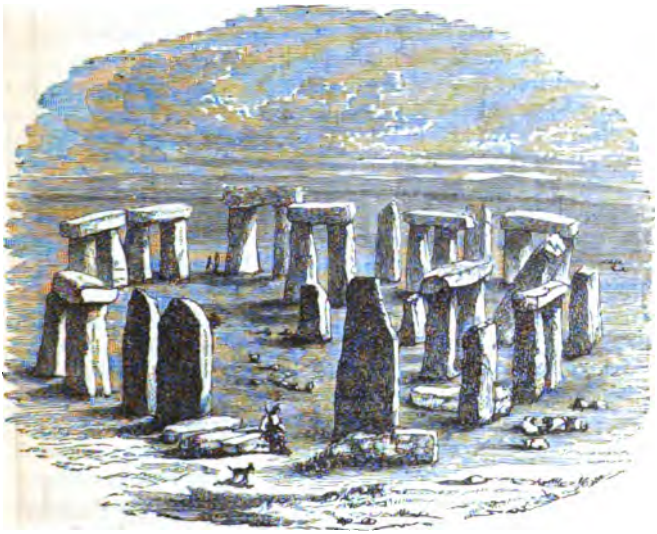
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Downham
NORWICH
Walton
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Lowestoft
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HISTORY OF ENGLAND.



Stonehenge.

BOOK I.

THE BRITONS, ROMANS, AND ANGLO-SAXONS.

B.C. 55–A.D. 1066.

CHAPTER I.

THE BRITONS AND ROMANS.

§ 1. Earliest Notices of Britain. § 2. The earliest Inhabitants of Britain were Celts of the Cymric Stock. § 3. Religion of the Britons. § 4. Knights and Bards. § 5. Manners and Customs of the Britons. § 6. British Tribes. § 7. Cæsar's two Invasions of Britain. § 8. History till the Invasion of Claudius. § 9. Caractacus. § 10. Conquest of Mona; Boadicea. § 11. Agricola. § 12. The Roman Walls between the Solway and the Tyne, and the Clyde and the Forth. § 13. Saxon Pirates; Carausius. § 14. Picts and Scots. § 15. Final Departure of the Romans. § 16. Condition of Britain under the Romans. § 17. Christianity in Britain.

§ 1. THE southwestern coasts of Britain were known to the Phœnician merchants several centuries before the Christian era. The Phœnician colonists of Tartessus and Gades in Spain were

attracted to the shores of Britain by its abundant supply of tin, a metal of great importance in antiquity from the extensive use of bronze for the manufacture of weapons of war and implements of peace. It would seem that the Phœnicians originally obtained this metal from India, since the Grecian name for tin is of Indian origin, and must have been brought into Greece by the Phœnicians, together with the article itself.* Accordingly, when these traders found tin in the Scilly Isles, they gave them the name of the Cassiterides, or the Tin-islands, an appellation by which they were known to Herodotus† in the fifth century before the Christian era. Aristotle, however, is the first writer who mentions the British islands by name. He says, "In the ocean beyond the Pillars of Hercules are two very large islands, called Bretannic, namely, Albion and Ierne;"‡ the former being England and Scotland, the latter Ireland. The origin of the name of Britain is very uncertain,§ but that of Albion is perhaps derived from a Celtic word signifying white, a name probably given to the island by the Gauls, who could not fail to be struck with the chalky cliffs of the opposite coast. Himilco, a Carthaginian navigator, whose diary was extant in the fifth century of our era, and who is repeatedly quoted as an authority by Festus Avienus in his geographical poem called Ora Maritima, touched near Albion at the Tin Islands, which he calls Oestrymnides. But the oldest writer who gives any account of the inhabitants is Pytheas, a Massilian, fragments of whose journal have been preserved by Strabo and other writers. By these means some knowledge of the British islands became gradually diffused among the natives of the Mediterranean. They had excited the curiosity and inquiries both of Polybius and Scipio as early as the second century before the Christian era.‖

In addition to the Phœnician merchants, the Greek colonists of Massilia (Marseilles) and Narbo (Narbonne) carried on a trade at a very early period with the southern parts of Britain, by making overland journeys to the northern coast of Gaul. The principal British exports seem at that time to have been tin, lead, skins, slaves, and hunting-dogs, of which the last were used by the Celts in war; but at a later period, when the Britons became more civilized, corn and cattle, gold, silver, and iron, and an inferior kind of pearl may be added to the list. An interesting account

* The Greek name for tin is *kassiteros* (*κασσίτερος*), which evidently comes from the Sanscrit *kastira*. † iii., 115. ‡ De Mundo, c. 3.

§ Many writers derive it from a Celtic word, *brith* or *brit*, "painted," because the inhabitants stained their bodies with a blue color extracted from woad. In the early Welsh poems we find the island called *Prydain*, which is clearly the same as Britain; but whether this is a genuine Celtic word, or borrowed from the Romans, can not be determined. ‖ Polyb., iii., 57.

of the British tin-trade is given by Diodorus Siculus.* This writer relates that the inhabitants near the promontory of Belerium (Land's End), after forming the tin into cubical blocks, conveyed it in wagons to an island named Ictis,† since at low tides the space between that island and Britain became dry. At Ictis the tin was purchased by the merchants, who carried it across to Gaul.

§ 2. Nothing is known of the history of Britain till the invasion of the island by Julius Cæsar in B.C. 55. The fabulous tale of the colonization of the island by Brute the Trojan, the great-grandson of Æneas, and of his long list of descendants, does not require any serious refutation. The only certain means by which nations can indulge their curiosity in researches concerning their remote origin is to consider the language, manners, and customs of their ancestors, and to compare them with those of the neighboring nations. There can be no doubt that the first inhabitants of Britain were a tribe of Celts, who peopled the island from the neighboring continent. Their language was the same; their manners, their government, their superstition—varied only by those small differences which time or a communication with the bordering nations must necessarily introduce. The Celts are divided into two great branches, the Gael and the Cymry, of whom the former now inhabit Ireland and the Highlands of Scotland, and the latter the principality of Wales. It has been vehemently debated whether the ancient Britons belonged to the Gaelic or Cymric stock of the Celtic race; but we may safely acquiesce in the conclusion of the most cautious modern inquirers, that both the Britons and the Gauls of the continent were Cymry, and that the Welsh may be regarded as the descendants of the ancient inhabitants. In proof of this it may be sufficient to mention that the Celtic words which still exist in the English language are clearly to be referred to the Cymric and not to the Gaelic dialect.

The Gallic origin of the ancient Britons is expressly stated by Cæsar, who says‡ that the maritime parts of the island were inhabited by Belgic Gauls, who had crossed over from the main land for the sake of plunder. He adds, it is true, that the inhabitants of the interior were said by tradition to have sprung from the soil; from which we can only infer that the earlier immigrations of the Celts took place long before the memory of man. Tacitus,

* v., 22.

† This island has been identified with the Isle of Wight on account of the resemblance of its name to Vectis; but its proximity to the tin country, and the circumstance of the intervening space between this island and Britain being dry at the low tides, favor its identification with St. Michael's Mount.

‡ Bell. Gall., v., 12.

who derived his information from his father-in-law Agricola, supposed* that the red hair and large limbs of the Caledonians indicated a German origin; and that the dark complexion of the Silures, their curly hair, and their position opposite to Spain, furnished grounds for believing that they were descended from Iberian settlers from that country; but these were evidently mere conjectures, to which Tacitus himself seems not to have attached much importance, since he adds that upon a careful estimate of probabilities we must believe that the Gauls took possession of the neighboring coast.

§ 3. The connection of the Britons with the Celts of Gaul is shown by their common religion. Cæsar, indeed, was of opinion that Druidism had its origin in Britain, and was transplanted thence into Gaul; and it is certain that in his time Britain was the chief seat of the religion and the principal school where it was taught. But this circumstance only shows that the common faith of the Celtic tribes had been preserved in its greatest purity by the remotest and most ancient of them, who had been driven by the tide of emigration to the western parts of the island.

The religion of the Britons was one of the most considerable parts of their government, and the Druids, who were their priests, possessed great authority among them. Besides ministering at the altar and directing all religious duties, they presided over the education of youth; they enjoyed an immunity from war and taxes; they possessed both the civil and criminal jurisdiction; they decided all controversies, among states as well as among private persons, and whoever refused to submit to their decrees was exposed to the most severe penalties. The sentence of excommunication was pronounced against him; he was forbidden access to the sacrifices or public worship; he was debarred all intercourse with his fellow-citizens; he was refused the protection of the law; and death itself became an acceptable relief from the misery and infamy to which he was exposed. Thus the bands of government, which were naturally loose among that rude and turbulent people, were happily strengthened by the terrors of their superstition.

No species of superstition was ever more terrible than that of the Druids. Besides the severe penalties which it was in the power of the priests to inflict in this world, they inculcated the eternal transmigration of souls. They practiced their rites in dark groves or other secret recesses; and, in order to throw a greater mystery over their religion, they communicated their doctrines only to the initiated, and strictly forbade the committing of them to writing, lest they should at any time be exposed to the

* Agricol., c. 11.

examination of the profane vulgar. In the ordinary concerns of life, however, they employed writing, their characters being either the Greek or a sort of hieroglyphics formed from the figures of plants. Of the nature of their rites, except their veneration for the oak and mistletoe, we know but little. If a mistletoe was discovered growing upon an oak, a priest severed it with a golden knife; on which occasion a festival was held under the tree, and two milk-white bulls were offered as a sacrifice. The Druids worshiped a plurality of gods, to which Cæsar, after the Roman fashion, applies the names of the deities of his own country. The attributes of the god chiefly worshiped appear to have resembled those of Mercury. The stupendous ruins of Stonehenge, situated in Salisbury Plain, are probably the remains of a Druidical temple, but it is not mentioned by any ancient writer.* The principles which the Druids inculcated were piety toward the gods, charity toward men, and fortitude in suffering. They taught their disciples astronomy, or rather perhaps astrology, and magic, and trained them to acuteness in legal distinctions; and a term of twenty years was commonly devoted to the acquisition of the knowledge which they imparted. They chose their own high-priest, but the election was frequently decided by arms.

Human sacrifices formed one of the most terrible features of the Druidical worship. The victims were generally criminals, or prisoners of war, but, in default of these, innocent and unoffending persons were sometimes immolated; and in the larger sacrifices immense figures made of plaited osier were filled with human beings and then set on fire. The spoils of war were often devoted by the Druids to their divinities; and they punished with the severest tortures whoever dared to secrete any part of the consecrated offering. These treasures they kept in woods and forests, secured by no other guard than the terrors of their religion; and this steady conquest over human avidity may be regarded as more signal than their prompting men to the most extraordinary and most violent efforts. No idolatrous worship ever attained such an ascendant over mankind as that of the ancient Gauls and Britons; and the Romans, after their conquest, finding it impossible to reconcile those nations to the laws and institutions of their masters while it maintained its authority, were at last obliged to abolish it by penal statutes; a violence which had never in any other instance been practiced by those tolerating conquerors.

§ 4. After the Druids, the chief authority was possessed by the

* In the compound word *Stone-henge*, the latter half, *henge*, probably signifies the impost, which is suspended on two uprights, and consequently the word might be used in any case in which one stone was suspended on two or more others.—Guest, in *Proceedings of Philological Society*, vol. vi., p. 83.

equestrian order. The British bards were closely connected with the Druids. They sung the genealogies of their princes, and possessed lyric poetry as well as epic and didactic, accompanying their songs with an instrument called the *chrotta*.

§ 5. The southeast parts of Britain had already before the age of Cæsar made the first and most requisite step toward a civil settlement; and the Britons, by tillage and agriculture, had there increased to a great multitude. The other inhabitants of the island still maintained themselves by pasture: they were clothed with skins of beasts: they dwelt in round huts constructed of wood or reeds, which they reared in the forests and marshes with which the country was covered: they shifted easily their habitation when actuated either by the hopes of plunder or the fear of an enemy: the convenience of feeding their cattle was even a sufficient motive for removing their seats; and, as they were ignorant of all the refinements of life, their wants and their possessions were equally scanty and limited.*

The Britons tattooed their bodies and stained them blue and green with woad; customs which were long retained by the Picts. They wore checkered mantles like the Gauls or Scottish highlanders; the waist was circled with a girdle, and metal chains adorned the breast. The hair and mustache were suffered to grow, and a ring was worn on the middle finger, after the fashion of the Gauls. Their arms were a small shield, javelins, and a pointless sword. They fought from chariots (*esseda, covini*) having scythes affixed to the axles. The warrior drove the chariot, and was attended by a servant who carried his weapons. The dexterity of the charioteers excited the admiration of the Romans. They would urge their horses at full speed down the steepest hills or along the edge of precipices, and check and turn them in full career. Sometimes they would run along the pole, or seat themselves on the yoke, and instantly, if necessary, regain the chariot. Frequently after breaking the enemy's ranks they would leap down and fight on foot; meanwhile the chariots were withdrawn from the fray, and posted in such a manner as to afford a secure retreat in case of need; thus enabling them to combine the rapid evolutions of cavalry with the steady firmness of infantry. The Britons had no fortresses, and their towns, if such a name can be applied to mere clusters of huts, were defended by their position in the centre of almost impenetrable forests, and by being surrounded with a deep ditch, and a fence or wall of felled trees.

§ 6. The Britons were divided into many small nations or tribes;

* Cæsar's story of their having their wives in common probably arose from some misconception respecting their method of dwelling together in small societies, as the custom is not mentioned by Diodorus Siculus.

and being a military people, whose chief property was their arms and their cattle, it was impossible, after they had acquired a relish for liberty, for their princes or chieftains to establish any despotic authority over them. Their governments, though monarchical, were free, as well as those of all the Celtic nations; and the common people seem to have enjoyed more liberty among them than among the nations of Gaul from whom they were descended. Each state was divided into factions within itself; it was agitated with jealousy or animosity against the neighboring states: and, while the arts of peace were yet unknown, wars were the chief occupation, and formed the chief object of ambition, among the people.

The British tribes with whom the Romans became acquainted by Cæsar's invasion were mainly the following, though their precise boundaries can not, of course, be laid down:

The *Cantii*,* under four princes, inhabited Kent.

The *Trinobantes* were seated to the north of the Thames, and between that river and the Stour, in the present counties of Middlesex and Essex, having London, already a place of considerable trade, for their capital.

The *Cenimagni*, perhaps the same as the Iceni of Tacitus, dwelt in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire.

The *Segontiaci* inhabited parts of Hants and Berks.

The *Ancalites* and *Bibroci* inhabited parts of Berks and Wilts.

The position of the *Cassi* is uncertain.

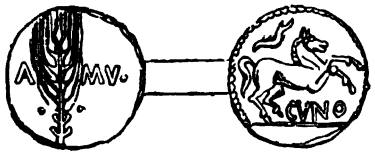
§ 7. Cæsar, taking advantage of a short interval in his Gallic wars, invaded Britain with two legions in the year B.C. 55. The natives, informed of his intention, were sensible of the unequal contest, and endeavored to appease him by submissions, which, however, retarded not the execution of his design. After some resistance, he landed, as is supposed, at Deal;† and having obtained several advantages over the Britons, and obliged them to promise hostages for their future obedience, he was constrained, by the necessity of his affairs and the approach of winter, to withdraw his forces into Gaul. The Britons, relieved from the terror of his arms, neglected the performance of their stipulations; and that haughty conqueror resolved next summer (B.C. 54) to chastise them for this breach of treaty. He landed, apparently at the same spot, and unopposed, with above 20,000 men, and pitched his camp a little above Sandwich, near Richborough; and though he found a more regular resistance from the Britons, who had united under Cassivelaunus, or Caswallon, one of their petty princes, he discomfited them in every action. He advanced into the country

* The Cantii derived their name from the Celtic *Caint*, or open country.

† See Notes and Illustrations (A).

and passed the Thames in the face of the enemy at a ford, probably in the neighborhood of Kingston, in spite of the piles which Caswallon had caused to be driven into the bed of the river, considerable remains of which are said to have existed in the time of Beda, seven centuries later. The valiant defense of Caswallon was frustrated by the treacherous submission of the Trinobantes and other tribes. Cæsar took and burned his forest fortress at Verulamium, the modern St. Albans; established his own ally, Mandubratius, in the sovereignty of the Trinobantes; and having obliged the inhabitants to make him new submissions, he returned with his army into Gaul, and left the authority of the Romans more nominal than real in this island.

§ 8. The civil wars which ensued, and which prepared the way for the establishment of monarchy in Rome, saved the Britons from the yoke which was ready to be imposed upon them. Augustus, apprehensive lest the same unlimited extent of dominion, which had subverted the republic, might also overwhelm the empire, recommended it to his successors never to enlarge the territories of the Romans; and Tiberius, jealous of the fame which might be acquired by his generals, made this advice of Augustus a pretense for his inactivity. Almost a century elapsed before a Roman force again appeared in Britain; but the natives during this period kept up some intercourse with Rome, though on a completely independent footing. Hence, as well as through their commerce with Gaul, where the Roman power had been completely established, they appear to have derived some tincture of Roman civilization; and the coins of Cynobelin, the Cymbeline of Shakspeare, and a successor of Caswallon, as well as those of Tasciovanus, probably his father, display the influence of Roman art, and a knowledge of the Latin alphabet. The mad sallies of Caligula, in which he menaced Britain with an invasion, served only to expose himself and the empire to ridicule; but at length a British exile named Beric instigated the Emperor Claudius to undertake the reduction of the island, and Aulus Plautius was dispatched thither at the head of four legions, together with Gallic auxiliaries, A.D. 43. The first great victory and the honor of a triumph was achieved by Cn. Osidius Geta. Vespasian, the future emperor, likewise distinguished himself in this campaign, and at the head of the second legion fought thirty battles, took twenty places, and subdued the Isle of Wight. Claudius himself, finding

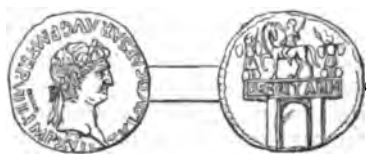


Gold Coin of Cynobelin or Cunobelinus.

Obverse: [C]AMV (Camulodunum); ear of corn.
Reverse: CVNO (Cunobelinus); horse to right.

matters sufficiently prepared for his reception, made a journey into Britain and received the submission of several British states, the Cantii, Atrebates, Regni, and Trinobantes, whom their possessions and more cultivated manner of life rendered willing to purchase peace at the expense of their liberty. Claudius entered the city of Camulodunum (either Maldon or Colchester), where a colony of veterans was subsequently established, and the south-eastern parts of Britain were gradually moulded into a Roman province.

§ 9. The other Britons, under the command of Caractacus, or Caradoc, a son of Cynobelin, still maintained an obstinate resistance, and the Romans made little progress against them till Ostorius Scapula was sent over to command the Roman armies (A.D. 47). Under this commander, Roman camps were established on the Avon and Severn; the Iceni* were reduced after a desperate and brilliant struggle; the league of the Brigantes† was surprised and dispersed by the rapid march of Ostorius, and the Roman eagles pervaded the greater part of Britain. But the Silures and Ordovices‡ still held out, and it was not till after many years of warfare that Caer Caradoc, the residence of the British leader, seated on a hill in Shropshire near the confluence of the Coln and Teme, was captured by the Romans, and with it his wife and family. Caradoc himself sought shelter at the court of his step-mother Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, whom he had formerly befriended, but by whom he was basely and treacherously surrendered to the Romans (A.D. 51). Caradoc was conveyed to Rome, where his magnanimous behavior procured him better treatment than those conquerors usually bestowed on captive princes. But even after the capture of their leader the Silures still held out, and offered so determined a resistance that Ostorius is said to have died of vexation.



Aureus of Emperor Claudius.

Obverse: TI. CLAVD. CAESAR. AVG. P. M. TR. P. VIIII IMP. XVI (Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Pontifex Maximus, Tribunicia Potestate VIIII. Imperator XVI.); head, laureate, right. Reverse: Triumphal arch, on which equestrian figure and two trophies, inscribed DE BRITANN (De Britannis).

§ 10. The Romans seem to have done little toward the farther subjugation of the island till the appointment of Suetonius Paulinus to the command, in the reign of Nero, A.D. 59. After two years of peaceful administration, he resolved on reducing the island

* People of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridgeshire. Probably, as already stated, the Cenimagni. † People between the Humber and the Tyne.
‡ The Silures inhabited South Wales; the Ordovices North Wales.

of Mona, or Anglesey, the chief seat of the Druids, which afforded a shelter to the disaffected Britons. The strait was crossed by the infantry in shallow vessels, while the cavalry either waded or swam. The Britons endeavored to obstruct their landing on this sacred island, both by the force of their arms and the terror of their religion. The women and priests were intermingled with the soldiers upon the shore; and running about with flaming torches in their hands, and tossing their disheveled hair, they struck greater terror into the astonished Romans by their howlings, cries, and execrations than the real danger from the armed forces was able to inspire. But Suetonius, exhorting his troops to disregard the menaces of a superstition which they despised, impelled them to the attack, drove the Britons off the field, burned the Druids in the same fires which those priests had prepared for their captive enemies, destroyed all the consecrated groves and altars; and, having thus triumphed over the religion of the Britons, he thought his future progress would be easy in reducing the people to subjection. But he was disappointed in his expectations. The Britons, taking advantage of his absence, were all in arms; and, headed by Boadicea, queen of the Iceni, whose daughter had been defiled and herself scourged with rods by the Roman tribunes, had already attacked with success several settlements of their insulting conquerors. Suetonius hastened to the protection of London, which was already a flourishing Roman colony; but he found on his arrival that it would be requisite for the general safety to abandon that place to the merciless fury of the enemy. London was reduced to ashes; such of the inhabitants as remained in it were cruelly massacred; the Romans and all strangers, to the number of 70,000, were every where put to the sword without distinction; and the Britons, by rendering the war thus bloody, seemed determined to cut off all hopes of peace or composition with the enemy. But this cruelty was revenged by Suetonius in a great and decisive battle (A.D. 62), where 80,000 of the Britons are said to have perished; and Boadicea herself, rather than fall into the hands of the enraged victor, put an end to her own life by poison. Nero soon after recalled Suetonius from a government where, by suffering and inflicting so many severities, he was judged unfit for composing the angry and alarmed minds of the inhabitants.

§ 11. After some interval Cerealis received the command from Vespasian (A.D. 71), and by his bravery propagated the terror of the Roman arms. Julius Frontinus succeeded Cerealis both in authority and reputation; but the general who finally established the dominion of the Romans in this island was Julius Agricola, who governed it seven years (A.D. 78–85), in the reigns of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, and distinguished himself in that scene of action.

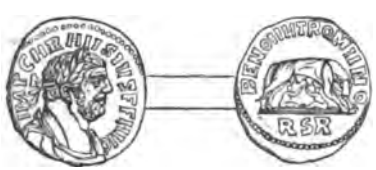
This great commander formed a regular plan for subduing Britain, and rendering the acquisition useful to the conquerors. After subduing the Ordovices, and again reducing Mona, which had revolted, he carried his victorious arms northward. In the third year of his government he marched as far as the Tay, where he established garrisons; and in the following year he erected a line of fortresses between the friths of Clyde and Forth. He extended his conquests along the western shores of Britain, and even meditated an expedition to Ireland. In the sixth and seventh years of his administration he made two incursions into Caledonia, in the latter of which he gained a great and decisive victory over the inhabitants under their leader Galgacus, at the foot of the Grampian Hills. One of the last acts of his government was to cause his fleet to sail round Britain, starting from, and returning to, the Portus Trutulensis, or Sandwich.

During these military enterprises he neglected not the arts of peace. He introduced laws and civilization among the Britons, taught them to desire and raise all the conveniences of life, reconciled them to the Roman language and manners, instructed them in letters and science, and employed every expedient to render those chains which he had forged both easy and agreeable to them. The inhabitants, having experienced how unequal their own force was to resist that of the Romans, acquiesced in the dominion of their masters, and were gradually incorporated as part of that mighty empire.

§ 12. This was the last durable conquest made by the Romans: and Britain, once subdued, gave no farther disquietude to the victor. Caledonia, alone, defended by its barren mountains and by the contempt which the Romans entertained for it, sometimes infested the more cultivated parts of the island by the incursions of its inhabitants. The better to secure the frontiers of the empire, Hadrian, who visited this island, built an earthen rampart between the River Tyne and the Solway Frith, which has been called the Picts' Wall, and of which there are still considerable remains. Subsequently Lollius Urbicus (A.D. 140), under Antoninus Pius, erected another between the friths of Forth and Clyde, along the same line where formerly Agricola had established his fortresses, which was called the Wall of Antoninus, and is now known by the name of Graham's Dike. But these fortifications did not prove adequate to check the incursions of the Mæatæ and Caledonians, who at length became so formidable, that the propretor, Virius Lupus, was not only obliged to buy off their attacks, but even to solicit the presence of the aged Emperor Severus himself. Severus accordingly came, attended by his two sons, Caracalla and Geta; and, although so afflicted with the gout that it was necessary to carry him in a litter, Severus proceeded through an almost impassable country to the extremity

of the island, but with the loss of 50,000 men. Having made a treaty with the natives, by which they agreed to cede a considerable portion of their territory, he returned to York, where he shortly afterward expired, A.D. 211. As Severus caused the fortification constructed by Hadrian to be repaired and strengthened with a wall, it commonly bore his name.* Immediately after his death, his son Caracalla, eager to grasp the empire, entered into a truce with the northern tribes, and hastened back to Rome.

§ 13. Except, however, on its northern frontier, Britain under the Roman dominion enjoyed profound tranquillity, till in the third century of our era it began to be disturbed by new enemies. These were the Saxon pirates, whose descents upon the eastern coast at last became so troublesome that the emperors Diocletian and Maximian were obliged to appoint a special officer for its defense, who at a later period obtained the name of "Comes littoris Saxonici," or Count of the Saxon shore. His jurisdiction appears to have extended from Branodunum, or Brancaster, on the coast of Norfolk, to the Portus Adurni, perhaps Pevensey in Sussex.† Carausius, however, the first officer of this kind (A.D. 286), fortifying the great power with which he was thus invested by an alliance with the Saxons themselves, asserted his own supremacy in Britain, and compelled Maximian to acknowledge him as his associate in the empire. In 293 Carausius was assassinated by his own officer Allectus, who in turn usurped the imperial title and retained it till 296, when he was defeated by the army which Constantius had sent against him: after which period Britain remained in tranquil obedience till the termination of the Roman sway.



Aureus of the Emperor Carausius.

Obverse: IMP CARAVSIVS PF AVG (Imperator Carausius Pius Felix Augustus); bust, laureate, right. Reverse: RENOVAT ROMANO (Renovatio Romanorum); wolf and twins. In the Exergue RSR.

§ 14. The last emperor who resided in Britain was Constantius Chlorus, whose consort, Helena, is said to have been the relative of a British prince. He died at York in 306, where his son, Constantine the Great, assumed the title of Cæsar. In the early times of the Roman dominion in Britain, the northern parts of the island were inhabited by the Caledonians and Mæatæ, but in the beginning of the fourth century we find them supplanted by the Picts and Scots, wild and savage tribes, whose destructive inroads were long a terror to southern Britain. The origin of these celebrated names has given rise to the most vehement disputes. With respect to the Scots, it is

* See Notes and Illustrations (B). † See Notes and Illustrations (C).

now generally admitted that they were an Irish tribe, who crossed over to Britain from the sister island. The ancient writers agree in representing Ireland as the proper home of the Scots; and for several centuries that island bore the name of Scotia. We can not pronounce with equal certainty upon the origin of the Picts; but the most probable opinion is that they were those ancient Caledonian tribes who preserved their independence under the Romans, and maintained possession of the northern parts of the island till the invasion of the Irish Scots.*

In the year 368, under the reign of Valentinian I., the Scots and Picts penetrated as far as London, but were repulsed by Theodosius, father of the emperor of the same name; who also recovered the district between the walls of Severus and Antoninus, which he named Valentia, in honor of his master. Under the Emperor Theodosius, Maximus, a member of a distinguished British family, gained great reputation in fighting against the Picts and Scots, was saluted emperor by his soldiers, established a western Roman empire at Trèves, and was even acknowledged by Theodosius; but he was subsequently taken prisoner at Aquileia and put to death, A.D. 388. Under Maximus a colony of British warriors is said to have been established in Armorica, the subsequent Brittany. But this colonization helped to weaken Britain, which now began to be more and more infested by the Scots, Picts, and Saxons. Stilicho afforded temporary succor in 396; but soon afterward, Gaul being already occupied by the Alani, Suevi, and Vandals, Honorius was compelled to withdraw his legions from Britain, which, being thus relinquished by the Romans, was seized upon by rebellious tyrants, who assumed the title of emperor.

§ 15. At the prayer of the Britons, the island was visited once more (A.D. 418) by the Roman legions, on the occasion of a new inroad by the Picts and Scots; but after repulsing the enemy, repairing the British fortresses, and instructing the natives how to make and to use the arms necessary for their defense, they took their final leave. The incursions of the northern barbarians were now renewed. Led by the Gaulish bishop, St. Germain of Auxerre, the Britons appear to have gained a victory over them in 429, which, from the cry of onset, was called the Hallelujah victory. But it was unavailing, and in 446 the unhappy Britons had again recourse to Rome. Aëtius the patrician sustained at that time, by his valor and magnanimity, the tottering ruins of the empire, and revived for a moment among the degenerate Romans the spirit, as well as discipline, of their ancestors. The British embassadors carried to him the letter of their countrymen, which was inscribed *the Groans of the Britons.* The tenor of the epistle was suitable to

* See Notes and Illustrations (D).

its superscription. "The barbarians," say they, "on the one hand chase us into the sea; the sea on the other throws us back upon the barbarians; and we have only the hard choice left us of perishing by the sword or by the waves." But Aëtius, pressed by the arms of Attila, the most terrible enemy that ever assailed the empire, had no leisure to attend to the complaints of allies whom generosity alone could induce him to assist. At length the despairing Britons, guided, it is said, by the counsels of Vortigern, a powerful prince in the south of Britain, and by the example of the Armoricans, resolved on calling in the aid of the piratical Saxons, and thus repelling the Picts and Scots by means of tribes almost as barbarous.

§ 16. Under the Roman dominion* Britain had assumed an aspect of great prosperity. Agriculture was carried to such a pitch that the island not only fed itself, but also exported large quantities of grain to the northern provinces of the empire. Its builders and artisans were in request upon the Continent. The country was traversed by four excellent roads, which, however, were probably not originally constructed by the Romans, but merely improved by them. These were the Watling Street, leading from the Kentish coast, by Rhutupiæ and London, to Caernarvon; Ikenild or Rikenild Street, proceeding from Tynemouth, through York, Derby, and Birmingham, to St. David's; Irmin or Hermin Street, running from St. David's to Southampton; and the Foss, between Cornwall and Lincoln. Roman civilization in Britain was more complete than is commonly supposed, though its traces have now almost completely vanished. Bede speaks of the Roman towns, light-houses, roads, and bridges existing in his time; and many remains of Roman buildings were visible in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have now disappeared. York, Chichester, Chester, and Lincoln retain portions of Roman walls; and the circuses of Dorchester, Cirencester, and Silchester are still visible. The remote Caerleon (Isca Silurum), as well as Bath, had its theatres, temples, and palaces. Westminster Abbey was the site of a temple of Apollo, while on that of St. Paul's stood another of Diana. Even now, in London and other places once occupied by the Romans, if the spade of the workman penetrates to an unusual depth below the soil, fragments of pottery, tesselated pavements, and other objects are frequently discovered, which testify the presence of its former owners. Thus, when the Saxons established themselves in Britain, they must have dwelt within Roman walls, and feasted their eyes with the magnificent works of Roman art.

But at the same time it must be recollected that the Roman occupation of Britain was purely military, and that the country was

* See Notes and Illustrations (E).

never completely Romanized like the provinces of Gaul and Spain. The natives continued to speak their own language; the number of Latin words which found a permanent place in the Welsh language is comparatively small; and the only traces of the Roman occupation subsisting in the English language are confined to the termination *chester*, *caster*, etc. (from *castra*), which appears in Manchester, Lancaster, etc.; to *coln* (*colonia*), which is found in Lincoln; and to the word *street*, from *stratum* or *strata*. The condition of England under the Romans has been well compared by a modern writer with that of Ireland as it existed under English rule in the 17th century. "The towns were entirely peopled by the conquerors: they alone were capable of holding municipal privileges or power: and the country was covered with the houses of gentry and landholders who were all either descended from the old conquerors or new settlers. The peasantry only were British —that class who were in ancient times equally slaves under one race of rulers or another, and who were only spurred into insurrection by political agitators or by foreign invasions. Still, as in Ireland, the peasantry, having no attachment to their lords, were easily excited to revolt; and a successful inroad of the Caledonians would always be attended by a corresponding agitation among the Britons."*

§ 17. Christianity was introduced into Britain at an early period, in all probability, however, not through Rome, but from the East, by means of the Mediterranean commerce carried on through Gaul. It is known that the latter country had numerous Christian congregations in the 2d century. The most probable tradition ascribes the adoption of Christianity in Britain, as an established religion, to Prince Lucius, or Lever Maur (the Great Light), who flourished some time in the second half of the 2d century. Under Diocletian, Britain reckons the martyrdom of St. Alban at Verulam, and of Aaron and Julius, two citizens of Caerleon. At the first council of Arles, in 314, three British bishops appeared, namely, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius, probably of Lincoln; whose tenets are said to have differed from those of the Romish Church. The monastery of Bangor, near Chester, was founded at an early period; its name, literally *ban gor*, or the great circle, was a generic one for a congregation or monastery, and thus we find more than one Bangor in Britain. The Bible was translated into the British tongue, and some of the British ecclesiastics were famous for their learning and acuteness. Pelagius, the opponent of St. Augustine, and founder of the sect which bore his name, is said to have been a Briton whose real name was Morgan, while his disciple Celestius was an Irishman. St. Ger

* Edinburgh Review, vol. xciv., p. 200.

main, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, were sent over to Britain by Pope Celestine to confute the Pelagians; and the expulsion of those heretics by Severus, Bishop of Trèves, and by St. Germain, in a second visit in 446, was one of the last acts of Roman power in this island.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

B.C.
55. Cæsar's first invasion of Britain.
54. Cæsar's second invasion.

A.D.
43. Claudius sends an expedition to Britain.
51. Caractacus subdued and conveyed to Rome.
62. Defeat and death of Boadicea.
78–85. Administration of Agricola.
121. Hadrian visits Britain, and constructs a rampart.

A.D.
140. Lollius Urbicus raises a rampart between the friths of Forth and Clyde.
208. Severus visits Britain; builds a wall.
286–293. Usurpation of Carausius.
293–296. Usurpation of Allectus.
306. Death of Constantius at York.
368. The Scots and Picts penetrate to London.
429. The Hallelujah victory.
446. The Britains supplicate Actius for assistance.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. CÆSAR'S VOYAGES TO BRITAIN.

The subject of Cæsar's two voyages to Britain has given rise to much controversy. In his first voyage Cæsar merely says that he sailed from the country of the Morini, without specifying the exact spot; but there can be little doubt that he started from the same place as in his second expedition, namely, the Portus Itius, which is supposed by D'Anville, who has been followed by most modern writers, to be Wissant, about halfway between Boulogne and Calais. In his first expedition Cæsar must have landed on the 26th or 27th of August, since he tells us that it was full moon on the fourth day after his arrival in Britain; and it has been calculated by Dr. Halley the astronomer that this full moon was on the night of the 30th of August (Philosophical Transactions, abridged to the end of the year 1700 by John Lowthorpe, vol. iii., p. 412). Dr. Halley maintained that Cæsar landed at Deal, and his opinion has been adopted by almost all subsequent writers; but Mr. Airy, the Astronomer-Royal, has lately started an entirely new hypothesis. He supposes that Cæsar sailed from the estuary of the Somme and landed at the beach of Pevensey, on the coast of Sussex, near the same spot where William the Conqueror disembarked nearly 11 centuries afterward. The reader will find the arguments of Mr. Airy in the 'Archæologia,' vol. xxxiv., p. 231, *seq.*

B. THE ROMAN WALL.

The Roman fortification, which crosses England from the Solway Frith to the River Tyne, consists of a stone wall and an earthen rampart running parallel with one another, generally at the distance of 60 or 70 yards. Dr. Bruce maintains, in his work on the "Roman Wall," that the stone wall and the turf vallum both belong to one and the same fortification, and that they were erected by the Emperor Hadrian at one and the same time, the former to check the Mæatæ and Caledonians, the latter to repress any hostile attempts of the southern Britons. It is impossible to discuss this subject in the limits of this note, but we see no sufficient reason to abandon the generally received opinion that, as the vallum of Hadrian was not sufficient to check the Caledonians, it was strengthened, or rather superseded, by the wall of Severus. The same line was naturally adopted, the only difference being in the method of engineering, by adopting a lofty and strong wall carried over heights instead of low mounds running through the valleys. This new wall was made to start from the stations which already existed, and thus the trouble and expense of erecting new stations were saved. This will also account for the circumstance of inscriptions being found in them bearing the name of Hadrian.

C. THE COMES LITTORIS SAXONICI.

Lappenberg, Kemble, and several modern writers maintain that this officer derived his name, not from defending the coast which was exposed to the invasions of the Saxon pirates, but from his commanding the Saxons who were settled along the coasts of Britain before the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in 450. But there seems no objection to the ordinary interpretation which has been adopted in the text. Dr. Guest correctly remarks that, as the Welsh marches in Shropshire and the Scotch marches in Northumberland

were so called, not because they were inhabited by Welshmen or Scotchmen, but because they were open to the incursions of these two races, and were provided with a regular military organization for the purpose of repelling their incursions, so, for precisely similar reasons, the southeastern coast of Britain was called the Saxon Shore, or Frontier. In the *Notitia* the Saxon Shore is also called the Saxon Frontier (Limes Saxonicus).

D. THE SCOTS AND PICTS.

From the second to the eleventh century the Scots are mentioned as the inhabitants of Ireland, and that island bore the name of Scotia. This is clearly proved by the authorities collected by Zeus, Die Deutschen und die Nachbarstämme, p. 568. Thus Claudian says:

"Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne."
De IV. Cons. Hon., 33.

"Me javit Stilicho, totam cum Scotus Iernen
Movit."
De Laud. Stilich., ii., 251.

The Gaelic spoken by the Scotch Highlanders is the same language as the Erse spoken by the Irish, and there can be no doubt that it was brought into Britain by the Irish Scots.

That the Picts were Celts, and akin to the Welsh rather than to the Gael, appears from the names of their kings, of whom a genuine list, from the fifth century downward, has been preserved. Almost the only Pictish word given as such by an ancient writer is *Pen val*, the name given by the Picts to the eastern termination of the vallum of Antoninus. *Pen* is decidedly Welsh. The name of the *Ochil* Hills in Perthshire, in the country of the Picts, is to be explained from the Welsh *uchel*, "high." Again, the Welsh prefix *aber* in local names in the Pictish territory was changed into the Gaelic *inver* after the occupation of the country by the Gaelic Scots: thus *Inverin* and *Invernethy* were previously *Aberin* and *Abernethy*.—See Garnett, Transactions of the Philological Society, vol. i., p. 119.

E. GOVERNMENT AND DIVISIONS OF BRITAIN UNDER THE ROMANS.

Britain, like the other distant provinces of the empire, was under the immediate superintendence of the emperor, and not of the senate. It was formed into a Roman province by the Emperor Claudius after the campaign of A.D. 43, and was governed at first by a Legatus of consular rank: its financial affairs were administered by a procurator. It was subsequently divided by Septimius Severus into two parts, Britannia Superior and Inferior, each governed by a Præses.

The later organization of Britain is contained in the *Notitia Imperii*, a document compiled about A.D. 400. When Diocletian divided the empire into four prefectures, Britain formed the third great diocese in the prefecture of the Gauls, of which the Præfectus Prætorio resided, first at Trèves, and afterward at Arles. Britain was governed by a *Vicarius*, who resided at Eboracum (York), and was subdivided into four provinces, Britannia Prima, Britannia Secunda, Maxima Cæsariensis, Flavia: to which a fifth, Valentia, was added by Theodosius in A.D. 369. The situation of these provinces is to some extent uncertain, and rests mainly upon the authority of Richard of Cirencester, a monk of the 14th century, whose testimony must be received with suspicion.

I. BRITANNIA PRIMA, governed by a Præses, the country south of the Thames and Bristol Channel.

II. BRITANNIA SECUNDA, governed by a Præses, the country between the Severn and the Dee—Wales, Herefordshire, Monmouthshire, and parts of Shropshire, Gloucestershire, and Worcestershire.

III. FLAVIA CÆSARIENSIS, governed by a Præses, the country north of the Thames, east of the Severn, south of the Mersey and the Humber.

IV. MAXIMA CÆSARIENSIS, governed by a Consularis, north of the Mersey and the Humber to the wall of Severus.

V. VALENTIA or VALENTIANA, governed by a Consularis, the country between the wall of Severus and the rampart of Antoninus, the south part of Scotland, Northumberland, and part of Cumberland.

The country north of the rampart of Antoninus was never long in the power of the Romans. Richard of Cirencester gives the name of VESPASIANA to the district subdued by Agricola between the rampart and a line drawn from the Moray Frith to the mouth of the Clyde.

ROMAN TOWNS. The following is the list of Richard of Cirencester: 1. MUNICIPIA, two in number. *Eboracum*, York. *Verulamium*, St. Albans.

2. COLONIÆ, colonies of Roman citizens, nine in number. *Londinium*, with the surname of *Augusta*, London. *Camalodunum*, Colchester or Maldon. *Rhutupiæ*, Richborough. *Thermæ* or *Aquæ Solis*, Bath. *Isca Silurum*, Caerleon. *Deva*, Chester. *Glevum* or *Claudia*, Gloucester. *Lindum*, Lincoln. *Camboricum*, either Cambridge or Chesterford, or Icklingham, in Suffolk.

3. CIVITATES LATIO JURE DONATÆ,* ten in number. *Durnomagus* or *Durobriæ*, Castor on Nene, or Water Newton. *Catarractonum*, Catterick in Yorkshire. *Cambodunum*, Slack in Yorkshire. *Coccium*, Ribchester in Lancashire. *Luguvallium*, Carlisle. *Pteroton*, Burgh head in Morayshire, Scotland. *Victoria*, Dealgin Ross in Perthshire. *Corinium*, Cirencester. *Sorbiodunum*, Old Sarum.

4. STIPENDIARIÆ CIVITATES, twelve in number. *Venta*† *Belgarum*, Winchester.

* Those cities possessed nearly the same privileges as colonies. On the distinction between them, see Smith's *Dict. of Antiquities*, art. *Colonia*.

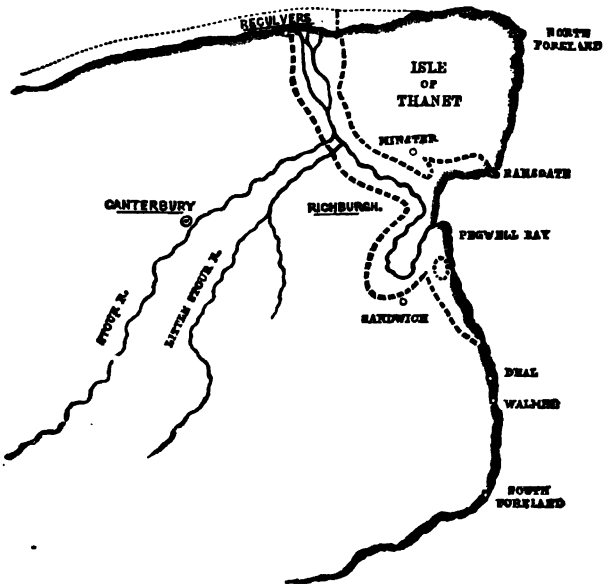
† *Venta* comes from the Celtic word *Gwent*, a champaign country, of which there are several in Britain. The Romans obtained their name for many of the capital towns by turning *Gwent* into a feminine substantive (*Venta*), and then adding the name of the race which inhabited the district. The Saxons also used the name as a feminine substantive, *Winte*, gen. *Wintan*; and they called the capital of such district *Wintan ceaster*, "the city of the Winte." Sometimes, instead of this genitive form, they used the compound *Winte ceaster*, whence *Winchester*. See Guest "On the Early English Settlements in South Britain," published in the "Proceedings of the Archæological Institute," held at Salisbury, 1849.

Venta Icenorum, Caister, near Norwich. *Venta Silurum*, Caer-went, or Caer-gwent, in Monmouthshire. *Segontium*, Caer-Seiont, near Caernarvon. *Muridunum*, Seaton, near Colyton, Devon. *Ragæ*, Leicester. *Cantiopolis*, or *Durovernum*, Canterbury. *Durinum*, or *Dunium*, Dorchester. *Isca*, Exeter. *Bremenium*, Riechester, Northumberland. *Vindonum*, near Andover, Hants. *Durobrivæ*, Rochester.

ROMAN MILITARY COMMANDERS. The military forces were originally under the command of the Legatus, but after the separation of the civil and military administration of the provinces by Diocletian, they were placed under three chief military officers, who bore the titles of *Comes Britanniarum*, *Comes Littoris Saxonici per Britanniam*, and *Dux Britanniarum*. The title of *Comes*, or *Companion*, was the highest, and the *Comes Britanniarum* had the chief command of the military forces in Britain. The *Comes littoris Saxonici* has been already spoken of. The *Dux Britanniarum* had charge of the wall of Severus, and the command of the troops in the northern part of the province. At the time of the Notitia the Roman army in Britain consisted of 20,000 men.

F. AUTHORITIES.

Some of the classical authorities respecting the early history of Britain have been alluded to in the preceding pages, and all the passages bearing on the subject in the Greek and Latin writers, as well as in the ancient English authors, will be found collected in the "Monumenta Historica Britannica," vol. i., 1848. The most important modern works on Roman Britain are: Camden's *Britannia;* Horsley's *Britannia Romana;* Stukeley's *Stonehenge;* Whittaker's *History of Manchester;* Lappenberg's *History of England*, translated by Thorpe; Algernon Herbert's *Britannia under the Romans;* Bruce's *Roman Wall;* Böcking's Notes on the *Notitia Dignitatum*, vol. ii., p. 496.; Guest *On the Early English Settlements in South Britain*, published in the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute held at Salisbury, 1849; the article *Britannia* in the Penny Cyclopædia; and an article in the *Edinburgh Review*, vol. xciv., p. 177, *seq.*, on the condition of Britain under the Romans.



Map of the Isle of Thanet at the time of the landing of the Saxons.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS TILL THE REIGN OF EGBERT.

§ 1. The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. § 2. Manners and Religion of the Anglo-Saxons. § 3. Their Ships and Arms. § 4. First Settlement of the German Invaders—in Kent. British Traditions. § 5. Saxon Account. § 6. Second Settlement of the German Invaders—in Sussex. § 7. Third Settlement of the German Invaders—in Wessex. § 8. Fourth Settlement of the German Invaders—in Essex and Middlesex. § 9. Fifth Settlement of the German Invaders—in Norfolk and Suffolk. § 10. Sixth Settlement of the German Invaders—in Northumbria. § 11. The Kingdom of Mercia. § 12. The Heptarchy. British States. § 13. The Bretwaldas, Ella of Sussex, Ceawlin of Wessex. § 14. Ethelbert of Kent, third Bretwalda. Introduction of Christianity. § 15. Death of Ethelbert. Redwald of East Anglia, fourth Bretwalda. Adventures of Edwin of Northumbria. § 16. Edwin, fifth Bretwalda. His Conversion to Christianity. § 17. History of Northumbria. Oswald, sixth Bretwalda. § 18. Oswy of Northumbria, seventh Bretwalda. Decline of the Kingdom of Northumbria. § 19. History of Wessex. Ina and Egbert. § 20. History of Mercia. Ethelbald and Offa. § 21. Conquests of Egbert, who becomes sole King of England.

§ 1. THE people now called in by the Britons to their assist-

ance, and who ultimately succeeded in establishing themselves in the country which they were required to defend, were a Germanic race, who, under the general name of Saxons, inhabited the north-western coast of Germany from the Cimbric Chersonesus, or present Denmark, to the mouths of the Rhine. At the period of which we are speaking, we find them divided into three principal tribes, the Saxons proper, the Angles, and the Jutes.

I. *The Saxons.**—This people are first mentioned in the second century by Ptolemy, who places them upon the narrow neck of the Cimbric Chersonesus, and in three islands opposite the mouth of the Elbe. From thence their power extended westward as far as the mouths of the Rhine. Among the tribes subject to them were the Frisians, who probably formed the majority of the Saxon invaders of England, though they are only mentioned under the general name of Saxons.† The southern parts of the island were occupied by the Saxons proper or Frisians, who founded the kingdoms of the South Saxons (South-sexe, whence *Sus-sex*), of the West Saxon (*Wes-sex*), and of the East Saxons (*Es-sex*), the last including the territories of the Middle Saxons (whence *Middle-sex*). The Germanic tribes have always been divided into two great branches, to which modern writers have given the name of *High German* (the people in the interior or higher parts of Germany) and *Low German* (the people in the lower parts of the country near the coast). The Saxons belonged to the Low Germanic branch, and their language was closely allied to that of the modern Dutch.

II. *The Angles* or *Engle*, who accompanied or followed the Saxons, seem to have been a more numerous and powerful race, as they peopled a larger district of Britain, and at length gave their name to the whole land.‡ They settled in *East Anglia*, or the eastern counties, north of Essex; *Mercia*, or the midland counties; and *Northumbria*, or all the counties north of the Humber. They are first mentioned by Tacitus§ among the obscure tribes of the Suevic race, and they are placed by Ptolemy on the western bank of the Elbe near the Lower Saale. Thence they migrated north of the Elbe to the Cimbric Chersonesus, where they inhabited a district called *Angeln*, which lay between the Saxons and the Jutes.

* Their name is usually derived from the short sword, *sahs* or *sax*, which they carried. Some critics connect their name with that of the *Sacæ* in the East; while others maintain that the word meant nothing more than *seamen*.

† See Notes and Illustrations (A).

‡ The Saxon kingdom of Wessex afterward obtained the political supremacy, and hence the name of Anglo-Saxon was given to the whole nation; but it must be borne in mind that this title does not mean the Angles and Saxons, but the Saxons of England, as distinguished from the Saxons of the Continent.

§ Germania, c. 40.

There is still a district which bears this name between the River Slie and the Flensborger Fiord; but anciently it must have comprised a much larger territory. The Angles, like the Saxons, were originally a Low Germanic race; but, as their first settlements were upon the upper part of the Elbe in the neighborhood of High German tribes, and their second seats were in the proximity of the Danes, their language appears to have been affected to some extent by their neighbors, and several peculiarities in the northern dialects of England bear traces of the High German and Danish languages.

III. *The Jutes.*—These invaders were not so numerous even as the Saxons, and possessed only Kent, the Isle of Wight, and part of Hampshire. They came from the peninsula of Jutland, which is now inhabited by the Danes; but it is probable that the possessions of the Germans, who people at present the southern part of the peninsula, extended farther north in ancient times, and there are some reasons for believing that the Jutes were Goths, who, like the Saxons and Angles, were also a Low Germanic race.

§ 2. The German races who invaded Britain were pagan barbarians. Their religion, which was common to them with the Scandinavians, seems to have been a compound between the worship of the celestial bodies and that of deified heroes. This fact will best appear from the names they applied to the days of the week, which custom has still retained among us. Thus *Sunnandæg* and *Monandæg*, Sunday and Monday, were named after the two great luminaries; but it must be observed that the sex of those deities was the reverse of that ascribed to them by the Greeks and Romans, the sun being considered by the Germans as feminine and the moon as masculine. The name of Tuesday is by some derived from *Tiue*, probably the same as the Tuisco of Tacitus, the national and eponymous deity of the Teutons, while others identify it with *Tyr*, one of the twelve companions of Odin. *Wodnesdæg* or Wednesday, was sacred to Woden or Odin, the god of war, common to all the Teutonic and Scandinavian races. That he must have been a deified hero and king appears from the circumstance that those leaders, whose kindred formed the royal houses among the Anglo-Saxons, for the most part derived their descent from Woden. *Thorsdæg*, or Thursday, was named after the god Thor, the thunderer, equivalent to the Greek Zeus, and the Roman Jove, who wielded a hammer instead of a thunderbolt. *Freyadæg*, or Friday, was sacred to the goddess Freya, the consort of Woden and northern Venus. Lastly, Saturday derived its name from *Sætes*, who, from the attributes with which he is represented, viz., a fish and a bucket, appears to have been a water-god. Besides these, the Anglo-Saxons had many other deities. They be-

lieved in the immortality of the soul and the existence of a supernatural world; but their worship, though fanciful and superstitious, was not tainted with so much cruelty as disfigured that of the Druids. Their sensual ideas of a future state were calculated, like those of the Mohammedans, to inspire them with a contempt of death. They believed that if they obtained the favor of Woden by their valor (for they made less account of the other virtues) they should be admitted after their death into his hall; and, reposing on couches, should satiate themselves with ale from the skulls of their enemies whom they had slain in battle. Incited by this idea of paradise, which gratified at once the passion of revenge and that of intemperance, the ruling inclinations of barbarians, they despised the dangers of war, and increased their native ferocity against the vanquished by their religious prejudices.

§ 3. The ships, or keels (*ceolas*), of the Saxons appear at an ancient period to have been rudely constructed of a few planks surmounted with wattled osiers and covered with skins; and in these frail vessels they fearlessly trusted themselves without a compass to the winds and waves of the stormy ocean which washed their shores. We may infer, however, from the number of men which they conveyed to Britain, that in the fifth century their ships must have been much enlarged in size and improved in solidity of construction. The arms of the Anglo-Saxons were targets worn on the left arm, spears, bows and arrows, swords, battle-axes, and heavy clubs furnished with spikes of iron. Sidonius, the Bishop of Clermont, has described the terror which these barbarians inspired. "We have not," he says, "a more cruel and dangerous enemy than the Saxons. They overcome all who have the courage to oppose them. They surprise all who are so imprudent as not to be prepared for their attack. When they pursue, they inevitably overtake: when they are pursued, their escape is certain. They despise danger: they are inured to shipwreck: they are eager to purchase booty with the peril of their lives. Tempests, which to others are so dreadful, to them are subjects of joy. The storm is their protection when they are pursued by the enemy, and a cover for their operations when they meditate an attack. Before they quit their own shores, they devote to the altars of their gods the tenth part of the principal captives; and when they are on the point of returning, the lots are cast with an affectation of equity, and the impious vow is fulfilled."* Such were the barbarians who were now approaching the British shores.

§ 4. *First settlement of the German invaders*, A.D. 450.—The first arrival of the Saxon tribes in England is commonly placed either in the year 449 or 450, of which dates the latter is the

* Sidon., viii., 6, quoted by Lingard, i., p. 73.

more correct.* Respecting the manner of their coming and their first proceedings in the island we find two sets of traditions, those of the British, and those of the Saxon writers, which vary in many important particulars. According to the former, the two Jutish leaders, Hengist and Horsa, being banished from their native country, and wandering about with their followers in three vessels in quest of new seats, were invited by Vortigern, the British king before mentioned, to assist him against the Scots and Picts; and in reward for the services which he had rendered, Hengist and his followers were presented with the Isle of Thanet for a settlement, which at that time was separated by a broad estuary from the rest of Kent.† Hengist now sent over to his native country for re-enforcements, and also caused his daughter Rowena, who was celebrated for her beauty, to be conveyed to the land of his adoption. At a great feast given by the Saxons, Vortigern beheld Rowena, received from her hands the wassail cup, and, captivated by her charms, renounced Christianity for her sake, and ceded to Hengist the remainder of Kent in return for her hand. His indignant subjects now deposed Vortigern, and placed his son Vortimer on the throne, who defeated Hengist in three great battles, and compelled him to retire for some years from Britain. Rowena having contrived to poison Vortimer, Vortigern again ascended the throne, and recalled his father-in-law Hengist; but as the Britons refused to reinstate him in his possessions, a conference of 300 of the chiefs of each nation was appointed to be held at Stonehenge in order to settle the points in dispute. In the midst of the discussion Hengist suddenly exclaimed to his followers, "Nimath eowre seaxas" (take your knives), and 299 Britons fell dead upon the floor. Vortigern alone was spared, for whose ransom three provinces, afterward known as Essex, Sussex, and Middlesex, were demanded. Over these Hengist reigned, and was succeeded by his son Ochta.

In this narrative British and Roman traditions are confounded, together with the old Saxon Saga of the manner in which the Saxons gained possession of Thuringia. The principal assertion of the narrative, that Hengist received the three provinces mentioned as the ransom of Vortigern, is the least true of all, as they did not fall under the Saxon dominion till a much later period. These stories seem to have been invented by the Welsh authors in order to palliate the weak resistance made at first by their countrymen, and to account for the rapid progress and licentious devastations of the Saxons.

§ 5. The accounts of the conquerors themselves, as recorded in

* The invasion took place in the first year of the reign of the Emperor Marcian, which corresponds to A.D. 450.

† See Notes and Illustrations (B).

the Saxon Chronicle, and by Beda and others, are more to be relied upon.* According to these authorities, Hengist and Horsa, two Jutish leaders, and descendants of Woden, landed with the crews of three ships at Ypwines-fleet (Ebbes Fleet) in Kent in the year 450, in compliance with a request made by Vortigern to the *athelings* or chiefs of the Saxons, for aid against the Picts and Scots, who had already advanced into Lincolnshire. After an easy triumph the victorious Jutes invited their countrymen beyond the sea to come and take possession of a fertile island, which the sloth and cowardice of the inhabitants rendered them unable to defend. A fleet of 16 sail immediately brought over a large body of warriors; to whom and to the former band, as a reward for their past services, and as a gage for their future exertions in defense of the island, the Britons assigned settlements in Kent. The story of Rowena is adverted to, but only as a British tradition. Several battles were subsequently fought. In the battle of Ægeles-ford, the present Aylesford (A.D. 455), Horsa was slain: according to Beda, the monument of Horsa was still to be seen in his time in the eastern part of Kent; and two miles north of Aylesford, at a place called Horsted, a collection of flint-stones is still pointed out as the tomb of Horsa. Two years afterward (A.D. 457) another great battle was fought between the Saxons and Britons at Creccanford (Crayford) in Kent, when the Saxons, led by Hengist and his son Eric, surnamed Æsc, or the Ash, gained a signal victory. The Britons were completely driven out of Kent, and Hengist and his son assumed the kingly power. Hengist died in the 40th year after his arrival in Britain, and was succeeded by Eric, who reigned 24 years, and won more territory from the Britons. He was the founder of the dynasty of the Æscings, or Ashings,† sons of the Ashtree, the name given to the kings of Kent. Ethelbert, fourth in descent from Æsc, who began to reign in A.D. 568, was the first Christian king in England, and one of the most powerful princes of his time; but the Kentish kingdom soon afterward sank into obscurity.

§ 6. *Second settlement of the German invaders*, A.D. 477.—In the year 477, and therefore during the lifetime of Hengist, Ella

* The most recent English historians, Lappenberg, Sir Francis Palgrave, and Kemble, regard the whole account of the Anglo-Saxon conquest as of no historical value, and maintain that we have no real history of the Anglo-Saxons till their conversion to Christianity, 150 years later. Hengist and Horsa, it is said, are mythical personages, Hengist (*Hengst*) and Horsa (*Ross*) being the Teutonic names for stallion and horse. There are, however, good reasons for believing the commonly-received account of the conquest to be based upon historical facts. See Dr. Guest in the Proceedings of the Archæological Institute for 1849.

† The termination *-ing* is the sign of the Anglo-Saxon patronymic.

(Ælla), with his three sons, Cymen, Wlencing, and Cissa, landed with a body of Saxons from three ships at the place afterward called Cymen's Ora, upon the eastern side of Chichester harbor in Sussex; but the Britons were not expelled till defeated in many battles by their warlike invaders. After the capture of the old Roman town of Anderida, or Andredes-ceaster (Pevensey), in 490, when the whole British garrison was put to the sword, Ella assumed the title of king of the *South-Sexe* or *Sussex*, and extended his dominion over the modern county of Sussex and a great part of Surrey. Ella is said to have died between 514 and 519, and was succeeded by his son Cissa; in whose line the kingdom of Sussex remained for a long period, though we know not even the name of any of his successors. The capital of this kingdom was Chichester, which derives its name from Cissa (Cissa-ceaster, the chester or city of Cissa). To these German invaders is due the division of Sussex into *rapes*, which again are divided into *hundreds*.

§ 7. *Third settlement of the German invaders*, A.D. 495.—The third body of German invaders were, like the last, also Saxons. They landed in 495 under the command of Cerdic and his son Cynric, at a place called Cerdic's Ora, which was probably at the mouth of the Itchin River along the eastern side of the Southampton Water. None of the invaders met with such vigorous resistance, or exerted such valor and perseverance in pushing their conquests. Cerdic did not make much progress till six years later, after calling in from Germany the aid of Port; from whom the town of Portsmouth is said to derive its name, as being the place where Port landed and defeated the Britons. In 514 Cerdic was re-enforced by the arrival of his nephews, Stuf and Wihtgar, who are also represented as Jutish leaders. Cerdic's power now became more formidable; many districts were conquered, and among them the Isle of Wight, which Cerdic bestowed on his nephews. It was not, however, till his great victory over the Britons at Cerdices-ford (or Charford, in Hampshire) in 519 that Cerdic assumed the royal title and erected the kingdom of the *West-Sexe* or *Wessex*. Cerdic's farther progress toward the west was checked by a great defeat which he received in the following year at Mount Badon* from Arthur, prince of the Damnonii, whose heroic valor now sustained the declining fate of his country. This is that Arthur so much celebrated in the songs of British bards, and whose military achievements have been blended with so many fables as even to give occasion for entertaining a

* Mount Badon is usually identified with Bath; but Dr. Guest adduces strong reasons for believing it to be Badbury in Dorsetshire. (*Ut supra*, p. 63.)

doubt of his real existence. But poets, though they disfigure the most certain history by their fictions, and use strange liberties with truth where they are the sole historians, as among the Britons, have commonly some foundation for their wildest exaggerations.

Cerdic died in 534, leaving his dominions to his son Cynric, who ruled till his death in 560, and considerably extended his kingdom, the capital of which was Winton-ceaster, or Winchester, the ancient Venta Belgarum. Cynric was succeeded by his son Ceawlin.

§ 8. *Fourth settlement of the German invaders*, A.D. 527.—These invaders were also Saxons. They founded the kingdom of the *East-Sexe* or *Essex*, to which the *Middle-Sexe* or *Middlesex* also belonged. Æscevine or Ercemvine was the first king of Essex; but his son Sleda, who married a daughter of Ethelbert of Kent, appears as a subject of his father-in-law; and Essex, though styled a kingdom, seems always to have been subject to the neighboring kings.

§ 9. *Fifth settlement of the German invaders.*—The four preceding invasions had been made by the Jutes and Saxons; but the next two settlements consist of Angles. Toward the middle or end of the 6th century, for the exact date is unknown, some Angles, apparently divided into two tribes, the *North-Folk* and the *South-Folk*, founded the kingdom of East Anglia, comprising the modern counties of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, and parts of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire. Hardly any thing is known of the history of East Anglia. Uffa is said to have been the first king, and his descendants were styled Uffingas, just as the race of Kentish kings were called Æscingas.

§ 10. *Sixth Settlement of the German invaders, about* A.D. 547.—The country to the north of the Humber had been early separated into two British states, namely, Deifyr (Deora rice), extending from the Humber to the Tyne, and Berneich (Beorna rice), lying between the Tyne and the Forth. These names, afterward Latinized into *Deira* and *Bernicia*, were retained till a late period. The two countries were separated by a vast forest occupying the district between the Tyne and the Tees, or the modern bishopric of Durham. According to some traditions, Hengist had penetrated as far as these countries, and founded states there for his son Ochta, and for Ebusa the son of Horsa; but it seems more probable that his expeditions were not carried beyond Lincolnshire. It can not be doubted, however, that the Angles were settled in parts of Northumbria at an early period; though it was not till the arrival of Ida, who landed at Flamborough Head in 547, with a powerful body of Anglian warriors, that the Angles obtained the su-

premacy in the north of the island. Ida became King of Bernicia, and transmitted his power to his son; and a separate Anglian kingdom was founded in Deira by Ella. These two kingdoms remained for some years in a state of hostility with one another; but they were united in the person of Ethelfrith or Ædelfrid, grandson of Ida, who had married a daughter of Ella, and who expelled her infant brother Edwin. It was not, however, till the accession of Edwin in 617 that the united kingdoms seem to have assumed the name of Northumbria, which was long the most powerful of the Anglo-Saxon states.

§ 11. The country to the west of East Anglia and Deira was known by the name of the *March* or boundary, and was conquered by Anglian chieftains, who were for some time subject to the kings of Northumbria. It was erected into an independent state by Penda about 626, under the name of the *March* or *Mercia*, which was subsequently extended to the Severn, and comprised the whole of the centre of England. It was divided by the Trent into North and South Mercia.

§ 12. Thus after a century and a half was gradually established in Britain what has been called the Heptarchy, or seven Saxon kingdoms, namely, Kent, Sussex, Wessex, Essex, East Anglia, Mercia, and Northumbria. But this term is incorrect: there were never exactly seven independent kingdoms coexistent; and if the smaller and dependent ones are reckoned, the number must be considerably increased. The Britons, or ancient Celtic inhabitants, had been driven into the western parts of the island, and formed several small states. In the extreme southwest lay *Damnonia*, called also *West Wales*, the kingdom of Arthur, occupying at first the present counties of Cornwall and Devonshire, but limited at a later period, after the separation of Cernau, or Cornwall, to Dyvnaint, or Devonshire. In Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Dorsetshire, which had been occupied by the Saxons at an early period, a large native population still maintained its ground, as was likewise the case in Devonshire long after its occupation by the Saxons; whence the inhabitants of that district obtained the name of the "Welsh kind." *Cambria*, or *Wales*, was divided into several small kingdoms or principalities. The name of Welsh (*Wälsch*), it may be observed, is the Saxon term for foreigners, and is still applied by the Germans to the Italians. The history of the Celts, who dwelt in *Cumbria*, to the north of Wales, is involved in obscurity. Cumbria, or Cumberland, properly so called, included, besides the present county, Westmoreland and Lancashire, and extended into Northumbria, probably as far as the modern Leeds. Caerleol, or Carlisle, was its chief city. North of Cumbria, between the two Roman walls, and to the east of the kingdom of



Map of Britain, showing the Settlements of the Anglo-Saxons.

Bernicia, were situated two other British kingdoms: *Reged*, in the southern portion of the district, nearly identical perhaps with Annandale, in Dumfriesshire; and *Strathclyde*, embracing the counties of Dumbarton, Renfrew, and Dumfries, and probably also those of Peebles, Selkirk, and Lanark. These kingdoms were sometimes united under one chief, or Pendragon, called also Tyern, or *tyrannus*, who, like other British princes, regarded himself as the successor, and even as the descendant, of Constantine or Maximus.

Besides those Britons who found shelter in these western and mountainous regions from the fury of the Saxon invaders, great numbers of them, under the conduct of their priests and chieftains,

abandoned altogether their native shores, and settled in Armorica, on the western coast of France, which from them derived its subsequent name of Bretagne, or Brittany.

Nothing can more evidently show the completeness of the conquest made by the Anglo-Saxons than the fact that their language forms to this day the staple of our own; but with regard to their treatment of the conquered land, and their relations toward the natives, we are almost entirely in the dark. It is usually stated that the Saxons either exterminated the original population, or drove it into the western parts of the island; but there are good reasons for believing that this was not completely the case; and we may conclude from the Welsh traditions, and from the number of Celtic words still existing in the English language, that a considerable number of the Celtic inhabitants still remained upon the soil as the slaves or subjects of their conquerors.*

§ 13. To detail the obscure and often doubtful history of the several Anglo-Saxon states would afford neither amusement nor instruction, and we shall therefore content ourselves with selecting the more remarkable events that occurred down to the time when all the kingdoms were united under the authority of Egbert. The dignity of *Bretwalda*, that is, supreme commander or emperor of Britain, which was often the subject of contention among the different Anglo-Saxon sovereigns, affords some slight bond of connection to their histories, and it is to this point that we shall first direct our attention.†

The institution of a *Bretwalda* among the Anglo-Saxons was probably neither derived from their native customs, nor an assumption of the Roman imperial power before exercised in the island, but rather a measure sometimes adopted from the necessity of uniting under a common chief against the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots. The dignity was perhaps an elective one. The first who held the office, according to Beda, was Ella, king of the South Saxons; but we know not on what account, nor by what means, he obtained the dignity. Ceawlin, King of the West Saxons, or Wessex, the grandson of Cerdic, was the second *Bretwalda*. The Æscing, Ethelbert of Kent, disputed the title with him, but was overthrown in a great battle at Wibbandun (Wimbledon in Surrey). Ceawlin was a conqueror, and united many districts to his kingdom; but from some unknown cause, the termination of his reign was singularly unprosperous. His own subjects, and

* This subject is more fully discussed in the Notes and Illustrations (C).

† The existence of the Bretwaldas, at least in the earlier times, is disputed by Mr. Hallam and Mr. Kemble. But they are expressly mentioned by Beda, who calls their dignity *ducatus* or leadership, in the Saxon Chronicle, where these princes are termed Bretwaldas, and in charters.

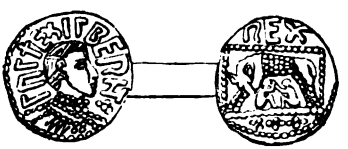
even his own relations, united against him with the Britons and Scots; he was defeated in a great battle at Wodnesbeorg, in the year 591, and died in exile two years afterward.

§ 14. After the expulsion of Ceawlin, Ethelbert of Kent obtained the dignity of *Bretwalda*, to which he had for so many years aspired. The most memorable event of his reign was the introduction of Christianity among the Anglo-Saxons, for the reception of which faith the mind of Ethelbert had been prepared through his marriage with the Christian princess Bertha, daughter of Caribert, King of Paris. But the immediate cause of its introduction was a casual incident which occurred at Rome. It happened that Gregory, who, under the title of the Great, afterward occupied the papal chair, had observed in the market-place of Rome three Saxon youths exposed to sale, whom the Roman merchants, in their trading voyages to Britain, had bought of their mercenary parents.* Struck with the beauty of their fair complexions and blooming countenances, Gregory asked to what country they belonged; and being told they were *Angles*, he replied that they ought more properly to be denominated *angels:* it were a pity that the prince of darkness should enjoy so fair a prey, and that so beautiful a frontispiece should cover a mind destitute of internal grace and righteousness. Inquiring farther concerning the name of their province, he was informed that it was Deira, a district of Northumbria. "Deira," replied he, "that is good! They are called to the mercy of God from his anger (de ira). But what is the name of the king of that province?" He was told it was Ælla, or Alla. "Allelujah!" cried he; "we must endeavor that the praises of God be sung in their country." Moved by these allusions, which appeared to him so happy, he determined to undertake himself a mission into Britain, and, having obtained the Pope's approbation, prepared for the journey; but his popularity at home was so great, that the Romans, unwilling to expose him to such dangers, opposed his design; and he was obliged for the present to lay aside all farther thoughts of executing that pious purpose.

After his accession to the pontificate, Gregory, anxious to convert the British Saxons, pitched on Augustine, a Roman monk, and sent him, with forty associates, to preach the gospel in this island. These missionaries, terrified with the danger which might attend their proposing a new doctrine to so fierce a people, of whose language they were ignorant, stopped some time in France, and sent back Augustine to lay the hazards and difficulties before

* The celebrated story is told by Beda (ii., 89), and is copied from him, with slight variations, by all other medieval writers. It is related more fully and accurately by Mr. Stanley (Historical Memorials of Canterbury, p. 7, *seq.*) than by any other modern writer.

the Pope, and crave his permission to desist from the undertaking. But Gregory exhorted them to persevere in their purpose; and Augustine, on his arrival in Kent in the year 597, found the danger much less than he had apprehended. Ethelbert, already well disposed toward the Christian faith, assigned him a habitation in the Isle of Thanet, and soon after admitted him to a conference. Augustine, encouraged by his favorable reception, and seeing now a prospect of success, proceeded with redoubled zeal to preach the gospel to the Kentish Saxons. Numbers were converted and baptized, and the king himself was persuaded to submit to the same rite. Augustine was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury, was endowed by Gregory with authority over all the British churches, and received the pall, a badge of ecclesiastical honor, from Rome. Christianity was soon afterward introduced into the kingdom of Essex, whose sovereign, Sæberht, or Sebert, was Ethelbert's nephew; and, through the influence of Ethelbert, Mellitus, who had been the apostle of Christianity in Essex, was appointed to the bishopric of London, where a church dedicated to St. Paul was erected, on the site of a former temple of Diana. Sebert also erected on Thorney Island, which was formed by the branches of a small river falling into the Thames, a church dedicated to St. Peter, which is now Westminster Abbey. In Kent the see of Rochester was founded by Augustine, and bestowed upon Justus.



Silver Penny of Ethelbert II., King of Kent, and Bretwalda.
Obverse: EDILBERHT . . .; bust right. Reverse: REX; wolf and twins. (This coin, if genuine, is an evident imitation of those of Rome: compare the coin of Carausius, p. 12.)

§ 15. The marriage of Ethelbert with Bertha, and, much more, his embracing Christianity, begat a connection of his subjects with the French, Italians, and other nations on the Continent, and tended to reclaim them from that gross ignorance and barbarity in which all the Saxon tribes had been hitherto involved. Ethelbert also enacted, with the consent of the states of his kingdom, a body of laws, the first written laws promulgated by any of the northern conquerors; and his reign was in every respect glorious to himself and beneficial to his people. He governed the kingdom of Kent 50 years, and, dying in 616, left the succession to his son Eadbald. But he possessed neither the abilities nor the authority of his father; and the Saxon princes refused to acknowledge him as *Bretwalda*. That dignity passed to Redwald,

King of the East Angles, who holds the fourth place in the series of these princes. The protection afforded by Redwald to young Edwin, the rightful heir of the kingdom of Deira, brought him into collision with Ædelfrid, King of Northumbria. It has been already mentioned that Ædelfrid had united Deira with Bernicia by seizing upon it at the death of Ella, whose daughter he had married, and expelling her infant brother Edwin. Redwald invaded the kingdom of Northumbria, and fought a battle with Ædelfrid on the banks of the Idle in Nottinghamshire, in which that monarch was defeated and killed; his sons, Eanfrid, Oswald, and Oswy, yet infants, were carried into Scotland, and Edwin obtained possession of the crown.

§ 16. Edwin subsequently became the fifth *Bretwalda*, and all the Anglo-Saxon states, with the exception of Kent, acknowledged his supremacy. He distinguished himself by his influence over the other kingdoms, and by the strict execution of justice in his own dominions. He reclaimed his subjects from the licentious life to which they had been accustomed; and it was a common saying that during his reign a woman or child might openly carry every where a purse of gold without any danger of violence or robbery. There is a remarkable instance transmitted to us of the affection borne him by his servants. Cuichelme, King of Wessex, was his enemy; but, finding himself unable to maintain open war against so gallant and powerful a prince, he determined to use treachery against him, and he employed one Eumer for that criminal purpose. The assassin, having obtained admittance by pretending to deliver a message from Cuichelme, drew his dagger and rushed upon the king. Lilla, an officer of his army, seeing his master's danger, and having no other means of defense, interposed with his own body between the king and Eumer's dagger, which was pushed with such violence, that, after piercing Lilla, it even wounded Edwin; but before the assassin could renew his blow he was dispatched by the king's attendants.

This event, as well as the birth of a daughter about the same time, is said to have hastened Edwin's conversion to Christianity. After the death of his first consort, a Mercian princess, Edwin had married Ethelburga, the daughter of Ethelbert, King of Kent. This princess, emulating the glory of her mother Bertha, who had been the instrument for converting her husband and his people to Christianity, carried Paulinus, a learned bishop, along with her; and besides stipulating a toleration for the exercise of her own religion, which was readily granted her, she used every effort to persuade the king to embrace it. Her exertions, seconded by those of Paulinus, were successful. Edwin was baptized on Easter-day, A.D. 627, at York, in a wooden church hastily erected

for the occasion, and dedicated to St. Peter. Subsequently York was erected into an archbishopric; Paulinus was appointed the first northern metropolitan, and a handsome church of stone was built for his cathedral. From hence, as a centre, Christianity was propagated, though not without some vicissitudes, in the neighboring Anglo-Saxon countries.

§ 17. Evil days were now approaching for Northumbria. Edwin was slain in battle by Penda, the powerful king of Mercia. Northumbria was divided into two separate kingdoms, and the people, with their monarchs, relapsed into paganism. At length, in 634, Oswald, the son of Ædelfrid, again united the kingdoms of Northumbria, and restored the Christian religion in his dominions. Oswald was also acknowledged as the sixth *Bretwalda*, and reigned, according to the expression of Beda, over the four nations of Britain—the Angles, the Britons, the Picts, and the Scots. His reign, however, was short. He became involved in a war with Penda, A.D. 642, and, like his brother, was defeated and slain. His corpse was treated with great brutality by Penda; but he was canonized by the Church as a saint and martyr; his scattered members were collected as relics, and were held to be endowed with miraculous powers. Penda penetrated as far as Bamborough, the residence of the Northumbrian princes on the coast of Yorkshire, but after a fruitless siege was obliged to retire and evacuate the kingdom.

§ 18. On the death of Oswald his brother Oswy succeeded to his kingdom and the dignity of *Bretwalda*. He defeated and slew the formidable Penda in a great battle fought near Leeds in 656.

The reign of Oswy was rendered memorable by a most destructive pestilence called the *yellow plague*, which, commencing in 664, ravaged the whole island twenty years, with the exception of the Highlands of Scotland. Oswy died in 670, and with him expired for a time the dignity of *Bretwalda*.

It is unnecessary to pursue the obscure and uninteresting reigns of Oswy's successors in the kingdom of Northumbria, which, for the most part, present little more than a series of seditions, usurpations, and murders. Agriculture was neglected, the land was desolated by famine and pestilence, and, to fill up the measure of its calamities, the Northmen landed in 793 on Lindisfarne, and in the following year at Egferths-Minster (probably Wearmouth), and plundered and destroyed the churches and monasteries at those places. After the death of Ethelred (A.D. 795) universal anarchy prevailed in Northumbria; and the people, having by so many fatal revolutions lost all attachment to their government and princes, were well prepared for subjection to a foreign yoke.

This was finally imposed upon them by Egbert, King of Wessex; to the history of which kingdom, as finally swallowing up all the rest, we must now hasten.

§ 19. The history of the kings of Wessex presents nothing remarkable till we arrive at the reign of Ina, who ascended the throne in 688, and who was remarkable for his justice, policy, and prudence. He treated the Britons of Somersetshire and the adjoining districts (the *Wealas*, or Welsh kind), whom he had subdued, with a humanity hitherto unknown to the Saxon conquerors. He allowed the proprietors to retain possession of their lands, encouraged marriages and alliances between them and his ancient subjects, and gave them the privilege of being governed by the same laws. These laws he augmented and ascertained; and though he was disturbed by some insurrections at home, his long reign of thirty-seven years may be regarded as one of the most glorious and most prosperous reigns of the Anglo-Saxon princes. In the decline of his age he made a pilgrimage to Rome, where he shut himself up in a cloister. The year of his death is unknown.

Egbert was the fourth in descent from Ingild, Ina's brother; and, being a young man of the most promising hopes, gave great jealousy to Brithric, the reigning prince, both because he seemed by his birth better entitled to the crown, and because he had acquired to an eminent degree the affections of the people. Egbert, sensible of his danger from the suspicions of Brithric, secretly withdrew into France, where he was well received by Charlemagne. By living in the court and serving in the armies of that prince, the most able and most generous that had appeared in Europe during several ages, he acquired those accomplishments which afterward enabled him to make such a shining figure on the throne.

It was not long ere Egbert had opportunities of displaying his natural and acquired talents. Brithric was accidentally killed by partaking of a cup of poison which his wife Eadburga, daughter of Offa, King of Mercia, had mixed for a young nobleman who had acquired her husband's friendship, and had on that account become the object of her jealousy. Egbert was now recalled from France by the nobility of Wessex, and ascended the throne of his ancestors in the last year of the 8th century. The royal families had at this period become extinct in all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms except that of Wessex, and Egbert was the sole descendant of those first conquerors who subdued Britain, and who enhanced their authority by claiming a pedigree from Woden, the supreme divinity of their ancestors. But, though his lineage might have afforded a pretense to make attempts on the neighboring Saxons, he

gave them for some time no disturbance, and rather chose to turn his arms against the Britons in Cornwall and Wales, whom he defeated in several battles. He was recalled from these conquests by an invasion of his dominions by Beornwulf, King of Mercia. But in order to explain that event, and to close the history of the other Anglo-Saxon states, we must here take a retrospective glance at that of Mercia.

§ 20. After the death of Penda the history of Mercia presents little of importance till we arrive at the long reign of Ethelbald (716–755). That sovereign appears to have possessed as much power as any of the Bretwaldas, though he did not enjoy that title. He distinguished himself by many successful conflicts with the Britons, against whom he united under his standard East Anglia, Kent, Essex, and for a while also Wessex. At one period he asserted his supremacy over all England south of the Humber, and in a charter of the year 736 signs himself "King of Britain." But he was subsequently defeated in two battles against the West Saxons; in the latter of which he fell (A.D. 755). Ethelbald, after a short period of usurpation by Beornred, was succeeded by Offa, the most celebrated of all the Mercian princes. After gaining several victories over the other Anglo-Saxon princes, this monarch turned his arms against the Britons of Cambria, whom he repeatedly defeated. He settled all the level country to the east of the mountains, between the Wye and the Severn, with Anglo-Saxons; for whose protection he constructed the mound or rampart between the mouth of the Dee and that of the Wye, known as Offa's Dike, traces of which may be still discerned. The King of Mercia was now become so considerable, that the Emperor Charlemagne entered into an alliance and friendship with him. That emperor being a great lover of learning and learned men, Offa, at his desire, sent Alcuin to him, a clergyman much celebrated for his knowledge, who received great honors from Charlemagne, and even became his preceptor in the sciences. Charlemagne, on his side, made Offa many costly presents, which seem to have chiefly consisted of the spoils which that emperor had taken from the Huns. But the glory and successes of Offa were stained by the treacherous murder of Ethelbert, King of the East Angles, while sojourning at his court, and by his violent seizing of that kingdom in the year 792. Overcome by remorse, Offa endeavored to atone for his crime by liberality to the Church. He gave the tenth of his goods to the clergy, and engaged to pay the sovereign pontiff a yearly donation for the support of an English college at Rome: for which purpose he imposed the tax of a penny on each house possessed of thirty pence a year. Offa's liberality, however, was perhaps only a

confirmation of that of Ina, King of the West Saxons, who is also said to have founded a school at Rome, and to have laid for its support a tax of one penny, under the name of *Rom-feoh*, or Rome-scot, on every house in the kingdom. This imposition, being afterward levied on all England, was commonly denominated *Peter's-pence:* and though conferred at first as a gift, was afterward claimed as a tribute by the Roman pontiff.

Offa died in 796. The reigns of his successors on the Mercian throne, who were all either murdered or violently deposed, deserve not to arrest our attention. Mercia, instead of continuing to be the leading state among the Anglo-Saxons, was, through its internal dissensions, falling fast into decay, and was thus easily reduced by the arms of Egbert, to whose history we must now return.

§ 21. Egbert had already possessed the throne of Wessex nearly a quarter of a century, when the invasion of his dominions before referred to, by Beornwulf, King of Mercia, took place. Egbert defeated the invaders, and subdued with facility the tributary kingdoms of Kent and Sussex, while the East Angles, from their hatred to the Mercian government, immediately rose in arms, and put themselves under the protection of Egbert. In order to engage the Mercians more easily to submission, he allowed Wiglaf, their countryman, to retain the title of king, while he himself exercised the real power of sovereignty. The anarchy which prevailed in Northumbria, as already related, tempted him to carry still farther his victorious arms; and the inhabitants, unable to resist his power, and desirous of possessing some established form of government, were forward, on his first appearance, to send deputies, who submitted to his authority, and swore allegiance to him as their sovereign. Egbert, however, still allowed to Northumbria, as he had done to Mercia and East Anglia, the power of electing a king, who paid him tribute and was dependent on him. These three subordinate kingdoms remained under their own sovereigns, as vassals of Egbert, till they were swallowed up by the Danish invasion. Egbert and his successors, down to Alfred the Great, commonly assumed only the title of kings of Wessex, and Alfred's son, Edward the Elder, seems to have been the first who regularly adopted the title of "Rex Anglorum," or King of the English.

Thus all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms were nominally united into one state, nearly 400 years after the first arrival of the Saxons in Britain. This event is placed in the year 827.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
450. First arrival of the Saxons in England under Hengist and Horsa.
477. Ella lands in Sussex.
495. Cerdic lands in Hampshire.
519. Cerdic founds the kingdom of Wessex.
527. The Saxons land in Essex.
547. The Angles under Ida settle in Bernicia.
597. Augustine preaches Christianity in Kent.
617. Kingdom of Northumbria under Edwin.
626. Kingdom of Mercia founded by Penda.
627. Conversion of Edwin. Church at York.
664. Yellow plague.
793. The Northmen land on Lindisfarne.
800. Accession of Egbert in Wessex.
827. Egbert unites all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE FRISIANS TOOK PART IN THE SAXON INVASION OF BRITAIN.

This appears from the following facts: 1. Procopius says (Bell. Goth., iv., 20) that Britain was inhabited in his time (the 6th century) by three races, the Angles, Frisians, and Britons. The omission of the Saxons, and the substitution of the Frisians, can be accounted for only on the supposition that *Frisians* and *Saxons* were convertible terms. 2. The traditions of the Frisians and Flemings claim Hengist as their ancestor, and relate that he was banished from their country. 3. In old German poetry it is expressly stated that the Frisians were formerly called Saxons. 4. Many English words and some grammatical forms are more closely allied to those of the old Friesic than to those of any other German dialect. For instance, the English sign of the infinitive mode, *to*, is found in the old Friesic, and not in any other German dialect. On this subject see Davies "On the Races of Lancashire," in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" for 1855.

B. THE ISLE OF THANET.

The Isle of Thanet was in Anglo-Saxon times, and long afterward, separated from the rest of Kent by a broad strait, called by Bede the *Wantsumus*. The Stour, instead of being a narrow stream, as at present, was then a broad river, opening into a wide estuary between Sandwich and Deal, in the direction of Pegwell Bay. Ships coming from France and Germany sailed up this estuary, and through the river, out at the other side by Reculver. Ebb's Fleet is the name given to a farm-house on a strip of high ground rising out of Minster Marsh (Stanley, Memorials of Canterbury, p. 13). *Thanet* is the German name of the island. The Welsh name was *Ruim*, which probably signified a foreland, and is still preserved in the compound *Ramsgate*. In East Kent the gaps in the line of cliff which lead down to the shore are called gates; hence *Ramsgate* is the gate or pass leading into *Ruim* (Guest, in Proceedings of the Archæological Institute for 1849, p. 32).

C. CELTIC WORDS IN THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE.

Mr. Davies, in the valuable paper already referred to, remarks, "The stoutest assertor of a pure Anglo-Saxon or Norman descent is convicted by the language of his daily life of belonging to a race that partakes largely of Celtic blood. If he calls for his *coat* (W. *cota*, Germ. *rock*), or tells of the *basket* of fish he has caught (W. *basgawd*, Germ. *korb*), or the *cart* he employs on his land (W. *cart*, from *cair*, a drag or sledge, Germ. *wagen*), or of the *pranks* of his youth or the *prancing* of his horse (W. *prank*, a trick; *prancio*, to frolic), or declares that he was *happy* when a gownsman at Oxford (W. *hap*, fortune, chance; Germ. *glück*; W. *gwn*), or that his servant is *pert* (W. *pert*, spruce, dapper, insolent), or, descending to the language of the vulgar, he affirms that such assertions are *balderdash*, and the claim a *sham* (W. *baldorddus*, idle, prating; *siom*, from *shom*, a deceit, a sham), he is unconsciously maintaining the truth he would deny. Like the M. Jourdain of Molière, who had been talking prose all his life without knowing it, he has been speaking very good Celtic without any suspicion of the fact."

A long list of Celtic words in the English language will be found in Mr. Davies's essay, and also in another valuable paper by the late Mr. Garnett, likewise published in the "Transactions of the Philological Society" (vol. i., p. 171). It appears that a considerable proportion of the English words relating to the ordinary arts of life, such as agriculture, carpentry, and in general indoor and outdoor service, come from the Celtic. The following, which might be multiplied almost indefinitely, may serve as samples:

English.	*Welsh.*
basket,	basgawd.
bran,	brân (a skin of wheat).
crock, crockery,	crochan (a pot).
drill,	rhill (a row).
flannel,	gwlanen (from gwlan, wool).
gown,	gwn (a robe).
hem,	hem (a border).
lath,	llath (a rod).
mattock,	matog.
pail,	paeol.
peck,	peg.
pitcher,	piser (a jug).
ridge,	rhic, rhig.
solder,	sawduriaw (to join, cement).
tackle,	tacl (instrument, tool).

Mr. Davies also calls attention to the fact that in the Lancashire dialect (and the same holds good of other dialects) many low, burlesque, or obscure words can be traced to a Celtic source, and this circumstance, together with the fact that no words connected with law, or government, or the luxuries of life, belong to this class, is distinct evidence that the Celtic race was held in a state of dependence or inferiority.



The Raising of Lazarus. Sculpture of the IXth or Xth century from Selsey, now in Chichester Cathedral.

CHAPTER III.

THE ANGLO-SAXONS FROM THE UNION OF ENGLAND UNDER EGBERT TILL THE REIGN OF CANUTE THE DANE.

§ 1. State of the Kingdom. § 2. Invasion of the Danes. Death of Egbert. § 3. Reign of Ethelwolf. His Journey to Rome. § 4. Revolt of Ethelbald. § 5. Reigns of Ethelbald, Ethelbert, Ethelred. Continued Invasions of the Danes. § 6. Accession of Alfred. Successes of the Danes. Flight of Alfred. § 7. Alfred defeats the Danes. Their Settlement in East Anglia. The Danelagh. § 8. Wise Regulations of Alfred. New Danish War. Death of Alfred. § 9. His Character. His Love of Learning. § 10. His Policy and Legislation. § 11. Reign of Edward the Elder. § 12. Reign of Athelstane. His Conquests, Power, and foreign Connections. § 13. Reign of Edmund I. His Assassination. § 14. Reign of Edred. St. Dunstan; his Character and Power. § 15. Reign of Edwy. His Quarrel with St. Dunstan. § 16. Reign of Edgar. His good Fortune. § 17. Reign of Edward. His Assassination. § 18. Reign

of Ethelred II. Invasion of the Danes. Danegelt. § 19. Massacre of the Danes. § 20. Conquest of England by Sweyn. Flight of Ethelred. § 21. Death of Sweyn, and Return of Ethelred. Invasion of Canute. Death of Ethelred. § 22. Division of England between Canute and Edmond Ironside. Murder of the latter.

§ 1. EGBERT, A.D. 827–836.—Although England was not firmly cemented into one state under Egbert, as is usually represented, yet the power of this monarch and the union of so many provinces opened the prospect of future tranquillity; and it appeared more probable that the Anglo-Saxons would thenceforth become formidable to their neighbors, than be exposed to their inroads and devastations. Indeed in the following year Egbert led his victorious army into North Wales, laid waste the country as far as Snowdon, penetrated into Denbighshire, and reduced the Isle of Anglesey to subjection. Of all the territory that had been comprised in Roman Britain, Strathclyde and Cumbria alone were free from vassalage to the crown of Egbert. But these flattering views were soon overcast by the appearance of the Northmen, who during some centuries kept the Anglo-Saxons in perpetual disquietude, committed the most barbarous ravages upon them, and at last reduced them to grievous servitude.

§ 2. These pirates and freebooters inhabited the Scandinavian kingdoms of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden; and the hordes which plundered England were drawn from all parts of the Scandinavian peninsula. It was, however, chiefly the Danes who directed their attacks against the coasts of England; the Norwegians made their descents for the most part upon Scotland, the Hebrides, and Ireland; while the Swedes turned their arms against the eastern shores of the Baltic. These Scandinavians were in race and language closely connected with the Anglo-Saxons. The languages of all the Scandinavian nations differ only slightly from the dialects of the Germanic tribes; and both nations originally worshiped the same gods, and were distinguished by the same love of enterprise and freedom. But, while the Anglo-Saxons had long since abjured their ancient faith, and had acquired the virtues and vices of civilization, their Scandinavian kinsmen still remained in their savage independence, still worshiped Odin as their national god, and still regarded the plunder of foreign lands as their chief occupation and delight. In the ninth century they inspired the same terror which the Anglo-Saxons had done in the fifth. Led by the younger sons of royal houses, the Vikings* swarmed in all the harbors and rivers of the surrounding countries. Their course was marked by fire and bloodshed. Buildings sacred and profane were burnt to the ground; and great numbers of people were mur-

* *Viking* is in Danish a naval warrior, a pirate.

dered or dragged away into slavery. The terrified inhabitants fled at their approach, and beheld in them the judgment of God foretold in the prophets. Their national flag was the figure of a black raven, woven on a blood-red ground, from whose movements the Northmen augured victory or defeat. When it fluttered its wings, they believed that Odin gave them a sign of victory; but if the wings hung down, they imagined that the god would not prosper their arms. Their swords were longer and heavier than those of Anglo-Saxons, and their battle-axes are mentioned as formidable weapons.

These terrible Northmen appeared at the same time upon the coasts of England, France, and Russia. They wrested from the French monarch one of his fairest provinces, which was called Normandy after them; and they founded in Russia a dynasty which reigned over the country above 700 years. Their first appearance upon the English coasts is placed in the Saxon Chronicle under the year 787; but it was not till the latter part of Egbert's reign that they commenced their regular and systematic ravages of the country. At first they merely made brief and rapid descents upon the coasts, returning to their northern homes with the plunder they had gained; but they soon began to take up their abode in England for the winter, and renewed their devastations in the spring. While England was trembling at this new evil, Egbert, who alone was able to provide effectually against it, unfortunately died (A.D. 836), and left the government to his son Ethelwolf.

§ 3. ETHELWOLF, 836–858.—This prince had neither the abilities nor vigor of his father, and was better qualified for governing a convent than a kingdom. He began his reign with making a partition of his dominions, and delivering over to his eldest son, Athelstane, the newly conquered provinces of Essex, Kent, and Sussex. But no inconvenience seems to have arisen from this partition, as the continual terror of the Danish invasions prevented all domestic dissension. These incursions now became almost annual, and, from their sudden and unexpected nature, kept the English in continual alarm. The unsettled state of England hindered not Ethelwolf from making a pilgrimage to Rome, whither he carried his fourth and favorite son, Alfred, then only six years of age. He passed there a twelvemonth in exercises of devotion, and in acts of liberality to the Church. Besides giving presents to the more distinguished ecclesiastics, he made a perpetual grant of 300 *mancuses** a year to that see; one third to support the lamps of St. Peter's, another those of St. Paul's, a third to the Pope himself. But that Ethelwolf first established tithes in England, as is maintained by some writers, seems to be founded on a misinter-

* The *mancus* was a silver coin of about the weight of a half-crown.

pretation of some ancient charters. Tithes were most probably earlier instituted in this country; but Ethelwolf appears to have established the first poor-law, by imposing on every ten hides of land the obligation of maintaining one indigent person.

§ 4. On his return from Rome Ethelwolf married Judith, daughter of the French king, Charles the Bald, though she was then only twelve years of age; but on his landing in England he met with an opposition which he little looked for. His eldest son, Athelstane, being dead, Ethelbald, his second son, who had assumed the government, formed, in concert with many of the nobles, the project of excluding his father from a throne which his weakness and superstition seem to have rendered him so ill qualified to fill. The people were divided between the two princes, and a bloody civil war, joined to all the other calamities under which the English labored, appeared inevitable; when Ethelwolf had the facility to yield to the greater part of his son's pretensions. He made with him a partition of the kingdom; and taking to himself the eastern part, which was always at that time esteemed the least considerable, as well as the most exposed to invasion, he delivered over to Ethelbald the sovereignty of the western half.



Golden Ring of Ethelwolf in the British Museum. It is decorated with a bluish-black enamel, firmly incorporated into the metal by fusion.

§ 5. ETHELBALD, ETHELBERT, and ETHELRED, A.D. 858–871. —Ethelwolf died about 858. He was succeeded by his sons Ethelbald and Ethelbert, whose short reigns present nothing of importance. On the death of the latter, Ethelred, another son of Ethelwolf, ascended the throne in the year 866. Under these monarchs the Danes continued their ravages with renewed vigor, and penetrated into the very heart of the country. In the course of their devastations they defeated and took prisoner Edmund, the King of East Anglia (871), to whom they proposed that he should renounce the Christian faith and rule under their supremacy. But Edmund having rejected this proposal with scorn and horror, the Danes bound him naked to a tree, scourged and shot at him with arrows, and finally beheaded him. The constancy with which Edmund met his death caused him to be canonized as a saint and martyr: the place where his body was buried took the name of Bury St. Edmund's, and a splendid monastery was erected there in his honor.

§ 6. ALFRED, 871–901.—Ethelred died of a wound received in battle against the Danes (871), and was succeeded by his brother

Alfred. This monarch, who was born at Wantage in 849, and was now 22 years of age, gave very early marks of those great virtues and shining talents by which he saved his country from utter ruin and subversion. He distinguished himself, during the reign of his brother Ethelred, in several engagements against the Danes. His genius was first roused by the recital of Saxon poems: he soon learned to read those compositions, and proceeded thence to acquire the knowledge of the Latin tongue, in which he met with authors that better prompted his heroic spirit, and directed his generous views. Absorbed in these elegant pursuits, he regarded his accession to royalty rather as an object of regret than triumph; but, being called to the throne in preference to his brother's children, as well by the will of his father as by the vows of the whole nation and the urgency of public affairs, he exerted himself in the defense of his people.

The first seven years of his reign were spent in incessant struggles against the Danes, over whom he gained some victories; but fresh swarms of Northmen continually poured into the kingdom, and Alfred, overpowered by superior numbers, was at length obliged (878) to relinquish the ensigns of his dignity, to dismiss his servants, and to seek shelter in the meanest disguises from the pursuit and fury of his enemies. He concealed himself under a peasant's habit, and lived some time in the house of a neatherd, who had been intrusted with the care of some of his cows. The wife of the neatherd was ignorant of the condition of her royal guest; and observing him one day busy by the fireside in trimming his bow and arrows, she desired him to take care of some cakes which were toasting, while she was employed elsewhere in other domestic affairs. But Alfred, whose thoughts were otherwise engaged, neglected this injunction, and the good woman on her return, finding her cakes all burnt, rated the king very severely, and upbraided him that he always seemed very well pleased to eat her warm cakes, though he was thus negligent in toasting them.

§ 7. By degrees, Alfred, as he found the search of the enemy become more remiss, collected some of his retainers and retired into the centre of a bog formed by the stagnating waters of the Thone and Parret, in Somersetshire. He here found two acres of firm ground, and, building a habitation on them, rendered himself secure by its fortifications, and still more by the unknown and inaccessible roads which led to it, and by the forests and morasses with which it was every way environed. This place he called Æthelingay, or the Isle of Nobles; and it now bears the name of Athelney.* He thence made frequent and unexpected sallies upon

* A beautiful gold enameled jewel found at this spot, and now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, has the inscription "Ælfred mec heht gewur-

the Danes, who often felt the vigor of his arm, but knew not from what quarter the blow came. He subsisted himself and his followers by the plunder which he acquired; he procured them consolation by revenge; and from small successes he opened their minds to hope that, notwithstanding his present low condition, more important victories might at length attend his valor. But before he would assemble them in arms, or urge them to any attempt which, if unfortunate, might in their present despondency prove fatal, he resolved to inspect himself the situation of the enemy, and to judge of the probability of success. For this purpose he entered their camp under the disguise of a harper, or *glee-man*, and passed unsuspected through every quarter. He so entertained them with his music and facetious humors, that he met with a welcome reception, and was even introduced to the tent of Guthrum, their prince, where he remained some days. He remarked the supine security of the Danes, their contempt of the English, their negligence in foraging and plundering, and their dissolute wasting of what they gained by rapine and violence. Encouraged by these favorable appearances, he secretly sent emissaries to the most considerable of his subjects, and summoned them to a rendezvous, attended by their warlike followers, at Brixton, on the borders of Selwood Forest. The English, who had hoped to put an end to their calamities by servile submission, now found the insolence and rapine of the conqueror more intolerable than all past fatigues and dangers; and at the appointed day they joyfully resorted to their prince. He instantly conducted them to Ethandûn (perhaps Eddington, near Westbury), where the Danes were encamped; and, taking advantage of his previous knowledge of the place, he directed his attack against the most unguarded quarter of the enemy. The Danes, surprised to see an army of English, whom they considered as totally subdued, and still more astonished to hear that Alfred was at their head, made but a faint resistance, notwithstanding their superiority of number, and were soon put to flight with great slaughter. The remainder of the routed army, with their prince, was besieged by Alfred in a fortified camp to which they fled; but, being reduced to extremity by want and hunger, they had recourse to the clemency of the victor, and offered to submit on any conditions. The king gave them their lives, and even formed a scheme for converting them from mortal enemies into faithful subjects and confederates. He knew that the kingdom of East Anglia was totally desolated by the frequent inroads of the Danes, and he now proposed to repeople it by settling there Guthrum and his followers, who might serve him as

can" (Alfred ordered me to be wrought). According to the testimony of his biographer, Asser, Alfred encouraged goldsmiths.

a rampart against any future incursions of their countrymen. But, before he ratified these mild conditions with the Danes, he required that they should give him one pledge of their submission, and of their inclination to incorporate with the English, by declaring their conversion to Christianity. Guthrum and thirty of his officers had no aversion to the proposal, and, without much instruction, or argument, or conference, they were all admitted to baptism (A.D. 878). The king answered for Guthrum at the font, gave him the name of Athelstane, and received him as his adopted son. The success of this expedient seemed to correspond to Alfred's hopes, and the greater part of the Danes settled peaceably in their new quarters. The Danes had for some years occupied the towns of Derby, Leicester, Stamford, Lincoln, and Nottingham, and were thence called the *Fif* or *Five Burghers*. Alfred now ceded a considerable part of the kingdom of Mercia, retaining, however, the western portion, or country of the Hiwiccas. It would, however, be an error to suppose that the Danes became really the subjects of Alfred. On the contrary, they continued to form an independent state down to the latest times of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. The general boundary between the Danes and Saxons was the old Roman road called Watling Street, which ran from London across England to Chester and the Irish Channel, the province of the Danes lying to the north and east of that road, which was hence called *Danelagh*, the Danes' community. The Danes continually received fresh accessions of numbers from their own country, and were able to bid defiance to all the efforts of the Anglo-Saxon monarchs to reduce them to subjection.

§ 8. After the treaty with Guthrum, Alfred enjoyed tranquillity for some years. He employed this interval in restoring order to the state, which had been shaken by so many violent convulsions; in establishing civil and military institutions; in composing the minds of men to industry and justice; and in providing against the return of like calamities. After rebuilding the ruined cities, particularly London, which had been destroyed by the Danes in the reign of Ethelwolf, he established a regular militia for the defense of the kingdom. He increased his fleet both in number and strength, and trained his subjects in the practice as well of sailing as of naval action. He improved the construction of his vessels, which were higher, swifter, and steadier than those of the Danes, and nearly double the length, some of them having more than 60 rowers. A fleet of 120 ships of war was stationed upon the coast; and, being provided with warlike engines, as well as with expert seamen, both Frisians and English—for Alfred supplied the defects of his own subjects by engaging able foreigners in his service—maintained a superiority over those smaller bands with which En-

gland had so often been infested. But in the year 893 the northern provinces of France, into which Hasting, the famous Danish chief, had penetrated, being afflicted with a grievous famine, the Danes set sail from Boulogne with a powerful fleet under the command of Hasting, landed upon the coast of Kent, and began to commit the most destructive ravages. It would be tedious to narrate the events of this new Danish war, which occupied the attention of Alfred for the next few years. It is sufficient to relate that, after repeated defeats in different parts of the island, the small remains of the Danes either dispersed themselves among their countrymen in Northumberland and East Anglia, or had recourse again to the sea, where they exercised piracy under the command of Siegfrid, a Northumbrian; and that Alfred finally succeeded in restoring full tranquillity in England. He died (A.D. 901) in the vigor of his age and the full strength of his faculties, after a glorious reign of twenty-nine years and a half, in which he deservedly attained the appellation of Alfred the Great, and the title of Founder of the English Monarchy.

§ 9. The merit of this prince, both in private and public life, may with advantage be set in opposition to that of any monarch or citizen which the annals of any age or any nation can present us. His civil and his military virtues are almost equally the objects of our admiration; excepting only that the former, being more rare among princes, as well as more useful, seem chiefly to challenge our applause. Nature also, as if desirous that so bright a production of her skill should be set in the fairest light, had bestowed on him every bodily accomplishment, vigor of limbs, dignity of shape and air, with a pleasing, engaging, and open countenance. When Alfred came to the throne he found the nation sunk into the grossest ignorance and barbarism, proceeding from the continual disorders in the government, and from the ravages of the Danes. The monasteries were destroyed, the monks butchered or dispersed, their libraries burned; and thus the only seats of erudition in those ages were totally subverted. Alfred himself complains that on his accession he knew not one person south of the Thames who could so much as interpret the Latin service; and very few in the northern parts who had reached even that pitch of erudition. But this prince invited over the most celebrated scholars from all parts of Europe; he established schools every where for the instruction of his people; and he enjoined by law all freeholders possessing two hides of land, or more, to send their children to school for their instruction. The foundation, or, at least, the restoration, of the University of Oxford, has sometimes been ascribed to him, but for this pretension there seems to be no satisfactory evidence. But the most effectual ex-

pedient employed by Alfred for the encouragement of learning was his own example, and the assiduity with which, notwithstanding the multiplicity and urgency of his affairs, he employed himself in the pursuits of knowledge. He usually divided his time into three equal portions: one was employed in sleep and the refection of his body by diet and exercise; another in the dispatch of business; a third in study and devotion; and that he might more exactly measure the hours, he made use of burning tapers of equal length, which he fixed in lanterns, an expedient suited to that rude age, when the geometry of dialing and the mechanism of clocks and watches were totally unknown. And by such a regular distribution of his time, though he often labored under great bodily infirmities, this martial hero, who fought in person fifty-six battles by sea and land, was able, during a life of no extraordinary length, to acquire more knowledge, and even to compose more books, than most studious men, though blessed with the greatest leisure and application, have, in more fortunate ages, made the object of their uninterrupted industry. He translated into Saxon the histories of Orosius and of Bede; to the former of which he prefixed a description of Germany and the north of Europe, from the narratives of the travelers Wulfstan and Ohthere. He also executed a version of Boethius's "Consolation of Philosophy," besides several other translations which he either made or caused to be made from the Confessions of St. Augustine, St. Gregory's Pastoral Instructions, Dialogues, etc. Nor was he negligent in encouraging the more vulgar and mechanical arts. He invited from all quarters industrious foreigners to repeople his country, which had been desolated by the ravages of the Danes. He introduced and encouraged manufactures; and no inventor or improver of any ingenious art did he suffer to go unrewarded. He prompted men of activity to betake themselves to navigation, to push commerce into the most remote countries, and to acquire riches by propagating industry among their fellow-citizens. He set apart a seventh portion of his own revenue for maintaining a number of workmen, whom he constantly employed in rebuilding the ruined cities, castles, palaces, and monasteries. Hence, both living and dead, Alfred was regarded by foreigners, no less than by his own subjects, as the greatest prince after Charlemagne that had appeared in Europe during several ages, and as one of the wisest and best that had ever adorned the annals of any nation.

§ 10. The great reputation of Alfred, however, has caused many of the institutions prevalent among the Anglo-Saxons, the origin of which is lost in remote antiquity, to be ascribed to his wisdom: such as the division of England into counties, hundreds,

and tithings; the law of frankpledge; trial by jury, etc.; some of which were probably anterior, and others subsequent, to the time of Alfred. Even the code of laws which he undoubtedly promulgated was little more than a new collection of the laws of Ethelbert, Offa, and Ina; into which, with the assistance of his *witan*, or council, he inserted only a few enactments of his own. The great merit of Alfred as a ruler lies not so much in his legislation as in his strict and vigorous administration of the laws which already existed.

§ 11. Alfred had by his wife, Ealhswith, daughter of a Mercian earl, three sons and three daughters. The eldest son, Edmund, died without issue in his father's lifetime. The third, Ethelward, inherited his father's passion for letters, and lived a private life. The second, Edward, succeeded to his power, being the first of that name who sat on the English throne.

EDWARD, 901–925.—Immediately on his accession, Edward, usually called Edward the Elder, had to contend with Ethelwold, son of King Ethelred, the elder brother of Alfred, who, insisting on his preferable title to the throne, armed his partisans and took possession of Winburne. On the approach of Edward, however, Ethelwold fled first into Normandy and thence into Northumberland, where the people declared for him; and having thus connected his interests with the Danish tribes, he went beyond sea, and, collecting a body of these freebooters, excited the hopes of all those who had been accustomed to subsist by rapine and violence. He was also joined by the East Anglian Danes and the Five Burghers; but Edward overthrew them in several actions, recovered the booty which they had made, and compelled them to retire into their own country. All the rest of Edward's reign was a scene of continued and successful action against them, in which he was assisted by the activity and prudence of his sister Ethelfleda, widow of Ethelbert, Earl of Mercia. Edward died in the year 925, and was succeeded by Athelstane, his natural son—his legitimate children being of too tender years to rule a nation so much exposed both to foreign invasion and to domestic convulsions.

§ 12. ATHELSTANE, 925–940.—This monarch likewise gained numerous victories over the Danes, and is justly regarded as one of the ablest and most active of the Anglo-Saxon princes. He passed many good laws, which for the most part were really new enactments, and not, like many of those of preceding kings, mere repetitions from older customs or codes. Among them was the remarkable one, that a merchant who had made three long voyages on his own account should be admitted to the rank of a thane or gentleman. This shows that commerce was now more honor-

ed and encouraged than it had formerly been, and implies at the same time that some of the English cities had reached a considerable pitch of prosperity and importance. At the same time a more extensive intercourse existed with the Continent, as displayed by the manifold relations of Athelstane with foreign courts. Several foreign princes were intrusted to his guardianship and educated at his court, among whom was his own nephew Louis, son of his sister Edgiva and Charles the Simple, King of France. The latter, from his long residence in England, obtained the name of *Louis d'Outremer*. Besides his sister married to the King of France, Athelstane had also bestowed the hand of three others on foreign princes. Eadhild, or Ethilda, was married to Hugo the Great, Count of Paris, the founder of the Capetian dynasty; another, Edgitha, became the consort of Otho, Emperor of Germany; and a third, Elgiva, espoused Louis, Duke of Aquitaine.

§ 13. EDMUND I., called the Elder, 940–946.—Athelstane died in the year 940, and was succeeded by his second brother, Edmund. According to some accounts, Athelstane had caused the death of Edwin, the eldest of his legitimate brothers, whom he suspected of aspiring to the crown, by sending him out to sea in an old crazy boat without oars, and accompanied only by his armor-bearer. Whatever may be the truth of this story, it is at all events certain that Edwin perished at sea.

The short reign of Edmund I. is distinguished by two important events. In order to insure tranquillity, he used the precaution of removing the Five Burghers from the towns of Mercia, because it was always found that they took advantage of every commotion, and introduced the rebellious or foreign Danes into the heart of the kingdom. He also conquered Cumberland from the Britons, and conferred that territory on Malcolm, King of Scotland, on condition that he should do him homage for it, and protect the north from all future incursions of the Danes. Edmund was assassinated in the year 946, by Leofu, a notorious robber, whom he had sentenced to banishment, but who had the boldness to enter the hall where he himself dined, and to sit at table with his attendants. On his refusing to leave the room when ordered, the king leaped on him, and seized him by the hair; but the ruffian, pushed to extremity, drew his dagger, and gave Edmund a wound of which he immediately expired.

§ 14. EDRED, 946–955.—Edmund left male issue, but so young that they were incapable of governing the kingdom; and his brother Edred was elected to the throne by the *witan*. The reign of this prince, as those of his predecessors, was disturbed by the rebellions and incursions of the Danes. After subduing them, Edred, instructed by experience, took greater precautions against

their future revolt. He fixed English garrisons in their most considerable towns, and placed over them an English governor, who might watch all their motions, and suppress any insurrection on its first appearance.

Edred, though not unwarlike nor unfit for active life, had blindly delivered over his conscience to the guidance of Dunstan, commonly called St. Dunstan, Abbot of Glastonbury, whom he advanced to the highest offices, and who covered under the appearance of sanctity the most violent ambition. Dunstan was born of noble parents in the west of England; and, being educated under his uncle Aldhelm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, had betaken himself to the ecclesiastical life, and had acquired some character in the court of Edmund. He was, however, represented to that prince as a man of licentious manners; and, finding his fortune blasted by these suspicions, his ardent ambition prompted him to repair his indiscretions by running into an opposite extreme. He secluded himself entirely from the world; he framed a cell so small that he could neither stand erect in it nor stretch out his limbs during his repose; and he here employed himself perpetually either in devotion or in manual labor. By these solitary occupations his head was filled with chimeras which might almost pass for insanity. But we may perceive, from many examples, the intimate connection that exists between fanaticism and cunning; and Dunstan's future life shows that there was at least considerable method in his madness. Supported by the character obtained in his retreat, Dunstan appeared again in the world, and gained such an ascendant over Edred as made him not only the director of that prince's conscience, but his counselor in the most momentous affairs of government. Finding that his advancement had been owing to the opinion of his austerity, he professed himself a partisan of the rigid monastic rules. A mistaken piety had produced in Italy a new species of monks, called Benedictines, who excluded themselves entirely from the world, renounced all claim to liberty, and made a merit of the most inviolable chastity. Their practices and principles, which superstition at first engendered, were greedily embraced and promoted by the policy of the court of Rome, which perceived that the celibacy of the clergy could alone break off entirely their connection with the civil power, and, depriving them of every other object of ambition, engage them to promote, with unceasing industry, the grandeur of their own order. Dunstan, after introducing that reformation in the convents of Glastonbury and Abingdon, endeavored to render it universal in the kingdom.

The progress of the monks was somewhat retarded by the death of Edred, their partisan, who expired in 955, after a reign of nine

years. His children being infants, his nephew Edwy, son of Edmund, was elected to the throne.

§ 15. EDWY, 955–958.—Edwy, at the time of his accession, was not above sixteen or seventeen years of age, was possessed of the most amiable figure, and was even endowed, according to authentic accounts, with the most promising virtues. He would have been the favorite of his people had he not, unhappily, at the commencement of his reign, been engaged in a controversy with the monks, who have pursued his memory with the same unrelenting vengeance which they exercised against his person and dignity during his short and unfortunate reign. There was a beautiful princess of the royal blood, called Elgiva, who had made impression on the tender heart of Edwy; and he had ventured, contrary to the advice of his gravest counselors, to espouse her, though she was within the degrees of affinity prohibited by the canon law. On the day of his coronation, his nobility were assembled in a great hall, and were indulging themselves in that riot and disorder which, from the example of their German ancestors, had become habitual to the English, when Edwy, attracted by his fondness for his wife, retired into the queen's apartment. Dunstan conjectured the reason of the king's retreat; and carrying along with him Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, over whom he had gained an absolute ascendant, he burst into the apartment, upbraided Edwy with his absence, probably bestowed on the queen the most opprobrious epithet that can be applied to her sex, and, tearing him from her arms, pushed him back in a disgraceful manner into the banquet of the nobles. Edwy, though young, and opposed by the prejudices of the people, found an opportunity of taking revenge for this public insult. He questioned Dunstan concerning the administration of the treasury, at the head of which he had been placed by his predecessor; a reckoning which Dunstan deemed it advisable to evade by flying to Ghent.

In these transactions it is impossible not to see more than the history of a mere personal quarrel between the young king and the Abbot of Glastonbury. A revolution was evidently in progress—a struggle between the high church or Roman party, who wished to seize the supreme power in the state, and introduce a new system of ecclesiastical discipline, and those who were for abiding by the old order of things. Dunstan and his party, who were the innovators, sought support in the Danish parts of the kingdom, which were the most ignorant and uncivilized, and always discontented with the government; and having excited a rebellion in Mercia and East Anglia, and shortly afterward in Northumberland, they proclaimed Edgar, the younger brother of

Edwy, as king. Dunstan now returned into England, and took upon himself the government of Edgar and his party. With the consent of a witena-gemot assembled at Bradford, Dunstan received from the hands of Edgar the sees of London and Worcester, and had the effrontery, or rather the profanity, to justify this violation of the canons by the examples of St. John and St. Paul. Even in the southern provinces, the ecclesiastical party now gained the ascendency. Archbishop Odo sent into the palace a party of soldiers, who seized the queen, and, having burned her face with a red-hot iron, in order to destroy that fatal beauty which had seduced Edwy, they carried her by force into Ireland, there to remain in perpetual exile. Edwy, finding it in vain to resist, was obliged to consent to his divorce, which was pronounced by Odo; and a catastrophe still more dismal awaited the unhappy Elgiva. That amiable princess, being cured of her wounds, and having even obliterated the scars with which Odo had hoped to deface her beauty, returned into England, and was flying to the embraces of the king, whom she still regarded as her husband, when she fell into the hands of a party whom the primate had sent to intercept her. Nothing but her death could now give security to Odo and the monks, and the most cruel death was requisite to satiate their vengeance. She was hamstrung, and expired in a few days after at Gloucester, in the most acute torments. The unhappy Edwy himself, who had been excommunicated, died shortly afterward at the same place (A.D. 958), whether naturally or through the machinations of his enemies is uncertain; and thus the triumph of the clergy and Benedictines was complete. He was succeeded by his brother Edgar.

§ 16. EDGAR, 958–975.—One of the first acts of Edgar after his accession was to promote Dunstan to the archbishopric of Canterbury. In fact, Edgar, who was only about sixteen years of age at the time of his accession, was completely governed by Dunstan and the monks, who had placed him on the throne, and who, by their pretensions to superior sanctity and purity of manners, had acquired an ascendant over the people. Of the first five years of his reign we have no memorials, except of his passive co-operation in the ecclesiastical revolution then in progress. To please the monks he depreciated and degraded the secular clergy; he favored their scheme for dispossessing the secular canons of all the monasteries; and he bestowed preferment on none but their partisans. Above forty Benedictine convents are said to have been founded by Edgar. These merits have procured him the highest panegyrics from the monkish historians, and he is transmitted to us not only under the character of a consummate statesman and an active prince, but also under that of a great saint and a man of virtue.

If we consider Edgar's fortunate reign, he may, perhaps, be in some degree entitled to the former portion of this eulogy. His reign was undisturbed by any domestic tumult or foreign invasion of the Danes; a result which was probably in part owing to the large armament, both military and naval, which he constantly kept on foot, and also to the fact that the Danes had now obtained establishments in the north of France, which it required all their superfluous population to people and maintain. Being thus freed from disturbance on this side, Edgar was enabled to employ his vast armaments against the neighboring sovereigns; and the King of Scotland, the princes of Wales, of the Isle of Man, of the Orkneys, and even the Northmen in Ireland, were reduced to pay submission to so formidable a monarch. But Edgar was arrogant and vainglorious, and abused his prosperity by degrading and insulting his conquered foes. On the annual occasion of his voyage round England, he once appointed eight vassal kings to attend him at Chester, and to row his barge upon the Dee to the abbey of St. John the Baptist, he himself acting as the steersman; whence, after offering up their prayers, they returned in the same order.

The saintly part of Edgar's character he appears to have owed to the unscrupulous gratitude of the monks toward their benefactor: for his conduct was licentious in the highest degree, and violated every law, human and divine. Among other feats of the same kind, he broke into a convent, and carried off Editha, a nun, by force.

The extirpation of wolves in England was a remarkable incident of this reign, which was chiefly effected by converting the money payment imposed upon the Welsh princes into an annual tribute of three hundred wolves' heads.

§ 17. Edgar died in the year 975, in the thirty-third year of his age, leaving two sons: Edward, aged thirteen, whom he had had by his first wife, Ethelfleda; and Ethelred, his offspring by Elfrida, then only seven. There can be no doubt that the former had the best claim to the succession; and, though Elfrida attempted to raise her son to the throne, Edward was crowned at Kingston by the vigorous policy of Dunstan.

EDWARD II., called the MARTYR, 975–979.—The kingdom was now again divided into two parties, and the short reign of Edward presents nothing memorable except the struggles between Dunstan and the Benedictines on the one hand, and the secular clergy on the other, who in some parts of Mercia succeeded in expelling the monks. To settle this controversy several synods were held, in which Dunstan is said to have worked sundry miracles.

The death of young Edward was memorable and tragical. He was hunting one day in Dorsetshire, and being led by the chase near Corfe Castle, where his step-mother, Elfrida, resided, he took the opportunity of paying her a visit, unattended by any of his retinue, and thereby presented her with the opportunity which she had so long wished for. After he had mounted his horse he desired some liquor to be brought him; while he was holding the cup to his mouth, a servant of Elfrida approached and gave him a stab behind. The prince, finding himself wounded, put spurs to his horse; but, becoming faint by loss of blood, he fell from the saddle, his foot stuck in the stirrup, and he was dragged along by his unruly horse till he expired. Being tracked by the blood, his body was found and was privately interred at Wareham by his servants. The youth and innocence of this prince, with his tragical death, obtained him the appellation of "Martyr," though his murder had no connection with any religious principle or opinion.

§ 18. ETHELRED II., 979–1016.—Ethelred II., the son of Elfrida, called by historians "the Unready," now ascended the throne, at the early age of ten. Dunstan put the crown on the young monarch's head at Kingston; but pronounced, it is said, a curse instead of a blessing. The haughty prelate lived ten years longer, still retaining the dignity of primate, but without so much influence as he had formerly enjoyed. A period, however, was approaching, in which the heat of ecclesiastical disputes gave place to a more important question respecting the very existence of the nation. Two or three years after Ethelred's accession, the Danes and Northmen, who could no longer disburden themselves on Normandy, began to renew their incursions in England; and Ethelred's long reign presents little else than a series of struggles with those piratical invaders. He adopted the foolish and shameful expedient of buying off their attacks, and thus only excited the hopes of the Danes of subduing a people who defended themselves by their money, which invited assailants, instead of by their arms, which repelled them. In the year 993 the northern invaders, having by their previous incursions become well acquainted with the defenseless condition of England, made a powerful descent under the command of Sweyn, King of Denmark, and Olave, King of Norway; and, sailing up the Humber, spread on all sides their destructive ravages. In the following year they ventured to attack the centre of the kingdom, and, entering the Thames in ninety-four vessels, laid siege to London, and threatened it with total destruction. But the citizens, alarmed at the danger, and firmly united among themselves, made a bolder defense than the nobility and gentry; and the besiegers, after suf-

fering the greatest hardships, were finally frustrated in their attempt. They then carried their devastations into other quarters, till they were bought off with 16,000 pounds of silver. But in a few years they again returned, and in 997, and the following year, committed dreadful devastations in various parts, till bought off again with the payment of 24,000 pounds. This tribute gave rise to an odious and oppressive impost, which, under the name of *Danegelt*, or Dane-money, continued to be levied on the laity long after the occasion for its imposition had ceased. Observing the close connections maintained among all the Danes, however divided in government or situation, Ethelred, being now a widower, made his addresses to Emma, sister to Richard II., Duke of Normandy, in the hope that such an alliance might serve to check the incursions of the Northmen. He succeeded in his suit; the princess came over to England and was married to Ethelred in 1001.

§ 19. Shortly after this marriage, Ethelred, from a policy incident to weak princes, formed the cruel resolution of murdering the Danes throughout his dominions. But, though almost all the ancient historians speak of this massacre as if it had been universal, this representation of the matter is absolutely impossible, as the Danes were almost the sole inhabitants in the kingdoms of Northumberland and East Anglia, and were very numerous in Mercia. The animosity between the inhabitants of English and Danish race had, from repeated injuries, risen to a great height; and especially through the conduct of those Danish troops which the English monarchs, from the superiority of their military qualities, had long been accustomed to keep in pay. These mercenaries, who were quartered about the country, and committed many violences, had attained to such a height of luxury, according to the old English writers, that they combed their hair once a day, bathed themselves once a week, and changed their clothes frequently. Secret orders were given to commence the massacre on the festival of St. Brice (November 13th, 1002). The rage of the populace, excited by so many injuries, sanctioned by authority, and stimulated by example, spared neither sex nor age, and was not satiated without the tortures as well as death of the unhappy victims. Even Gunilda, sister to the King of Denmark, who had married Earl Paling, and had embraced Christianity, was seized and condemned to death by Ethelred, after seeing her husband and children butchered before her face. This unhappy princess foretold in the agonies of despair that her murder would soon be avenged by the total ruin of the English nation.

§ 20. Never was prophecy better fulfilled, and never did barbarous policy prove more fatal to its authors. Sweyn and his

Danes appeared the next year off the western coast, and took full revenge for the slaughter of their countrymen; and Ethelred was twice reduced to the infamy of purchasing a precarious peace. At length, toward the close of 1013, Sweyn, being virtually sovereign of England, and the English nobility every where swearing allegiance to him, Ethelred, equally afraid of the violence of the enemy and of the treachery of his own subjects, fled into Normandy, whither he had sent before him Queen Emma and her two sons Alfred and Edward.

§ 21. The king had not been above six weeks in Normandy when he heard of the death of Sweyn, who expired at Gainsborough before he had time to establish himself in his newly-acquired dominions. The English prelates and nobility, taking advantage of this event, sent over a deputation to Normandy inviting Ethelred to return, with which he complied, and was joyfully received by the people, in the spring of 1014. On his death-bed at Gainsborough, Sweyn, with the approbation of the assembled Danes, named his son Canúte,* who had accompanied him in the expedition, as his successor. But, on the approach of Ethelred, who displayed on this occasion an unwonted celerity, Canute embarked with his forces for Denmark. A ray of hope seemed now to dawn on England, but it was only transient. Ethelred soon relapsed into his usual incapacity and indolence; and the government became a scene of internal feud, treachery, and assassination. In 1015 Canute returned with a large fleet and landed in the west of England. Edmond, the king's eldest son, made some fruitless attempts to oppose his progress; but, not being supported by his father and the nation, was obliged to disband the greater part of his army, and to retire with the remainder to London, where Ethelred had shut himself up. Hither also Canute directed his course, in the hope of seizing Ethelred's person; but the king expired before his arrival, after an unhappy and inglorious reign of 35 years.

§ 22. Edmond Ironside, 1016.—By the small party who had remained faithful to the royal cause, Edmond was now elected king, whose hardy valor procured him the name of Ironside. Meanwhile, Canute had arrived at London, where, as the bridge impeded his operations, he caused a canal to be dug on the south bank of the river, through which he conveyed his ships; and also surrounded the city on the land-side with a deep trench, thus hoping to cut off all the supplies. But these measures, as well as a general assault, having failed, Canute proceeded into the western districts, where Edmond was engaging the Danes with considerable success. At length the Danish and English nobility, equally

* Knut is the proper orthography of the name. Canúte is a corruption, and should be pronounced with the accent on the last syllable.

harassed with these convulsions, obliged their kings to come to a compromise, and to divide the kingdom between them by treaty. Canute obtained Mercia, East Anglia, and Northumberland, which he had entirely subdued; the southern parts were left to Edmond. This prince was murdered about a month afterward on the 30th of November, through the machinations of Edric, the Duke of Mercia, who thereby made way for the succession of Canute the Dane to the crown of all England.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
867.	Descent of the Danes.
871.	Accession of Alfred.
878.	Alfred's treaty with the Danes.
901.	Death of Alfred.
956.	Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury.
993.	Descent of the Danes under Sweyn and Olave.
1002.	Massacre of the Danes.
1016.	Canute shares the kingdom with Edmond Ironside.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF CERDIC.

CERDIC, the ancestor of the kings of England of the Saxon line, and the ninth in descent from Woden, founded the kingdom of Wessex, A.D. 519. Cerdic died in 534; and from him Egbert, the first King of England, is descended as follows: 1. Cynric, King of Wessex (r. 534–560). Ceawlin, King of Wessex (r. 560–591). 3. Cuthwine. 4. Cutha. 5. Ceolwald. 6. Cenred. 7. Ingild. 8. Eoppa. 9. Eafa. 10. Ealhmund, King of Kent, whose son Egbert was elected to succeed Brithric in the kingdom of Wessex, A.D. 800. The line then proceeds as follows:

EGBERT,
r. 800–836.
m. Redburh.

ETHELWOLF,
r. 836–858.
m. 1. Osburh. 2. Judith.

Athelstane (k. of S.E. of Eng. d. 854). ETHELBALD, r. 858–860. ETHELBERT, r. 860–866. ETHELRED, r. 866–871. Ethelwyth. ALFRED, r. 871–901. m. Ealhswith.

EDWARD the ELDER, r. 901–925. 5 other children.
m. 1. Ecgwyn. 2. Aelfled. 3. Edgiva.
By his three marriages Edward left 15 children, by 3 of whom he was succeeded.

ATHELSTANE, r. 925–940. EDMUND, r. 940–946. EDRED, r. 946–955.
m. 1. Elgiva. 2. Ethelfled.

EDWY, r. 955–958. EDGAR, r. 958–975.
m. 1. Ethelfled. 2. Ælfthryth. 3. Wulfthryth.

EDWARD the MARTYR, r. 975–979. ETHELRED, r. 979–1016. Edgyth.
m. 1. Ælfled. 2. Emma of Normandy.
By these two marriages Ethelred had 14 children, of whom it will here be necessary only to mention 3, viz., Edmond, his eldest son by Ælfled; Alfred, his eldest son by Emma, murdered by Earl Godwin; and Edward, surnamed the Confessor, his second son by the same wife.

EDMOND IRONSIDE, r. April to Nov. 1016. m. Sigeferth. Alfred, ob. 1036. EDWARD the CONFESSOR, r. 1042–1066. m. Edgitha.
(The succession interrupted by the Danish line.)

Edmond. Edward, m. Agatha (d. 1067).

Edgar Atheling (in whom the male Saxon line became extinct). Margaret, m. Malcolm, k. of Scotland. Christina (a nun).
Matilda.
m. HENRY I., k. of England
(thus uniting the Saxon and Norman lines).



Seal of Edward the Confessor. (British Museum.)
SIGILLVM EADWARDI ANGLORVM BASILEI; King seated with sceptre and sword.

CHAPTER IV.

DANES AND ANGLO-SAXONS FROM THE REIGN OF CANUTE TO THE NORMAN CONQUEST.

§ 1. Accession of Canute. First Acts of his Reign. Marries Emma of Normandy. § 2. Rise of Earl Godwin. § 3. Canute's Devotion. His Reproof of his Courtiers. § 4. He reduces the King of Scotland. His Death. § 5. Division of the Kingdom. Reign of Harold Harefoot. § 6. Reign of Hardicanute. § 7. Accession of Edward the Confessor. § 8. Influence of the Normans. Revolt and Banishment of Earl Godwin. § 9. William, Duke of Normandy, visits England. Return of Earl Godwin; his Death. Rise of Harold. § 10. Siward restores Malcolm, King of Scotland. § 11. Edward invites his Nephew from Hungary. § 12. Harold's Visit to Normandy. § 13. Harold reduces Wales; condemns his Brother Tosti. Aspires to the Succession. Death of Edward. § 14. His Character. § 15. Accession of Harold. William assembles a Fleet and Army. Invasion of Tosti and of Harold Hardrada. Battle of Stanford Bridge. § 16. Norman Invasion. Battle of Hastings. Death of Harold.

§ 1. CANUTE, 1016–1039.—Edmond Ironside left a brother, Edwy, who died in 1017, and two half-brothers, Alfred and Edward, the sons of Ethelred by his second wife, Emma of Normandy; as well as two infant sons of his own, Edmond and Edward. But immediately after his death Canute convened a general as-

sembly of the states at London, and, having suborned some nobles to declare that Edmond had never designed his kingdom to pass to his brothers, and had appointed himself to be tutor to his children, the states put him in possession of the government. Canute sent Edmond's children to his half-brother Olave, King of Sweden, it is said with a secret request to put them to death; but Olave, too generous to comply, transmitted them to Stephen, King of Hungary, to be educated at his court.

In order to secure his elevation, Canute had been obliged to gratify the chief of the nobility by bestowing on them the most extensive governments and jurisdictions. He also found himself compelled to load the people with heavy taxes in order to reward his Danish followers: he exacted from them at one time the sum of 72,000 pounds, besides 11,000 which he levied on London alone. But, like a wise prince, being determined that the English should be reconciled to the Danish yoke by the justice and impartiality of his administration, he sent back to Denmark as many of his followers as he could safely spare: he restored the Saxon customs in a general assembly of the states: he made no distinction between Danes and English in the distribution of justice; and he took care, by a strict execution of law, to protect the lives and properties of all his people.

Alfred and Edward, who were protected and supported by their uncle Richard, Duke of Normandy, still gave Canute some anxiety. In order to acquire the friendship of the duke, he paid his addresses to Queen Emma, sister of that prince, and promised that he would leave the children whom he should have by that marriage in possession of the crown of England. Richard complied with his demand, and sent over Emma to England, where she was soon after married to Canute, notwithstanding that he had been the mortal enemy of her former husband.

§ 2. When Canute had settled his power in England beyond all danger of a revolution, he appears in 1019 to have made a voyage to Denmark; and the necessity of his affairs caused him frequently to repeat it, in order to make head against the Wends,* as well as against the kings of Sweden and Norway. On one of these occasions, Earl Godwin, observing a favorable opportunity, attacked the enemy in the night, drove them from their trenches, and obtained a decisive victory over them. Next morning, Canute, seeing the English camp entirely abandoned, imagined that those disaffected troops had deserted, and was agreeably surprised to find that they were engaged in pursuit of the discomfited enemy. He was so pleased with this success, and with the manner of obtain-

* The name of *Wends* is given by the Germans and Scandinavians to their Sclavonic neighbors.

ing it, that he bestowed his daughter in marriage upon Godwin, and treated him ever after with entire confidence and regard.

§ 3. This semi-barbarous monarch, who had committed numberless murders and waded through slaughter to a throne, but who had nevertheless many of the qualities of a great sovereign, sought to regain the favor of Heaven by employing himself in those exercises of piety which the monks represented as most meritorious. He built churches, endowed monasteries, and even undertook a pilgrimage to Rome. It appears, from a letter which he addressed to the English clergy, that he must have been in that city in the year 1027, when Conrad, Emperor of Germany, was also there for the purpose of his coronation. He appears from the same letter to have obtained some privileges for English pilgrims to Rome, and an abatement of the large sums exacted from the archbishops for their palls; but, on the other hand, he enforced a strict payment of St. Peter's pence and other ecclesiastical dues.

Canute's celebrated reproof of his courtiers exhibits more moral elevation. Some of his flatterers, breaking out one day in admiration of his grandeur, exclaimed that every thing was possible for him; upon which the monarch, it is said, ordered his chair to be set on the sea-shore while the tide was rising, and as the waters approached he commanded them to retire, and to obey the voice of him who was lord of the ocean. He feigned to sit some time in expectation of their submission; but when the sea still advanced toward him, and began to wash him with its billows, he turned to his courtiers, and remarked to them that every creature in the universe was feeble and impotent, and that power resided with one Being alone, in whose hands were all the elements of nature, who could say to the ocean, *Thus far shalt thou go and no farther;* and who could level with his nod the most towering piles of human pride and ambition.



Silver Penny of Canute.

Obverse: CNVT REX; bust, left, with a triangular flag, seen on other coins of Danish kings. Reverse: BRIHTRED ON LVN, cross.

§ 4. The only memorable action which Canute performed after his return from Rome was an expedition against Malcolm, King of Scotland, and his nephew, Duncan, King of Cumberland, whom he reduced to subjection (1030). Canute died at Shaftesbury, in 1035, leaving by his first marriage two sons, Sweyn and Harold, and by Emma another son, named, from his bodily strength, Hardi-Canute. To the last he had given Denmark; on Sweyn he had bestowed Norway; and Harold was in England at the time of his death.

§ 5. HAROLD I. HAREFOOT, 1035–1040.—According to Canute's

marriage contract with Emma, Hardicanute should have succeeded him on the English throne; but the absence of that prince in Denmark, as well as his unpopularity among the Danish part of the population, caused him to lose one half of the kingdom. Leofric, Earl of Mercia, asserted the pretensions of Harold, whose presence in England was of great service to his cause, while the powerful Earl Godwin embraced that of Hardicanute. A civil war was, however, averted by a compromise: it was agreed that Harold should enjoy, together with London, all the provinces north of the Thames, while the possession of the south should remain to Hardicanute, and, till that prince should appear and take possession of his dominions, Emma fixed her residence at Winchester, and established her authority over her son's share of the partition.

Alfred and Edward, Emma's sons by Ethelred, still cherished the hope of ascending the throne. Edward sailed with 40 ships from Barfleur, and made a descent at Southampton, but, meeting with no sympathy from the people, was obliged to return. Alfred subsequently landed in Kent at the head of about 600 followers; but being deceived by Earl Godwin, who pretended to espouse his cause, was by him decoyed to Guildford, where nearly all his followers were murdered in the most cruel manner, he himself was taken prisoner, his eyes were put out, and he was conducted to the monastery of Ely, where he died soon after. This is the only memorable action performed in the reign of Harold, who, from his agility, apparently his only accomplishment, obtained the name of *Harefoot*. He died on the 17th March, 1040.

§ 6. HARDICANUTE, 1040–1042.—On the intelligence of his brother's death, Hardicanute immediately proceeded to London, where he was acknowledged king of all England without opposition. He was a poor intemperate sot, without any generous and regal, or even manly qualities. His first act was to disinter the body of his brother Harold, with whom he was enraged for depriving him of his share of the kingdom: the corpse, after decapitation, was thrown into the Thames; but being found by a fisherman, was buried by the Danes of London in their cemetery at St. Clements. Little memorable occurred in the short reign of Hardicanute. He renewed the imposition of *Danegelt*, and obliged the nation to pay a great sum of money to the fleet which brought him from Denmark. The discontents in consequence ran high in many places, and especially at Worcester, which was set on fire and plundered by the soldiers. Hardicanute died suddenly about two years after his accession, while in the act of raising the cup to his lips at a marriage festival at Lambeth (A.D. 1042).

§ 7. EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, 1042–1066.—The death of

Hardicanute seemed to present to the English a favorable opportunity for recovering their liberty, and for shaking off the Danish yoke. Prince Edward was in England on his half-brother's demise; and though the children of Edmond Ironside were the true heirs of the Saxon family, yet their absence in so remote a country as Hungary appeared a sufficient reason for their exclusion, to a people like the English, so little accustomed to observe a regular order in the succession of their monarchs. The claims of Edward were supported by Earl Godwin, who only stipulated that Edward should marry his daughter Editha, which he afterward performed. Edward was crowned king with every demonstration of duty and affection; and, by the mildness of his character, he soon reconciled the Danes to his administration.

One of the first acts of Edward was to strip his mother Emma, the queen dowager, of the immense treasures which she had amassed. He confined her, during the remainder of her life, in a monastery at Winchester, but carried his rigor against her no farther. He had hitherto lived on indifferent terms with that princess, whom he accused of neglecting himself and his brother during their adverse fortune; and as she was unpopular in England, the king's severity, though exposed to some censure, met not with very general disapprobation.

§ 8. But, though freed from the incursions of the Danes, the nation was not yet delivered from the dominion of foreigners. The king had been educated in Normandy, and had contracted many intimacies with the natives of that country, as well as an affection for their manners. The court of England was soon filled with Normans, who, being distinguished both by the favor of Edward, and by a degree of cultivation superior to that which was attained by the English in those ages, soon rendered their language, customs, and laws fashionable in the kingdom. Above all, the Church felt the influence of those strangers; several were appointed to prelacies and other high dignities, and Robert, a Norman also, was promoted to the see of Canterbury. Thus the subsequent Norman conquest was in a great degree facilitated. These proceedings excited the jealousy of the English, and particularly of Earl Godwin. This powerful nobleman, besides the southern parts of Wessex, had the counties of Kent and Sussex annexed to his government. His eldest son, Sweyn, possessed the same authority in the northern part of Wessex, or the counties of Oxford, Berks, Gloucester, Somerset, and Hereford; and Harold, his second son, was Duke of East Anglia, and at the same time Governor of Essex. The great authority of this family was supported by immense possessions and powerful alliances; and the abilities, as well as ambition, of Godwin himself, contributed to render it still more dangerous.

It was not long before his animosity against the Norman favorites broke into action. Eustace, Count of Boulogne, having paid a visit to the king, passed by Dover in his return: one of his train, being refused entrance to a lodging which had been assigned him, attempted to make his way by force, and in the contest wounded the master of the house. The inhabitants flew to assist the wounded man; a tumult ensued, in which nearly 20 persons were killed on each side; and Eustace, being overpowered by numbers, was obliged to save his life by flight from the fury of the populace. On the complaint of Eustace, the king gave orders to Godwin, in whose government Dover lay, to punish the inhabitants; but Godwin, who desired rather to encourage than to repress the popular discontents against foreigners, refused obedience, and endeavored to throw the whole blame of the riot on the Count of Boulogne and his retinue. Edward, touched in so sensible a point, saw the necessity of exerting the royal authority, and threatened Godwin, if he persisted in his disobedience, to make him feel the utmost effects of his resentment.

Whatever may have been the faults or crimes of Godwin, he had the good fortune, or rather, perhaps, the good policy, to appear in the present conjuncture as the patriotic defender of the English cause against the foreign predilections of the sovereign. He had now gone too far to retreat, and therefore he and his sons, Sweyn and Harold, assembled their forces for the purpose of overawing the king, and forcing redress of the grievances of the nation. But, besides the Godwin family, England was divided by two other mighty earls, or dukes:* Leofric, whose government embraced the ancient kingdom of Mercia; and Siward, whose sway extended over the kingdom of Northumberland. These powerful noblemen, from jealousy of Godwin, embraced the king's cause, and assembled a numerous army; and when the southern earl and his sons approached London with their forces to attend the *witena-gemot* appointed to be held there, they found themselves outnumbered. Sweyn was declared an outlaw by the *witan;* Godwin and Harold were summoned to take their trial, but, refusing to appear unless hostages were given for their safety, they were ordered to leave the country within five days. Baldwin, Earl of Flanders, gave protection to Godwin and his three sons, Sweyn, Gurth, and Tosti, the last of whom had married the daughter of that prince: Harold and Leofwin, his two other sons, took shelter in Ireland. The estates of the father and sons were confiscated; their governments were given to others; Queen Editha was confined in a monastery at Warewel; and the greatness of this family, once so formidable, seemed now to be totally supplanted and overthrown (1051).

* At this period the Latin title *dux* alternates with the Danish *jarl* (earl).

§ 9. The Norman influence was now again in the ascendant; and, before the end of the year, William, Duke of Normandy, paid a visit to Edward with a large retinue. But Godwin had fixed his authority on too firm a basis, and he was too strongly supported by alliances both foreign and domestic, not to occasion farther disturbances, and make new efforts for his re-establishment. Having fitted out a fleet in the Flemish harbors, and being joined at the Isle of Wight by his son Harold with a squadron collected in Ireland, he entered the Thames, and, appearing before London, where the people seemed favorably disposed toward him, threw every thing into confusion (1052). The king alone seemed resolute to defend himself to the last extremity; but the interposition of the English nobility, many of whom favored Godwin's pretensions, made Edward hearken to terms of accommodation, and it was agreed that hostages should be given on both sides. At this news the Frenchmen fled in various directions: the Archbishop of Canterbury, and bishops of London and Dorchester, succeeded in escaping into Normandy. At a great *witena-gemot* held outside the walls of London, Godwin and his sons were declared innocent of the charges laid against them, and were restored to their honors and possessions; and thus the authority of the crown was almost entirely annihilated. Godwin's death, which happened soon after while he was sitting at table with the king, prevented him from farther establishing the authority which he had acquired, and from reducing Edward to still greater subjection. His son Sweyn had died on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem; and Godwin was therefore succeeded in his governments and offices by his son Harold, who was actuated by an ambition equal to that of his father, and was superior to him in address, in insinuation, and in virtue. By a modest and gentle demeanor he acquired the good-will of Edward, and, gaining every day new partisans by his bounty and affability, he proceeded in a more silent, and therefore a more dangerous manner to the increase of his authority.

§ 10. The death of Siward, Duke of Northumberland, in 1055, made the way still more open to his ambition. Siward, besides his other merits, had acquired honor to England by his successful conduct in the only foreign enterprise undertaken during the reign of Edward. Duncan, King of Scotland, the successor of Malcolm, was a prince of a gentle disposition, but possessed not the genius requisite for governing a country so turbulent, and so much infested by the intrigues and animosities of the great. Macbeth, a subordinate king, and nearly allied to the crown, not content with curbing the king's authority, carried still farther his pestilent ambition: he put his sovereign to death; chased Malcolm Kenmore,

his son and heir, into England; and usurped the crown. Siward, whose daughter was married to Duncan, embraced, by Edward's orders, the protection of this distressed family: he marched an army into Scotland; and having defeated and killed Macbeth in battle, together with several Normans who had taken refuge with him, he restored Malcolm to the throne of his ancestors. Soon after this achievement Siward died; and as his son, Waltheof, appeared too young to be intrusted with the government of Northumberland, Harold's influence obtained that dukedom for his own brother Tosti.

§ 11. Meanwhile, Edward, feeling himself far advanced in the decline of life, began to think of appointing a successor, and sent a deputation to Hungary to invite over his nephew Edward, called the "Outlaw," son of his elder brother, Edmond Ironside, the only remaining heir of the Saxon line. That prince, whose succession to the crown would have been easy and undisputed, came to England with his children, the atheling Edgar, Margaret, and Christina; but his death, which happened a few days after his arrival (1057), threw the king into new difficulties. He saw that the great power and ambition of Harold had tempted him to aspire to the throne, and that Edgar, on account of his youth and inexperience, was very unfit to oppose the pretensions of so popular and enterprising a rival. In this uncertainty he secretly cast his eye toward his kinsman, William, Duke of Normandy, as the only person whose power, and reputation, and capacity could support any destination which he might make in his favor, to the exclusion of Harold and his family.

§ 12. According to some accounts, Edward chose Harold himself as his embassador to communicate to William the designs which he entertained in his favor, and to deliver a sword and a ring as pledges of his intention; but, though we may gather in general that Harold paid a visit to the court of the Duke of Normandy, the circumstances attending it, and even the date, are involved in the greatest obscurity.

William employed this opportunity to extort from Harold a promise that he would support his pretensions to the English throne, and made him swear that he would deliver up the castle of Dover, and all the other strongholds in his earldom then garrisoned by Norman soldiers; and in order to render the oath more obligatory he employed an artifice well suited to the superstition of the age. He secretly conveyed under the altar, on which Harold agreed to swear, the relics of some of the most revered martyrs; and when Harold had taken the oath, he showed him the relics, and admonished him to observe religiously an engagement which had been ratified by so tremendous a sanction. The English no-

bleman was astonished; but, dissembling his concern, he renewed the same professions, and was dismissed with all the marks of confidence by the Duke of Normandy, who promised to maintain him in all his possessions, and also to give him his daughter Adeliza in marriage.

§ 13. In what manner Harold observed this oath, which had been extorted from him by fear, and which, if fulfilled, might be attended with the subjection of his native country to a foreign power, we shall presently see. Meanwhile, he continued to practice every art of popularity; and fortune threw two incidents in his way by which he was enabled to acquire general favor and to increase the character, which he had already attained, of virtue and abilities. The first of these was the reduction of Wales. The second related to his brother Tosti, who had been created Duke of Northumberland, but had acted with such cruelty and injustice that the inhabitants, led by Morcar and Edwin, grandsons of the great duke Leofric, rose and expelled him (1065). To Harold, who had been commissioned by the king to reduce and chastise the Northumbrians, Morcar made so vigorous a remonstrance against Tosti's tyranny, accompanied with such a detail of well-supported facts, that Harold found it prudent to abandon his brother's cause; and, returning to Edward, he persuaded him to pardon the Northumbrians and to confirm Morcar in the government to which they had elected him. He even married the sister of that nobleman; and by his interest procured Edwin, the younger brother, to be elected into the government of Mercia. Tosti in rage departed the kingdom, and took shelter in Flanders with Earl Baldwin, his father-in-law.

By this marriage almost all England was engaged in the interests of Harold; and as he himself possessed the government of Wessex, Morcar that of Northumberland, and Edwin that of Mercia, he now openly aspired to the succession. Edward, broken with age and infirmities, saw the difficulties too great for him to encounter; and though his inveterate prepossessions kept him from seconding the pretensions of Harold, he took but feeble and irresolute steps for securing the succession to the Duke of Normandy. While he continued in this uncertainty he was surprised by sickness, which brought him to his grave on the 5th of January, 1066, in the 65th year of his age and 25th of his reign. By some authorities he is said, on his death-bed, to have appointed Harold his successor.

§ 14. This prince, who about a century after his death was canonized with the surname of "the Confessor," by a bull of Pope Alexander III., was the last of the Saxon line that ruled in England. Though his reign was peaceable and fortunate, he owed

his prosperity less to his own abilities than to the conjunctures of the times. The Danes, employed in other enterprises, attempted not those incursions which had been so troublesome to all his predecessors, and so fatal to some of them. The facility of his disposition made him acquiesce under the government of Godwin and his son Harold; and the abilities, as well as the power, of these noblemen enabled them, while they were intrusted with authority, to preserve domestic peace and tranquillity. The most commendable circumstance of Edward's government was his attention to the administration of justice, and his compiling, for that purpose, a body of laws, which he collected from the laws of Ethelbert, Ina, and Alfred. This compilation, though now lost—for the laws that pass under Edward's name were composed afterward—was long the object of affection to the English nation. Edward was buried in Westminster Abbey, which was consecrated only a few days before his death. This church was erected by Edward and dedicated to St. Peter, in pursuance of the directions of Pope Leo IX., as the condition of his release from a pilgrimage to Rome. Its site was, as we have said, previously occupied by a church erected by Sebert, King of Essex, which had long gone to ruin. King Edward was the first sovereign who touched for the evil.

§ 15. HAROLD II., 1066.—Harold's accession to the throne was attended with as little opposition and disturbance as if he had succeeded by the most undoubted hereditary title. On the day after Edward's death he was crowned and anointed king by Aldred, Archbishop of York; and the whole nation seemed joyfully to acquiesce in his elevation. But in Normandy the intelligence of Harold's intrigues and accession had moved William to the highest pitch of indignation. He sent an embassy to England, upbraiding that prince with his breach of faith, and summoning him to resign immediately possession of the kingdom. Harold not only refused to comply with this demand, but also expelled all the Normans settled in England, whom King Edward had established in fiefs and castles. This answer was no other than William expected, and he had previously fixed his resolution on making an attempt upon England. He assembled a fleet of nearly 1000 vessels, great and small, and an army of 60,000 men. Several of the European princes declared in favor of his claim; but his most important ally was the Pope, Alexander II., who hoped that the French and Norman barons, if successful in their enterprise, might import into England a more devoted reverence to the holy see, and bring the English churches to a nearer conformity with those of the Continent. He pronounced Harold a perjured usurper; denounced excommunication against him and his adherents; and, the more to encourage the Duke of Normandy

in his enterprise, he sent him a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it. Thus were all the ambition and violence of that invasion covered over safely with the broad mantle of religion.

The first blow was, however, struck by Harold's brother Tosti. That nobleman filled the court of his father-in-law Baldwin with complaints of the injustice which he had suffered, and engaged the interest of that family against his brother. In the spring of the year Tosti sailed with a considerable fleet from the Flemish ports, and committed some ravages on the southern and eastern coasts of England; but, being repulsed by earls Morcar and Edwin, took refuge with the Scottish king, Malcolm Kenmore. Here he entered into negotiations with Harold Hardrada, King of Norway, promising him half of England as the price of his assistance; but how far he was acting for himself alone, or in William's interests also, it appears uncertain. In the summer a Norwegian fleet of 300 sail appeared on the Yorkshire coast; Scarborough was taken and burned, and the earls Edwin and Morcar defeated in a bloody battle at Fulford on the Ouse, near Bishopsthorpe. Harold now hastened with a large army into the north; and as soon as he reached the enemy at Stanford Bridge, called afterward Battle Bridge, he found himself in a condition to engage them. A bloody but decisive action was fought on the 25th of September, which ended in the total rout of the Norwegians, together with the death of Tosti and Harold Hardrada. But Harold had scarcely time to rejoice for this victory when he received intelligence that the Duke of Normandy had landed with a great army in the south of England.

§ 16. The Norman fleet sailed from St. Valéry on the Somme on the 27th of September, and arrived safely at Pevensey, in Sussex, on the eve of the feast of St. Michael. The army quietly disembarked. The duke himself, as he leaped on shore, happened to stumble and fall; but had the presence of mind, it is said, to turn the omen to his advantage, by calling aloud that he had taken possession of the country.

Harold hastened by quick marches to reach this new invader; but though he was re-enforced at London and other places with fresh troops, he found himself also weakened by the desertion of his old soldiers, who, from fatigue and discontent at Harold's refusing to divide the Norwegian spoil among them, secretly withdrew from their colors. His brother Gurth, a man of bravery and conduct, began to entertain apprehensions of the event, and remonstrated with the king that it would be better policy to prolong the war; urging that, if the enemy were harassed with small skirmishes, straitened in provisions, and fatigued with the bad

weather and deep roads during the winter season, which was approaching, they must fall an easy and a bloodless prey. Above all, he exhorted his brother not to expose his own person; but Harold was deaf to all these remonstrances; elated with his past prosperity, as well as stimulated by his native courage, he resolved to give battle in person, and for that purpose he drew near to the Normans, who had removed their camp and fleet to Hastings, where they fixed their quarters.

After some fruitless messages on both sides, the English and Normans prepared themselves for the combat. According to the monkish historians, the aspect of things on the night before the battle was very different in the two camps; the English spending the time in riot, and jollity, and disorder; the Normans in silence and in prayer, and in the other functions of their religion. In the morning the duke called together the most considerable of his commanders, and made them a speech suitable to the occasion. He next divided his army into three lines: the first consisted of archers and light-armed infantry; the second was composed of his bravest battalions, heavy armed and ranged in close order; his cavalry, at whose head he placed himself, formed the third line, and were so disposed that they stretched beyond the infantry, and flanked each wing of the army. He ordered the signal of battle to be given, and the whole army, moving at once, and singing the hymn or song of Roland, the famous peer of Charlemagne, advanced in order and with alacrity toward the enemy.

Harold had seized the advantage of a rising ground, and having likewise drawn some trenches to secure his flanks, he resolved to stand on the defensive. The Kentishmen were placed in the van, a post which they had always claimed as their due; the Londoners guarded the standard; and the king himself—accompanied by his two valiant brothers, Gurth and Leofwin—dismounting, placed himself at the head of his infantry, and expressed his resolution to conquer or to perish in the action. The battle raged for some time with doubtful success, till William commanded his troops to make a hasty retreat, and to allure the enemy from their ground by the appearance of flight. The English, heated by the action, and sanguine in their hopes, precipitately followed the Normans into the plain, when William ordering the infantry to face about upon their pursuers, and the cavalry to make an assault upon their wings, the English were repulsed with great slaughter; but, being rallied by the bravery of Harold, they were able still to maintain their post. The duke tried the same stratagem a second time with the same success; but even after this second advantage he still found a great body of the English who seemed determined to dispute the victory to the last extremity.

He ordered his heavy-armed infantry to make an assault upon them, while his archers, placed behind, should gall the enemy, who were exposed by the situation of the ground, and who were intent on defending themselves against the swords and spears of the assailants. By this disposition he at last prevailed. Harold was slain by an arrow, while he was combating with great bravery at the head of his men; his two brothers shared the same fate; and the English, discouraged by the fall of those princes, gave ground on all sides, and were pursued with great slaughter by the victorious Normans. Thus was gained by William, Duke of Normandy, the great and decisive victory of Hastings,* after a battle which was fought from morning till sunset, and which seemed worthy, by the heroic valor displayed by both armies and by both commanders, to decide the fate of a mighty kingdom. It took place on the 14th of October, 1066. The loss was very great on both sides. The dead body of Harold was found among the slain, and was allowed by the Conqueror to be buried in the Abbey of Waltham, which was founded by the Saxon king. This is the more probable account, but other authorities relate that William, in scorn, ordered the corpse to be buried on the sea-shore.



Norman Knights at the Battle of Hastings. From the Bayeux Tapestry.

The battle of Hastings is depicted on the Bayeux tapestry,† from which the preceding illustration is taken. Two Norman knights are represented, clad in chain armor, the former bearing the chief banner of the army, and the latter a flag with five tongues

* Though this battle is commonly called the Battle of Hastings, the real field was at Senlac, about nine miles from that place.

† This curious piece of needlework, 214 feet long and 19 inches broad, which is still preserved at Bayeux, represents the whole history of the expedition, as well as the battle. According to tradition, it was worked by Matilda, the wife of William the Conqueror; but, though it is probably of later date, it may be regarded as a faithful representation of the costume of the period.

or points, and with a cross in it. The bird figured in the chief banner is probably the celebrated raven,* which the Northmen preserved as their national ensign after their conversion to Christianity.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1017. Accession of Canute.
1030. Canute reduces the kings of Scotland and Cumberland.
1035. Death of Canute. Accession of Harold Harefoot.
1036. Alfred and Edward make attempts upon England.
1039. Death of Harold Harefoot. Accession of Hardicanute.
1042. Death of Hardicanute. Accession of Edward the Confessor.
1051. Tumult at Dover. Revolt and banishment of Earl Godwin. William, Duke of Normandy, visits England.
1052. Return of Godwin, who is pardoned.
1054. Earl Siward defeats Macbeth, and restores Malcolm, King of Scotland.
1063. Earls Harold and Tosti reduce Wales. Tosti condemned by Harold.
1066. Death of Edward the Confessor. Accession of Harold.
" Invasion of Tosti and Harold Hardrada. Battle of Stanford Bridge. Invasion of the Normans, and battle of Hastings.

GENEALOGY OF THE ANGLO-DANISH KINGS OF ENGLAND.

Harald Blatand,
d. 985.

Sweyn Tveskjæg,
d. 1014.

CANUTE,
r. 1016–1035.
m. 1. Elgiva. 2. Emma, widow of Ethelred.

Sweyn (k. of Norway), d. 1036.	HAROLD HAREFOOT, r. 1035–1040.	HARDICANUTE, r. 1040–1042 (on his death the Saxon line restored in Edward the Confessor).	Gunhild.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A.—THE GOVERNMENT, LAWS, AND INSTITUTIONS OF THE ANGLO-SAXONS.

1. *Introduction.*—The completeness of the Anglo-Saxon conquest has been already deduced from the exclusive establishment of their language in England. Even the British names of places yielded to Anglo-Saxon ones, with some few exceptions, and those chiefly in the border counties and in Cornwall. "No one traveling through England," says Mr. Hallam (Middle Ages, ch. viii., note 4), "would discover that any people had ever inhabited it before the Saxons, save so far as the mighty Rome has left traces of her empire in some enduring walls, and a few names that betray the colonial city, the Londinium, the Camalodunum, the Lindum." Hence it follows that the laws and customs of England were also entirely of German origin; and, indeed, several of them may be traced back to the ancient German usages recorded by Tacitus.

2. *The King and Royal Family.*—Among the latter was the nature of the kingly power. The Teutonic tribes that invaded Britain, like their ancestors in the wilds and woods of Germany, had no regular and permanent king, but elected a supreme head as occasion required, who, as his office chiefly consisted in directing their warlike expeditions, obtained the name of *Heretoga*, or army-leader. Among the Saxons and Frisians of the Continent this state of things continued much longer than in England, where

* See above, p. 40.

the more settled and permanent nature of the Anglo-Saxon possessions early introduced a regular monarchical form of government. Ella of Sussex was the first who assumed the title of Cyning, or king.* Throughout the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period the kingly dignity remained elective; and though the crown was generally retained in one family, there was no rule of hereditary succession. Regard was still had to the original purpose for which a king was chosen—that he should be a person capable of carrying on the government and conducting the enterprises of the nation. If the eldest son of the deceased monarch was qualified for this, he commonly had the preference, but still not without election by the great council. But if he was a minor, or otherwise disqualified, he was frequently set aside, and another appointed, who, however, was usually a member of the reigning family. Thus we have seen the lineal succession broken by Alfred, Athelstane, Edred, and other monarchs. The right of election appears to have belonged to the whole nation, though attempts were sometimes made to confine it to the clergy and nobility. By degrees the kingly power grew stronger in England, especially after the separate kingdoms became merged into one. The kings then began to assume more high-flown titles: as that of Basileus—which was borrowed from the Byzantine court—Primicerius, Flavius, Augustus, etc.; some of which are not very intelligible, and were probably not very well understood by the bearers themselves. Egbert, however, and his five immediate successors, contented themselves with the title of kings of Wessex. Edward the Elder assumed the style of "King of the English" (rex Anglorum), while Athelstane called himself "King of all Britain" (totius Britanniæ monarchus, rex, or rector), and was the first to introduce the Greek name of *basileus*. Edwy and Edgar are remarkable for their pompous titles. The king, like the rest of his subjects, had a *wer-gild*, or fixed price for his life, the amount of which varied in different kingdoms, but was of course considerably higher than that of his most distinguished subjects. Alfred made the compassing of the king's death a capital offense, attended with confiscation. The king's sons, or, in their default, those who had the next pretensions to the succession, were called *athelinge*, or nobles.† The consort of an Anglo-Saxon king was styled emphatically "the wife" (*cwen*), "the lady" (*hlæfdige*). She was crowned and consecrated like him, had a separate court, and a separate property, besides her dowry, or "morning gifts" (*morgen-gifu*).

3. *Division of ranks.*—The whole free population of England under the rank of royalty may be divided into two main classes of *corls* (earls) and *ceorls* (churls); that is, gentle and simple, or nobles and yeomen.

Ealdormen.—In ancient times the affairs of each tribe were directed by the *eldest* (*ealdorman*, alderman), which name thus became synonymous with *chief*. Hence *ealdorman* was the chief title of nobility among the Anglo-Saxons, and was applied to any man in authority, but more especially to the governor of a shire or large district. In the 11th century, under the Danish monarchs, an important change was introduced in the appellation of ranks. The word eorl or earl lost its general sense of good birth, and became an official title, equivalent to alderman, and was applied to the governor of a shire or province. The term *earl* as a general designation of nobility was now supplanted by *thane;* and hence in the later period of Anglo-Saxon monuments we find *thane* opposed to *ceorl*, as *eorl* is in the earlier (Hallam's Middle Ages, vol. ii., p. 360, 361). The ealdorman, or earl, and bishop were of equal rank, while the archbishop was equal to the *atheling*, or member of the royal house. After the Norman conquest the title of alderman seems to have been restricted to the magistrates of cities and boroughs.

Thanes.—Next in degree to the alderman was the thane (A. S. *thegn*, from *thegnian*, to serve, minister). There were different degrees of thanes, the highest being those called king's thanes. It was necessary that the lesser thane should have five hides of land (about 600 acres); while the qualification of the alderman was forty, or eight times as much. Nobility in England first arose from office or service; but subsequently the hereditary possession of land produced an hereditary nobility; and at length it became so much dependent upon property, that the mere possession of five hides of land, together with a chapel, a kitchen, a hall, and a bell, converted a churl into a thane. In like manner, as we have seen, by a law of Athelstane (which, however, was perhaps only a confirmation of a more ancient charter), a merchant who had made three voyages on his own account became a thane. The thane was liable to military service on horseback, and was, therefore, on a par with the *eques*, or knight. He probably had a vote in the national council.

Ceorls or *churls.*—Between the thane and the serf, or slave, was the churl or freeman (sometimes also called *frigman;* in Lat. villanus; Norm. villain). But every man was obliged by law to place himself under the protection of some lord, failing which he might be seized as a robber. The ceorls were for the most part not independent freeholders, and cultivated the lands of their lords, on which they were bound to reside, and could not quit, though in other respects they were freemen. But there were several conditions of ceorls, who in the Domesday-Book form 2-5ths of the registered inhabitants. We have already seen that the ceorl might acquire land, and that, if he obtained as much as five hides, he became forthwith a thane. Hence there must have been many ceorls in England who were independent freeholders possessing less than this quantity of land, probably the *Socmanni* or *Socmen* of Domes-

* *Cyning* probably means the son of the nation, *cyn* meaning race, and *ing* being the well-known Anglo-Saxon patronymic.

† *Atheling* is a patronymic from *Athel* or *Ethel* (noble), which forms the prefix of so many of the names of the Anglo-Saxon kings.

day-Book, and whom Mr. Hallam describes as "the root of a noble plant, the free socage tenants, or English yeomanry, whose independence has stamped with peculiar features both our constitution and our national character." (Europe during the Middle Ages, vol. ii., p. 274.)

Serfs.—The lowest class were the serfs, or servile population (*theowas, esnas*), of whom 25,000 are registered in Domesday-Book, or nearly 1-11th of the registered population. Slaves were of two kinds—hereditary or penal slaves. A free Anglo-Saxon could become a slave only through crime, or default of himself or forefathers in not paying a *wergild;* or by voluntary sale—the father having power to sell a child of seven, and a child of thirteen having power to sell himself. The great majority of slaves probably consisted of captured Celts or their descendants: a conclusion which seems to be corroborated by the fact that this class was by far most numerous toward the Welsh borders, and that several Celtic words preserved in our language relate to some menial employment.

Clergy.—The clergy occupied an influential station in society. They took a great share in the proceedings of the national council; and in the court of the shire the bishop presided along with the alderman. This influence was a natural result of their superior learning in those ignorant ages, as well as of the veneration paid to the sacerdotal character.

4. *The witena-gemôt.*—The great national council, the assent of which was necessary for all the laws of the Anglo-Saxon kings, was called *witena-gemôt*, assembly of the *witans* or wise men. Of its constitution we know little or nothing. It was composed of bishops, abbots, aldermen, and, according to the general expression, of the noble and wise of the kingdom; but who these last were is uncertain. They probably comprised the royal thanes; and it is not improbable that even all the lower thanes were privileged to attend, though they may not often have exercised their right. But it is now generally admitted that the ceorls had not the smallest share in the deliberation of the national assembly; that no traces of elective deputies, either of shires or cities, exist; and that the Saxon *witena-gemôt* can not therefore be considered as the prototype of the modern parliament.

5. *Division of the soil. Folc-land and Boc-land.*—The soil of England was distributed in the manner usual among the Germans upon the Continent. Part of the land remained the property of the state, and part was granted to individuals in perpetuity as freeholds. The former was called *Folc-land*, the land of the folk, or the people, and might either be occupied in common, or parceled out to individuals for a term, on the expiration of which it reverted to the state. The land detached from the Folc-land, and granted to individuals in perpetuity as freehold, was called *Boc-land*, from *boc*, a book or writing, because, after the introduction of writing, such estates were conveyed by a deed or charter. Previously they were conveyed by some token, such as a piece of turf, the branch of a tree, a spear, a drinking-horn, etc.; and in the case of lands granted to the Church, these tokens were solemnly deposited upon the altar. Conveyances of this kind were even continued after the introduction of writing, and there are instances of them as late as the Conquest. The title to land thus conveyed seems to have been equally valid with that of *bocland;* but the latter name can be applied with propriety only to such land as was conveyed by writing. *Boc-land* was exempt from all public burdens, except those called the *trinoda necessitas*, or liability to military service, and of contributing to the repair of fortresses and bridges (*fyrd, burh-bôt*, and *brycge-bôt*). *Bocland* was granted by the king with the consent of the *witan;* it could be held by freemen of all ranks, and even bequeathed to females; but in the latter case only in usufruct, reverting after the death of a female holder to the male line. After the Norman conquest we hear no more of *folc-land;* what remained of it at that period became *terra regis*, or crown-land: except a remnant, of which there are traces in the common lands of the present day. This was a consequence of the feudalism introduced by the Normans, by which all England was regarded as the demesne of the king, held under him by feudal tenure.

6. *Shires.*—The territorial division of shires or counties is a very ancient one, being mentioned in the laws of King Ina, long before the time of Alfred; though that monarch may perhaps have rectified their boundaries. The smaller kingdoms and their subdivisions fell naturally into shires, as Kent, Sussex, Surrey, Essex, and Norfolk and Suffolk in East Anglia. At what time the complete distribution of counties was effected is unknown; but they existed in their present state at the time of the Conquest. The counties of York and Lincoln, apparently from their great size, were divided into thirds, called *tredings*, which, under the corrupt name of *ridings*, still exist in the former. In the later Anglo-Saxon times a *scir-gemot* (shire-mote, or county court) was held twice a year—in the beginning of May and October—in which all the thanes were entitled to a seat and to a vote. Its functions were judicial, and it was presided over by the ealdorman, or earl, and by the bishop; for originally the ecclesiastical dioceses were identical with the counties. Hume justly remarks that, among a people who lived in so simple a manner as the Anglo-Saxons, the judicial power is always of more importance than the legislative; and the thanes were mainly indebted for the preservation of their liberties to their possessing the judicial power in their own county courts. The *scir-gerefa* (shire-reeve, sheriff) was the executive officer appointed by the king to carry out the decrees of the court, to levy distresses, take charge of prisoners, etc. The sheriff was at first only an assessor, but in process of time became a joint president, and ultimately sole president. This court survived the Conquest; and it is the opinion of Mr. Hallam that it

contributed in no small degree to fix the liberties of England by curbing the feudal aristocracy. (Middle Ages, vol. ii., p. 277.)

7. *Hundreds.*—The territorial division into hundreds was very ancient among the Teutonic races, and is mentioned by Tacitus (Germ., 6 and 12). In England the constitution of the hundreds is so anomalous that it is impossible to ascertain the principle on which it was founded. Some of the smaller shires present the greatest number of hundreds; but this may have arisen from their being more densely populated. Some writers have supposed that the hundreds consisted of 100 families of freemen; but the hypotheses on the subject are little better than guesses. In the time of Edward the Confessor the hundreds of Northamptonshire seem to have consisted of 100 hides of land. In the north of England the wapentake corresponded to the hundred of the southern districts. The name, which literally signifies the touching of arms, was derived from the ceremony which took place on the inauguration of the chief magistrate, when, having dismounted from his horse, he fixed his spear in the ground, which was then touched with the spears of those present. We have here the military origin of the hundred, as adverted to by Tacitus, who, however, also mentions its civil or judicial destination. The hundred-mote, or court of the hundred, was held by its own hundred-man under the sheriff's writ, and was a court of justice for suitors within the hundred. But all important cases were decided by the county court; and in course of time the jurisdiction of the court of the hundred was confined to the punishment of petty offenses and the maintenance of a local police.

8. *Tythings. Frankpledge.*—In the later Anglo-Saxon times, and in the southern districts of England, we also find another smaller subdivision, the *teothing*, or *tything*, synonymous with *ward*. Every man, whose rank and property did not afford an ostensible guarantee for his good conduct, was compelled, after the reign of Athelstane, to find a surety (*borh*). This surety was afforded by the tythings, the members of which formed, as it were, a perpetual bail for one another's appearance in cases of crime, with, apparently, an ultimate responsibility if the criminal escaped, or if his estate proved inadequate to defray the penalty incurred. In this view the tythings were also called *frith-borhs*, or securities for the peace; a term which, having been corrupted into *friborg*, gave rise to the Norman appellation of *frankpledge*. The institution seems to have existed only partially in the north of England, where it was called *tienmanna tale* (tenman's tale).

9. *Punishments.*—In considering the punishments of the Anglo-Saxons we can hardly fail to be struck by their mercenary spirit, a characteristic, however, which they shared in common with the jurisprudence of many other barbarous or semi-civilized nations. Almost every offense could be expiated with money; and in cases of murder and bodily injuries, not only was a price set upon the corpse, called *wergild*, or *leodgild*, or simply *wer* or *leod*,* but there was also a tariff for every part of the body, down to the teeth and nails. Considerable value seems to have been set on personal appearance, as the loss of a man's beard was valued at 20 shillings, the breaking of a thigh at only 12; the loss of a front tooth at 6 shillings, the breaking of a rib at only half that sum. In the case of a freeman this price was paid to his relatives, in that of a slave to his master. In this regulation we see but little advance upon that barbarous state of society in which, in the absence of any public or general law, each family or tribe avenges its own injuries. The *wergild* is merely a substitute for personal vengeance. The amount of the wergild varied according to the rank and property of the individual, and in this sense every man had truly his price. For this purpose all society below the rank of the royal family and of an ealdorman was divided into three classes: first, the tywhind man or ceorl, whose *wer*, according to the laws of Mercia, was 200 shillings; secondly, the sixhind man, or lesser thane, whose *wer* was 600 shillings; and thirdly, the royal thane whose death could not be compensated under 1200 shillings. The *wer* of an ealdorman was twice as much as that of a royal thane; that of an atheling three times, that of a king commonly six times as much. But a regulation still more calculated to defeat the true ends of justice was that by which the value of a man's oath was also estimated by his property. The evidence of a thane in a court of justice counterbalanced that of 12 ceorls, and that of an ealdorman the oath of 6 thanes. In accordance with this mercenary spirit we are not surprised to hear that the fountains of justice were often corrupted at their source, and that the ealdorman on his bench, and even the monarch on his throne, were not always inaccessible to a bribe. In cases of foul or willful murder (*morth*), arson, and theft, capital punishment was sometimes inflicted, if the injured party preferred it to the acceptance of a *wergild*. Banishment was a customary punishment for atrocious crimes. The banished criminal became an outlaw, and was said to bear a wolf's head; so that if he returned and attempted to defend himself it was lawful for any one to slay him. Cutting off the hands and feet was another punishment for theft. Adultery, though a penal offense, might be expiated, like murder, with a fine.

10. *Courts of justice.*—The two principal courts of justice were the shire-mote, or county court, and the hundred-mote, of the constitution of both of which we have already spoken. From the county court an appeal lay to the king in council. In the county court, as observed above, all the thanes had a right to vote; but as so large and tumultuous an assembly was found inconvenient, it gradually became the custom to intrust the finding of a verdict to a committee usually consisting of 12 of the principal thanes, but sometimes of 24, or even 36, and in order to form a valid judgment it was necessary that

* *Wer* and *leod* both signify *man*, and *gild money or payment.*

two thirds of them should concur. In the northern districts these judges were called *lahmen*. Their decisions were submitted for the approval of the whole court. The accused, who was obliged to give security (*borh*) for his appearance, might clear himself by his own oath, together with that of a certain number of compurgators or fellow-swearers who were acquainted with him as neighbors, and at all events resident within the jurisdiction of the court. The compurgators, therefore, were witnesses to character, and their functions can not be at all compared to those of a modern juryman. The thanes, or *lahmen*, who found the verdict, bore a nearer resemblance to a jury; yet it is evident, from the mode of trial by compurgation, as well as those by ordeal and judicial combat, of which we shall speak presently, that they were not called upon, like a modern juryman, to form a judgment of the facts from the evidence and cross-examination of witnesses.* If the accused was a vassal, and his *hlaford*, or lord, would not give testimony in his favor, then he was compelled to bring forward a triple number of compurgators. The accuser was also obliged to produce compurgators, who pledged themselves that he did not prosecute out of interested or vindictive motives.

Ordeals, or God's judgments, were only resorted to when the accused could not produce compurgators, or when by some former crime he had lost all title to credibility. Some forms of ordeal, as the consecrated morsel and the cross-proof, were only calculated to work upon the imagination; others, and the more customary, as those by hot water and fire, subjected the body to a painful and hazardous trial, from which it is difficult to see how even the most innocent person could ever have escaped, except through the collusion of his judges. These were conducted in a church under the superintendence of the clergy. In the ordeal by hot water, the accused had to take out a stone or piece of iron with his naked hand and arm from a caldron of the boiling element; in that by fire, he had to carry a bar of heated iron for a certain distance that had been marked out. In both cases the injured member was wrapped up by the priest in a piece of clean linen cloth, which was secured with a seal, and if, on opening the cloth on the third day, the wound was found to be healed, the accused was acquitted, or in the contrary event, was adjudged to pay the penalty of his offense. Judicial combats, called by the Anglo-Saxons *cornest*, and by the Danes *holmgang*, from their being generally fought on a small river-island, though not entirely unknown, appear to have been much rarer among those people than among their Norman successors.

Within the verge of the king's court an accused person enjoyed sanctuary and refuge. Its limits, whether permanent or temporary, are defined with an exactness almost ludicrous, and as if there was something magical in the numbers, to be on every side from the burgh gate of the king's residence, 3 miles, 3 furlongs, 3 acres, 9 feet, 9 palms, and 9 barleycorns.

11. *Gilds.*—The municipal gilds of the Anglo-Saxons may be traced to the heathen sacrificial gilds, an original feature of which was the common banquet. These devil's gilds, as they are termed in the Christian laws, were not abolished, but converted into Christian institutions. There were even numerous ecclesiastical gilds. It was incumbent on them to preserve peace, and, in case of homicide by one of the members, the corporation paid part of the *wergild*. In London were several *frith-gilds* (peace-gilds) of different ranks; and in the time of Athelstane we find them forming an association for the purpose of mutual indemnity against robbery. Ealdormen are usually found at the heads of the gilds as well as of the cities themselves. The chief magistrate of a town was the *wic-gerefa*, or town-reeve, who appears to have been appointed by the king. Other officers of the same kind were the port-reeve and burgh-reeve. The chief municipal court of London was the *Hus-thing*, literally, a court or assembly in a house, in contradistinction to one held in the open air, whence the modern *hustings*. This word was introduced by the Northmen, in whose language *thing* signified any judicial or deliberative assembly.

12. *Commerce, manners, and customs.*—England enjoyed a considerable foreign commerce. London was always a great emporium: Frisian merchants are found there and in York as early as the 8th century. Wool was the chief article of export, and was received back from the Continent in a manufactured state. Mints were established in several cities and towns, with a limited number of privileged moneyers; and many of the Anglo-Saxon coins still preserved exhibit considerable skill. The Anglo-Saxons loved to indulge in hospitality and feasting, and at their cheerful meetings it was customary to send round the harp, that all might sing in turn. The men, as well as the women, sometimes wore necklaces, bracelets, and rings, which were of a more expensive kind than those used by the female sex. We have already adverted to King Alfred's taste for jewelry. The Anglo-Saxon ladies employed themselves much in spinning; and thus even King Alfred himself calls the female part of his family "the spindle-side," in contradistinction to the *spear*, or male side. Hence the name of *spinster* for a young unmarried woman.

B. ANGLO-SAXON LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE.

The Anglo-Saxon language was converted into English by a slow process of several centuries. The works of Alfred, and the Anglo-Saxon laws before the reign of Athelstane, present the language in its purest state. On an examination of Alfred's translations, Mr. Turner found that only about one fifth of the words had become obsolete (Anglo-Saxons, vol. ii., p. 445), so that the great bulk of our language still remains Anglo-Saxon. The period of transition, called by some writers

* The origin of trial by jury is discussed in a note at the end of chap. viii.

the Semi-Saxon, is commonly estimated to extend from the middle of the 12th to the middle of the 13th century. Saxon became English chiefly through the effects of time; and though the Norman conquest had undoubtedly some influence on the process, it was much less than has been commonly imagined. Many of the manuscripts of the 13th century are written in as pure Saxon as that which prevailed before the conquest. The admixture of Norman-French was not introduced to any great extent into our language, or at all events not adopted in our literature, before the latter half of the 14th century, when the genius and example of Chaucer recommended and sanctioned the example.

The Angles and the Saxons introduced two different Gothic dialects; that of the former approaching the High German, while that of the latter resembled the Low German or Netherlandish. Subsequently the Danes settled in the districts occupied by the Angles, and introduced many Scandinavian words. The boundaries between the Anglian and Saxon dialects may perhaps be roughly indicated by a line drawn from the north of Essex to the north of Worcestershire.

The earlier specimens of Anglo-Saxon literature are metrical, the metre being marked by accent and alliteration. The oldest extant specimen of Anglo-Saxon poetry is the "Gleeman's Song," the author of which flourished toward the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th centuries, and consequently before the invasion of England: the oldest MS. of the poem, however, is five centuries later. Two other poems, also written before the Anglo-Saxon migration, are the "Battle of Finsburgh" and the "Tale of Beowulf." The songs of Cædmon, a monk of Whitby, who flourished a little before the time of Beda, are probably the oldest specimens extant of Anglo-Saxon poetry written in this country. Cædmon remained six centuries the great and inimitable poet, the Milton, of the Anglo-Saxons. Several other poems and songs are extant, reaching down to the 11th century. One of the noblest specimens of the last period is the Anglo-Saxon version of the psalms. The most important Anglo-Saxon prose works are the chronicles, usually cited in the singular number as "the Saxon Chronicle." The earliest of these, supposed to have been compiled by order of Plegmund, Archbishop of Canterbury, who was consecrated in 890 and died in 923, contains notices of the operations of Alfred and his immediate predecessors. The next is the MS. ascribed to St. Dunstan, which goes down to the year 977. Besides these there are four others of later date. Most of these chronicles begin with the invasion of Julius Cæsar. It seems to have been usual to keep such chronicles in the monasteries; but there were also, probably, public or national registers, in which the accession of the kings and other such events were recorded.

Of King Alfred's works, who must also be regarded as one of the Anglo-Saxon authors, we have already spoken. Other prose writers are St. Wulfstan, Archbishop Wulfstan, better known by his Latin name of Lupus, and Elfric, the strenuous defenders of the English Church in the 11th century against the innovations of Rome.

C. AUTHORITIES.

The principal ancient historical sources for the Anglo-Saxon times are: Beda, *Chronicon* and *Historia Ecclesiastica;* the *Saxon Chronicle;* Asser, *De Rebus Gestis Ælfredi;* Ethelweard, *Chronicon;* Florence of Worcester, *Chronicle;* Simeon of Durham, *Historia de Gestis Anglorum*, continued by John of Hexham; Henry of Huntingdon, *Hist. Anglorum.* The preceeding works will be found in the *Monumenta Historica Britannica*, as well as in other collections and separate editions. In the collection just referred to are also contained the following anonymous pieces referring to the period in question: *Annales Cambriæ; Brut y Tywysogion*, or Chronicle of the Princes of Wales; *Carmen de Bello Hastingensi.*

The other principal collections in which these and other historical works relating to the Anglo-Saxon period are contained, are: Parker's Collections; Savile's Collection; Camden, *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica, Cambrica, a veteribus scripta;* Fulman, *Quinque Scriptores;* Gale, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Quinque*, and *Scriptores Quindecim;* Hearne's Collections; Twysden, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Decem;* Sparke, *Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores varii;* Wharton, *Anglia Sacra.* These collections contain the following authors, besides most of those already enumerated as in the *Monumenta Historica:* Alfred of Rievaulx, *Life of Edward the Confessor*, etc. [Twysden]; John Brompton, *Chronicles* [*ibid.*]; Eadmer, *Historia Novorum, etc.* [Wharton]; Roger Hoveden, *Annales* [Savile]; Ingulphus, *Hist. Croylandensis* [*ib.* and Fulman]; William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* and *De Gestis Pontificum Angl.* [Savile]; Hugo Candidus, *Historia* [Sparke]; Peter Langtoft, *Metrical Chronicle* [Hearne]; St. Neot, *Chronicon* [Gale]; the *Flores Historianum*, attributed to Matthew of Westminster [Parker].

The following authors are published in the foreign collection of Duchesne: Gervase of Tilbury; *Emmæ Angliæ Reginæ Encomium.*

The English Historical Society has published the following works: a Collection of Saxon Charters, edited by the late Mr. J. M. Kemble, under the title of *Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici;* also, the *Chronica* of Roger of Wendover.

The best modern works on the Anglo-Saxon period are, Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 3 vols., 8vo; Palgrave's *Rise and Progress of the English Commonwealth during the Anglo-Saxon Period*, 2 vols., 4to; and, *History of England, Anglo-Saxon Period* [*Family Library*, vol. xxi.]; Kemble, *Saxons in England*, 2 vols., 8vo; Lappenberg, *England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings*, translated from the German, with additions, by Thorpe, 2 vols., 8vo. On the influence of the Danes in England, the best work is Worsaae, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland.*



Silver Penny of William the Conqueror, struck at Chester—unique.

Obverse: + PILLELM REX; bust, front face, crowned, with sceptre in right hand. Reverse: + VNNVLF ON CESTRE; cross potent, in each angle a circle, containing respectively PAXS.

BOOK II.

ANGLO-NORMAN KINGS.

A.D. 1066–1199.

CHAPTER V.

WILLIAM I., SURNAMED THE CONQUEROR. A.D. 1066–1087.

§ 1. History of Normandy. Rolf the Ganger. William I. Longue-épée. Richard I. Sans-peur. § 2. Richard II. Le Bon. Richard III. Robert the Devil. William II. of Normandy and I. of England. § 3. Norman Manners. § 4. Consequences of the Battle of Hastings. Submission of the English. § 5. Settlement of the Government. § 6. William's Return to Normandy. Revolts of the English, suppressed upon William's Return to England. § 7. New Insurrections in 1068. § 8. Insurrections in 1069. Landing of the Danes. § 9. Deposition of Stigand and the Anglo-Saxon Prelates. § 10. Last Struggle of the English. Conquest of Hereward. § 11. Insurrection of the Norman Barons. § 12. Revolt of Prince Robert. § 13. Projected Invasion of Canute. Domesday Book. War with France and Death of William. § 14. Character of William. His Administration. Forest Laws. Curfew-bell. Population.

§ 1. THE Norman conquest produced a complete revolution in the manners as well as in the government of the English; and we must, therefore, here pause a while in order to take a brief view of the conquerors in their native homes. For the next century English history consists of a graft of the history of Normandy upon that of England; and the latter, therefore, will be better understood from some knowledge of the Normans themselves.

For a long period the coasts of France, like those of England, were ravaged by the incursions of the Northmen; and for the greater part of a century the monks made the Neustrian churches re-echo with the dismal chant of the litany, "A furore Normannorum libera nos, Domine." Thus the way was prepared for the final subjugation of the country by Rolf, or Rollo, son of the Nor-

wegian jarl Rögnwald. Rollo is said to have been so large of limb that no horse could be found to carry him, whence his name of "Rolf the Ganger," or walker; though another, and perhaps more probable, derivation of his surname is from the restlessness of his expeditions. It was in November, 876, that Rollo first landed in Neustria; but he made no settlement there on that occasion, and he had to fight and struggle long before he could obtain possession of his future dominions. In 912 the French king, Charles the Simple, conciliated him by the cession of a considerable part of Neustria. On this occasion Rollo, abjuring his pagan gods, became a Christian; the Archbishop of Rouen baptized him; and Robert, Duke of France, his sponsor at the font, gave him his daughter Gisele in marriage. After the completion of the treaty Rollo was required to do homage to Charles for his newly-acquired domains. Feebleness has a natural hankering after the semblance of power. In their declining days the Greek emperors retained and exaggerated the ceremony of adoration introduced by Diocletian from the forms of eastern servitude: the last feeble monarchs of the Carlovingian race adopted the example of the court of Byzantium, and their vassals were expected to fall and kiss their feet, a humiliating ceremony retained by the pride of the Roman pontiff after it has been banished from the courts of temporal princes. When the bold Northman heard the condition of his tenure he started back with indignation, exclaiming *Ne si by Gott!* But the ceremony being insisted on, Rollo deputed one of his soldiers to perform it; who, raising Charles's foot instead of lowering his own mouth, threw the monarch on his back!

Homage performed in such a fashion did not promise a very obedient vassal; and in the course of a few years Rollo's risings and rebellions extorted new cessions of territory. But toward the close of his life he found it expedient to connect himself more closely with the court of France, and allowed his son William to receive investiture from King Charles at Eu. Rollo died in 931. In 933 we find his son and successor, Guillaume Longue-épée, or William Long-sword, doing homage to King Raoul, and receiving Cornouaille, subsequently known as the Cotentin, from that monarch, whereby the western boundary of Normandy was extended to the sea. The name of "Normandy," however, does not appear till the 11th century; and in the earlier times the county and the count, for it was not at first a dukedom, appear to have been called after the capital, Rouen. Already in the time of William, though only the second sovereign, the court had become entirely French in language and manners; though a pure Norwegian population still occupied the parts near the coast. Hence

William, who wished that his son and heir, Richard, should be able to speak to his Norse subjects in their own tongue, sent him to Bayeux to be educated. William was murdered by some Flemings in 942. He had, however, previously engaged his subjects to acknowledge his youthful son, Richard, afterward known by the surname of "Sans Peur." This prince married Emma, daughter of Hugh le Grand, and was one of the chief partisans who established his son Hugh Capet on the throne of France. Richard was engaged in a war with England, the causes of which remain unexplained. It was terminated through the mediation of Pope John XV., by a treaty of peace signed at Rouen on the 1st March 991; the first treaty ever made between France and England.

§ 2. By the sister of Hugh Capet Richard Sans Peur had no children; but by Gunnor, his second wife, he left five sons and three daughters, among whom, besides his successor, Richard II., or le Bon, was Emma, wife of Ethelred II. of England, and subsequently of Canute. Richard II., like his father, was a minor at his accession in 996, of which circumstance the oppressed peasantry took advantage and rose in rebellion; but the insurrection was soon put down. Richard's reign is peculiarly interesting to us in consequence of his intimate connections with England, which, continuing under his successor Robert, contributed much to introduce Norman civilization and influence into this country, and to effect its moral subjugation before the actual conquest. Richard le Bon died in 1026. His eldest son and successor, Richard III., was poisoned after a short reign by his brother Robert, surnamed the Devil, an appellation conferred out of no playful allusion, but from the feelings which he really inspired. Robert assumed the reins of government in 1028, not without a struggle. His short reign was marked by a fresh acquisition of territory; but a few years after his accession, struck probably with remorse for the murder of his brother, he resolved to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died on his return—it is said by poison—at Nice in Bithynia, in the summer of 1035. Before his departure to the Holy Land he had induced the Norman barons to acknowledge as his successor his natural son William, to whom he was much attached, and whom a concubine at Falaise had borne to him in 1027. But upon the death of Robert many of the barons refused to acknowledge the bastard; and during his minority the country was torn asunder by the feuds of the nobility. As soon, however, as he arrived at manhood, William asserted his rights by force of arms; he triumphed over all his adversaries, and success and energy caused him to be feared and courted by the other princes of Europe. Baldwin of Flanders

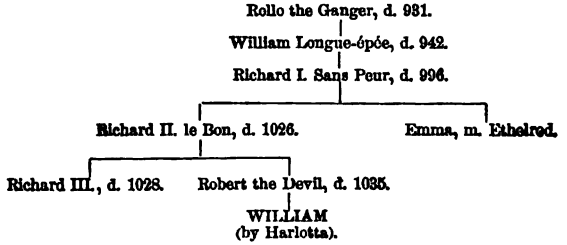
had bestowed upon him his daughter Matilda in marriage. His ambitious, designing, and unscrupulous temper shrunk from no crimes serviceable to his interests: but he expiated his offenses by his devotion and munificence toward the Romish Church; and, therefore, the Pope blessed and hallowed his expedition against England in 1066.*

§ 3. The Normans, when they invaded England, had lost all trace of their northern origin in language and manners; and though no good will existed between them and their French neighbors, yet they were become in these respects completely French. It has been already remarked that, under the second Norman prince, the Danish language had become obsolete in the Norman capital. It was in Normandy, indeed, as Sir F. Palgrave observes, "that the *langue d'oil* acquired its greatest polish and regularity. The earliest specimens of the French language, in the proper sense of the term, are now surrendered by the French philologists to the Normans."† They were thus completely estranged from their Norwegian brethren, who would willingly have rescued England from their grasp; yet the more essential attributes of body and mind are not so easily shaken off as language and conventional manners; and the Normans were still distinguished from the other natives of France by their large limbs and fair complexions as well as by their moral qualities. William the Conqueror himself is made to represent them as proud, hard to govern, and litigious. The imputation of craft and vindictiveness made against them by Malaterra is confirmed by several French proverbs.‡

We now resume the thread of the narrative.

§ 4. Nothing could exceed the consternation which seized the English when they received intelligence of the unfortunate battle of Hastings, the death of their king, the slaughter of their princi-

* GENEALOGY OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR,
FROM ROLLO, FIRST DUKE OF NORMANDY.



† Normandy and England, vol. i., p. 703.

‡ As *Reponse Normande*, for an ambiguous answer; *Un fin Normand*, a sly fellow, not much to be relied on; and *Reconciliation Normande*, for a pretended reconciliation, which does not banish all projects of vengeance.

pal nobility and of their bravest warriors, and the rout and dispersion of the remainder. That they might not, however, be altogether wanting to themselves in this extreme necessity, they took some steps toward uniting themselves against the common enemy. The two potent earls, Edwin and Morcar, who had fled to London with the remains of the broken army, took the lead on this occasion: in concert with Stigand, Archbishop of Canterbury, they proclaimed Edgar Atheling, and endeavored to put the people in a posture of defense. William, that his enemies might have no leisure to recover from their consternation, or unite their counsels, immediately put himself in motion after his victory, and advanced against Dover, which immediately capitulated. The Norman army, being much distressed with a dysentery, was obliged to remain here eight days, but the duke, on their recovery, advanced with quick marches toward London. A repulse which a body of Londoners received from 300 Norman horse, renewed in the city the terror of the great defeat at Hastings; even the earls Edwin and Morcar, in despair of making effectual resistance, retired with their troops to their own provinces. As soon as he passed the Thames at Wallingford, and reached Berkhampstead, Stigand, the primate, made submissions to him; and, before he came within sight of the city, all the chief nobility, and Edgar Atheling himself, the newly elected king, came into his camp, and declared their intention of yielding to his authority. Orders were immediately issued to prepare every thing for the ceremony of his coronation; and William, pretending that the primate had obtained his pall in an irregular manner from Pope Benedict IX., who was himself a usurper, refused to be consecrated by him, and conferred this honor on Aldred, Archbishop of York. Westminster Abbey was the place appointed for that magnificent ceremony (Dec. 25). The most considerable of the nobility, both English and Norman, attended the duke on this occasion: Aldred, in a short speech, asked the English whether they agreed to accept of William as their king; the Bishop of Coutance put the same question to the Normans; and both being answered with acclamations, Aldred administered to the duke the usual coronation oath, by which he bound himself to protect the Church, to administer justice, and to repress violence: he then anointed him, and put the crown upon his head. There appeared nothing but joy in the countenance of the spectators; but in that very moment there burst forth the strongest symptoms of the jealousy and animosity which prevailed between the nations, and which continually increased during the reign of this prince. The Norman soldiers, who were placed without in order to guard the church, hearing the shouts within, pretended to fancy that the English were offering violence to their

duke; and they immediately assaulted the populace, and set fire to the neighboring houses. The alarm was conveyed to the nobility who surrounded the prince; both English and Normans, full of apprehensions, rushed out to secure themselves from the present danger; and it was with difficulty that William himself was able to appease the tumult.

§ 5. The king, thus possessed of the throne by a pretended destination of King Edward, and by an irregular election of the people, but still more by force of arms, retired from London to Barking in Essex, and there received the submissions of all the nobility who had not attended his coronation. Even Edwin and Morcar, with the other principal noblemen of England, came and swore fealty to him, were received into favor, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates and dignities. William sent Harold's standard to the Pope, accompanied with many valuable presents: all the considerable monasteries and churches in France, where prayers had been put up for his success, now tasted of his bounty: the English monks found him well disposed to favor their order: and he built a new convent near Hastings, which he called Battle Abbey, and which, on pretense of supporting monks to pray for his own soul, and for that of Harold, served as a lasting memorial of his victory.

William introduced into England that strict execution of justice for which his administration had been much celebrated in Normandy; and all his new subjects who approached his person were received with affability and regard. No signs of suspicion appeared, not even toward Edgar Atheling, the heir of the ancient royal family, whom William confirmed in the honors of Earl of Oxford, conferred on him by Harold, and whom he affected to treat with the highest kindness, as nephew to the Confessor, his great friend and benefactor. Though he confiscated the estates of Harold and of others, yet most of the property was left in the hands of its former possessors. He confirmed the liberties and immunities of London and the other cities of England; and in his whole administration he bore the semblance of the lawful prince, not of the conqueror. But amid this confidence and friendship which he expressed for the English, he took care to place all real power in the hands of his Normans, and still to keep possession of the sword, to which he was sensible he had owed his advancement to sovereign authority. He disarmed the city of London, and other places which appeared most warlike and populous; and building citadels in that capital, as well as in Winchester, Hereford, and the cities best situated for commanding the kingdom, he quartered Norman soldiers in all of them, and left nowhere any power able to resist or oppose him.

§ 6. By this mixture of vigor and lenity he had so soothed the minds of the English, that in the following year (1067) he thought he might safely revisit his native country, and enjoy the congratulations of his ancient subjects. He left the administration in the hands of his uterine brother, Odo, Bishop of Baieux, and of William Fitz-Osberne, the latter of whom had rendered him the most important services in the conquest of England. That their authority might be exposed to less danger, he carried over with him all the most considerable nobility of England, who, while they served to grace his court by their presence and magnificent retinues, were in reality hostages for the fidelity of the nation. Among these were Edgar Atheling, Stigand the primate, the earls Edwin, Morcar, and Waltheof, with others eminent for the greatness of their fortunes and families, or for their ecclesiastical and civil dignities. He was visited at the abbey of Fécamp, where he resided during some time, by Rodulph, uncle to the King of France, and by many powerful princes and nobles, who, having contributed to his enterprise, were desirous of participating in the joy and advantages of his success. His English courtiers, willing to ingratiate themselves with their new sovereign, outvied each other in equipages and entertainments, and made a display of riches which struck the foreigners with astonishment. William of Poitiers, a Norman historian, who was present, speaks with admiration of the beauty of their persons, the size and workmanship of their silver plate, the costliness of their embroideries—an art in which the English then excelled; and he expresses himself in such terms as tend much to exalt our idea of the opulence and cultivation of the people.

But the departure of William was the immediate cause of all the calamities which the English endured during this and the subsequent reigns, and gave rise to those mutual jealousies and animosities between them and the Normans, which were never appeased till a long tract of time had gradually united the two nations, and made them one people. During his absence discontents and complaints multiplied every where; secret conspiracies were entered into against the government, and hostilities were already begun in many places. The king, informed of these dangerous discontents, hastened over to England; and, by his presence and the vigorous measures which he pursued, disconcerted all the schemes of the conspirators. But he now began to regard all his English subjects as inveterate and irreclaimable enemies; and thenceforth resolved to reduce them to the most abject slavery. After quelling some disturbances in the west of England, excited by Githa, King Harold's mother, and building a fortress to overawe the city of Exeter, William returned to Winchester, and dispersed his army into their quarters.

§ 7. At Winchester William was joined by his wife Matilda, who had not before visited England, and whom he now ordered to be crowned by Archbishop Aldred (1068). The Anglo-Saxon nobles meantime formed a league for expelling the Normans from their country. The two earls Edwin and Morcar, the former of whom William had disgusted by refusing him the hand of his daughter which he had promised, were the chief instigators of the rebellion. Cospatric, Earl of Northumberland, agreed to take up arms; and the conspirators received promises of assistance from the sons of Harold, who had fled to Ireland after the battle of Hastings; from Blithwallon, King of North Wales; from Malcolm, King of Scotland; and from Sweyn, King of Denmark. William knew the importance of celerity in quelling such a formidable insurrection. He immediately marched northward. The earls Edwin and Morcar had taken up a position near Warwick; but they did not venture upon risking a battle with the Conqueror. The sons of Harold landed upon the western coast of England, but were defeated and compelled to retire to Ireland. In the north, whither William had marched after the submission of the earls at Warwick, the Normans were equally successful. York, the only fortress in the country, was taken, and Cospatric, accompanied by Edgar Atheling and his sisters, fled to the court of Malcolm in Scotland. Thereupon the latter concluded a peace with William, and did homage to him for Cumberland and other lands which he held in England. By this act the conquest of England may be regarded as completed.

§ 8. In 1069 the insurrection again broke out in the north. The Danes, after having made two or three vain attempts on the southeastern coast, landed in the Humber under the command of the sons of King Sweyn; and Edgar Atheling, with other leaders, appeared from Scotland. York was taken by assault, and the Norman garrison, to the number of 3000 men, was put to the sword. This success proved a signal to many other parts of England; and the inhabitants, repenting their former easy submission, seemed determined to make by concert one great effort for the recovery of their liberties, and for the expulsion of their oppressors.

William first marched against the rebels in the north, and engaged the Danes by large presents, and by offering them the liberty of plundering the sea-coast, to retire, without committing farther hostilities. Having thus got rid of his most formidable opponents, William had no difficulty in crushing the rest of his enemies. Waltheof, one of the most important of the Anglo-Saxon nobles, submitted to the Conqueror, and was rewarded with the hand of Judith, the daughter of William's half-sister, and with

the earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton, to which that of Northumberland was subsequently added. Malcolm, King of Scotland, coming too late to support his confederates, was constrained to retire; the English leaders submitted, and all the rebels dispersed themselves, and left the Normans undisputed masters of the kingdom. Edgar Atheling, with his followers, sought again a retreat in Scotland from the pursuit of his enemies, where his sister Margaret was shortly afterward married to Malcolm. William, who passed the winter in the north, issued orders for laying entirely waste the fertile country which, for the extent of sixty miles, lies between the Humber and the Tees. The lives of 100,000 persons are computed to have been sacrificed to this stroke of barbarous policy, and the country was rendered so desolate, that for several years afterward there was hardly an inhabitant left. This act, which has been attributed to William's vengeance upon the inhabitants, was rather, perhaps, a cruel and ill-advised measure of precaution against the incursions of the Scots and Danes. It is not likely that so avaricious and sagacious a prince should have resorted to a measure that crippled his own power and revenue merely out of a spirit of revenge. The same barbarous measure was resorted to in France in much more civilized times, when the constable Montmorency completely desolated Provence in order to check the advance of the Emperor Charles V.

The insurrections and conspiracies in so many parts of the kingdom had involved the bulk of the landed proprietors, more or less, in the guilt of treason; and the king took advantage of executing against them, with the utmost rigor, the laws of forfeiture and attainder. Their lives were indeed commonly spared, but their estates were confiscated, and either annexed to the royal demesnes, or conferred with the most profuse bounty on the Normans and other foreigners. Several of the Anglo-Saxon nobles, despairing of the fortunes of their country, fled abroad. Some took refuge at the court of Constantinople, where they entered the service of the Greek emperor, and, being incorporated with Danes and others, formed, under the name of Varangians, the imperial body-guard.

§ 9. William now proceeded to deprive the Anglo-Saxons of all offices in the state, ecclesiastical as well as civil. The Anglo-Saxon Church had, to a certain extent, maintained its independence of the Roman see; and accordingly the Pope Alexander willingly assisted William in depriving the Anglo-Saxon prelates of their benefices. A papal legate was dispatched into England, who summoned a council of prelates and abbots at Winchester in 1070. In this council the legate, upon some frivolous charges,

degraded the Primate Stigand from his dignity; the king confiscated his estate, and confined him in Winchester Castle during the remainder of his life. Like rigor was exercised against the other English prelates; and Wulstan of Worcester was the only one that escaped this general proscription. Even the Anglo-Saxon monasteries were plundered, and their plate carried off to the royal treasury.

Lanfranc, a Milanese monk, celebrated for his learning and piety, was promoted to the vacant see of Canterbury. This prelate was rigid in defending the prerogatives of his station; and after a long process before the Pope, he obliged Thomas, a Norman monk, who had been appointed to the see of York, to acknowledge the primacy of the Archbishop of Canterbury. But William retained the Church in great subjection, as well as his lay subjects, and would allow none, of whatever character, to dispute his sovereign will and pleasure.

§ 10. The situation of the two great earls, Morcar and Edwin, became now very disagreeable. Sensible that they had entirely lost their dignity, and could not even hope to remain long in safety, they determined, though too late, to share the same fate with their countrymen. While Edwin retired to his estate in the north, with a view of commencing an insurrection, Morcar took shelter with the brave Hereward in the Isle of Ely; and the exploits of Hereward against the Normans lived in the memory of the English. He was in Flanders at the time of the Conquest; but hearing that his mother had been deprived of her estate by a foreigner, he returned to England, drove out the intruder, and erected the banner of independence. He was quickly joined by other bold spirits, and, protected by the fens and morasses of the Isle of Ely, was able to bid defiance to William's power. But when the powerful Morcar had joined him, the king found it necessary to employ all his endeavors to subdue their stronghold, and having surrounded it with flat-bottomed boats, and made a causeway through the morasses to the extent of two miles, he obliged the rebels to surrender at discretion (1071). Hereward alone forced his way, sword in hand, through the enemy; and still continued his hostilities by sea against the Normans, till at last William, charmed with his bravery, received him into favor, and restored him to his estate. Earl Morcar was thrown into prison, and died in confinement. Edwin, attempting to make his escape into Scotland, was betrayed by some of his followers, and was killed by a party of Normans, to the great affliction of the English. To complete the king's prosperity, Edgar Atheling himself, despairing of success, and weary of a fugitive life, submitted to his enemy; and receiving a de-

cent pension for his subsistence, was permitted to live at Rouen unmolested.

§ 11. The conquest of England was complete; but the king had now to encounter the jealousy and hostility of his companions in arms. His imperious character had excited general discontent among the haughty Norman nobles; and even Roger, Earl of Hereford, son and heir of Fitz-Osberne, the king's chief favorite, was strongly infected with it. This nobleman, intending to marry his sister to Ralph de Guader, Earl of Norfolk; had thought it his duty to inform the king of his purpose, and to desire the royal consent; but meeting with a refusal, he proceeded, nevertheless, to complete the nuptials, and assembled all his friends, and those of Guader, to attend the solemnity. The two earls here prepared measures for a revolt; and, during the gayety of the festival, while the company was heated with wine, they opened the project to their guests. The whole company, inflamed with the same sentiments, entered, by a solemn engagement, into the design of shaking off the royal authority. Even Earl Waltheof, who had married the Conqueror's niece, inconsiderately expressed his approbation of the conspiracy, and promised his concurrence toward its success. But, after his cool judgment returned, he foresaw that the conspiracy of those discontented barons was not likely to prove successful against the established power of William; and he opened his mind to his wife Judith, of whose fidelity he entertained no suspicion, but who, having secretly fixed her affections on another, took this opportunity of ruining her easy and credulous husband. She conveyed intelligence of the conspiracy to the king, and aggravated every circumstance which she believed would tend to incense him against Waltheof, and render him absolutely implacable. Meanwhile, the earl, at the suggestion of Lanfranc, to whom he had discovered the secret, went over to Normandy, whither William had gone some time previously to quell an insurrection in his province of Maine; but, although he was well received by the king, and thanked for his fidelity, the account previously transmitted by Judith had sunk deep into William's mind, and had destroyed all the merit of her husband's repentance.

The conspirators, hearing of Waltheof's departure, immediately concluded their design to be betrayed, and flew to arms before their schemes were ripe for execution. They were defeated at every point by the king's officers; and William, who hastened over to England in order to suppress the insurrection, found that nothing remained but the punishment of the criminals, which he executed with great severity (A.D. 1075). Agreeably to his usual maxims, he showed more lenity to their leader, the Earl of Here-

ford, who was only condemned to a forfeiture of his estate, and to imprisonment during pleasure. But Waltheof, being an Englishman, was not treated with so much humanity. The king, instigated by Judith, as well as by his rapacious courtiers, who longed for so rich a forfeiture, ordered him to be tried, condemned, and executed. The English, who considered this nobleman as the last resource of their nation, grievously lamented his fate, and fancied that miracles were wrought by his relics, as a testimony of his innocence and sanctity. The infamous Judith, falling soon after under the king's displeasure, was abandoned by all the world, and passed the rest of her life in contempt, remorse, and misery.

§ 12. The king afterward passed some years in Normandy, where he was detained by the revolt of his eldest son Robert, who, on account of some real or imaginary grievances, had openly levied war against his father. William called over an army of English under his ancient captains, who soon expelled Robert and his adherents from their retreats, and restored the authority of the sovereign in all his dominions. The young prince was obliged to take shelter in the castle of Gerberoy in the Beauvoisis, which the King of France, who secretly fomented all these dissensions, had provided for him. There passed under the walls of this place many rencounters which resembled more the single combats of chivalry than the military actions of armies; but one of them was remarkable for its circumstances and its event. Robert happened to engage the king, who was concealed by his helmet; and both of them being valiant, a fierce combat ensued, till at last the young prince wounded his father in the arm, and unhorsed him. On his calling out for assistance, his voice discovered him to his son, who, struck with remorse for his past guilt, and astonished with the apprehensions of one much greater, which he had so nearly incurred, instantly threw himself at his father's feet, craved pardon for his offenses, and offered to purchase forgiveness by any atonement. The interposition of the queen, and other common friends, at length brought about a reconcilement, which was probably not a little forwarded by the generosity of the son's behavior in this action, and by the returning sense of his past misconduct. The king seemed so fully appeased, that he even took Robert with him into England; where he intrusted him with the command of an army, in order to repel an inroad of Malcolm, King of Scotland, and to retaliate by a like inroad into that country. The Welsh, unable to resist William's power, were about the same time necessitated to pay a compensation for their incursions; and every thing was reduced to full tranquillity in this island. (1079.)

§ 13. The remaining transactions of this reign are not of much

importance. In the year 1085, Canute, who had succeeded Sweyn in the kingdom of Denmark, collected a large fleet with the design of invading England; which, though from various causes not carried into execution, nevertheless, occasioned some calamity to the nation. The odious tax of Danegelt was reimposed; a large army of foreigners was brought over from the Continent; and the lands adjoining the sea-coast were laid waste in order to deprive the expected enemy of support. In the following year William received at Salisbury the oath of fealty from all the freeholders of the kingdom; a consequence of that peculiar form of feudalism which he had introduced from his Norman dominions, and which will be described at the conclusion of this book. The preparation of Domesday Book,* completed in 1086, was perhaps connected with this event.

In 1087 William was detained on the Continent by a misunderstanding which broke out between him and the King of France, and which was occasioned by inroads made into Normandy by some French barons on the frontiers. His displeasure was increased by the account he received of some railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that his brother of England should be so long in lying in. The king sent him word that, as soon as he was up, he would present so many lights at Nôtre Dame as would perhaps give little pleasure to the King of France —alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after childbirth. Immediately on his recovery he led an army into l'Isle de France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. But the progress of these hostilities was stopped by an accident which soon after put an end to William's life. His soldiers having burned the town of Mantes, William rode to view the scene; and as his horse, treading upon some hot ashes, started aside, the king was thrown violently on the pommel of the saddle; and, being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and ordered himself to be carried in a

* This important national record derives its name, according to Ingulphus, a contemporary writer, from its resembling the last judgment in its universality and completeness (Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 361, note); though some have considered it a corruption of *Domus Dei*, the name of the chapel in Winchester Cathedral where it was preserved. It was compiled by committees appointed by royal commissioners in the different counties, and shows the extent, nature, and divisions of the landed property in each; and the products of various kinds, as woods, fisheries, mines, etc. It consists of two volumes, a large folio and a quarto, both written on vellum. It was printed by the government in 1783. A complete account of it will be found in Sir H. Ellis's *General Introduction to Domesday Book*, 2 vols., 8vo.

litter to the monastery of St. Gervas. Finding his illness increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he discovered at last the vanity of all human grandeur, and was struck with remorse for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence which he had committed during the course of his reign over England. He endeavored to make atonement by presents to churches and monasteries; and he issued orders that several prisoners should be set at liberty. He left Normandy and Maine to his eldest son Robert; he wrote to Lanfranc, desiring him to crown William King of England; to Henry he bequeathed 5000 pounds of silver. His second son, Richard, had been killed while hunting in the New Forest.

§ 14. William expired in the 61st year of his age, in the 21st year of his reign over England, and in the 54th of that over Normandy. He was buried in the church of St. Stephen at Caen. Few princes have been more fortunate than this great monarch, or were better entitled to grandeur and prosperity from the abilities and the vigor of mind which he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence; his ambition, which was exorbitant, and lay little under the restraints of justice, still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of sound policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were intractable and unacquainted with submission, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes; and, partly from the ascendant of his vehement character, partly from art and dissimulation, to establish an unlimited authority. Though not insensible to generosity, he was hardened against compassion; and in the difficult enterprise of subduing a brave and warlike people he succeeded so completely that he transmitted his power to his descendants. Except the former conquest of England by the Saxons themselves, it would be difficult to find in all history a revolution more destructive or attended with a more complete subjection of the ancient inhabitants. Contumely seems even to have been wantonly added to oppression; and the natives were universally reduced to such a state of meanness and poverty, that the English name became a term of reproach, and several generations elapsed before one family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any considerable honors, or could so much as attain the rank of baron of the realm.

The arbitrary administration of William was particularly displayed in the forest laws. William, like all the Normans, was extremely fond of hunting; and, according to the quaint expression of the Saxon chronicler, "loved the tall game as if he had been their father." The forests appear to have been protected before the Conquest; but William established the most severe penalties for the preservation of the game. The killing of a deer

or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes; and that at a time when the killing of a man could be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition. In forming the New Forest in the neighborhood of his palace at Winchester, the country around was "afforested," by which term we are to understand, not that it was planted with trees, but that it was rendered subject to the forest laws. It is said that many churches and villages in this tract were destroyed for the purpose of making the forest; but their number has been probably exaggerated.

The numerous castles erected in all parts of England during the reign of the Conqueror were at once the means and the visible signs of Anglo-Saxon subjection. Of these strong-holds of the aristocracy, without which feudalism could not have been perfectly established, no fewer than 48 are recorded in Domesday Book as erected since the time of Edward the Confessor.

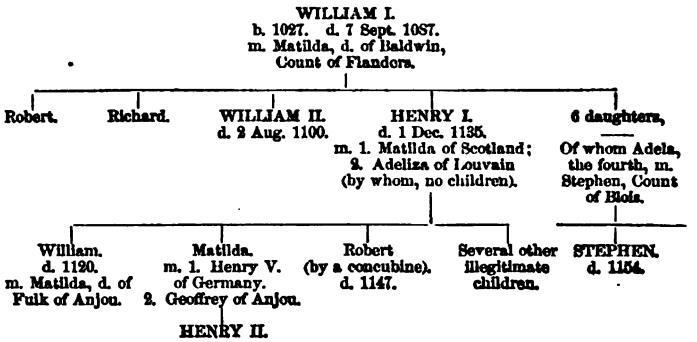
William is said to have introduced the practice of the *curfew* (i.e., *couvre feu*) bell, upon the ringing of which all fires had to be covered up at sunset in summer, and about eight at night in the winter. This was regarded as a badge of servitude by the English; but it was the custom in Normandy, and indeed in many other countries, in the Middle Ages, and was observed as a precaution against fire.

The whole number of persons registered in Domesday Book is about 283,000. With the cities and omitted counties we may reckon 300,000 heads of families in England in the reign of the Conqueror; and the whole population can not, therefore, be estimated at much more than a million.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
1066.	Coronation of William the Conqueror.
1071.	Earl Hereward subdued in Lincolnshire and all England finally reduced.
1075.	Insurrection of the Norman barons in England.
1078.	Revolt of Prince Robert in Normandy.
1086.	William receives the oath of fealty from all the English freeholders.
1087.	Death of the Conqueror.

DESCENDANTS OF WILLIAM THE CONQUEROR, DOWN TO HENRY II.





Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, and brother of King Stephen. From an enameled plate in the British Museum.*

CHAPTER VI.

WILLIAM II., HENRY I., STEPHEN. A.D. 1087–1154.

§ 1. Accession of WILLIAM RUFUS. Conspiracy against the King. § 2. Invasion of Normandy, and other Wars. § 3. Acquisition of Normandy. § 4. Quarrel with Anselm, the Primate. § 5. Transactions in France. Death and Character of Rufus. § 6. Accession of HENRY I. His Charter. § 7. Marriage of the King. § 8. Duke Robert invades England. Accommodation with him. § 9. Henry invades and conquers Normandy. § 10. Ecclesiastical Affairs. Disputes respecting Investitures. § 11. Wars abroad. Death of Prince William. § 12. Henry's second Marriage. Marriage of his Daughter. His Death and Character. § 13. Accession of STEPHEN. Measures for securing the Government. § 14. Stephen acknowledged in Normandy. Disturbances in England. § 15. Matilda invades England, and obtains the Crown. Her Flight. § 16.

* For an explanation of the inscription, see Labarte, "Arts of the Middle Ages," p. xxiv.

Prince Henry in England. Acknowledged as Stephen's Successor. Death and Character of Stephen.

§ 1. WILLIAM II., A.D. 1087–1100.—William, surnamed *Rufus*, or the *Red*, from the color of his hair, had no sooner procured his father's recommendatory letter to Lanfranc, the primate, than he hastened to England, and arrived before intelligence of his father's death had reached that kingdom. Pretending orders from the king, he secured the fortresses of Dover, Pevensey, and Hastings; and got possession of the royal treasure at Winchester, amounting to the sum of 60,000 pounds. The primate, having assembled some bishops and some of the principal nobility, instantly proceeded to the ceremony of crowning the new king (Sept. 26); and by this dispatch endeavored to prevent all faction and resistance. The Norman barons, however, would, for many reasons, have preferred the succession of the Conqueror's eldest son Robert to the throne of England; and Odo, Bishop of Baieux, and Robert, Earl of Mortaigne, maternal brothers of the Conqueror, envying the great credit of Lanfranc, which was increased by his late services, availed themselves of this feeling, and engaged their partisans in a formal conspiracy to dethrone the king. But William, having gained the affections of the native English by general promises of good treatment, and of an amelioration of the forest laws, was soon in a situation to take the field; and by the rapidity of his movements speedily crushed the rebellion. Freed, however, from the danger of these insurrections, he took little care of fulfilling his promises to the English; who still found themselves exposed to the same oppressions which they had undergone during the reign of the Conqueror, and which were rather augmented by the violent and impetuous temper of the present monarch. The death of Lanfranc (1089), who retained great influence over him, gave soon after a full career to his tyranny; and all orders of men found reason to complain of an arbitrary and illegal administration. Even the privileges of the Church, held sacred in those days, were a feeble rampart against his usurpations; but the terror of William's authority, confirmed by the suppression of the late insurrections, retained every one in subjection, and preserved general tranquillity in England.

§ 2. Having thus strengthened his power in England, William invaded the dominions of his brother Robert in Normandy (1090). The war, however, was brought to an end by the mediation of the nobility on both sides, strongly connected by interest and alliances; and the two brothers also stipulated that, on the demise of either without issue, the survivor should inherit all his dominions. Prince Henry, disgusted that little care had been taken of his interests in this accommodation, retired to St. Michael's Mount, a strong for-

tress on the coast of Normandy, and infested the neighborhood with his incursions. Robert and William, with their joint forces, besieged him in this place, and had nearly reduced him by the scarcity of water; when the elder, hearing of his distress, granted him permission to supply himself, and also sent him some pipes of wine for his own table. Being reproved by William for this ill-timed generosity, he replied, "What, shall I suffer my brother to die of thirst? Where shall we find another when he is gone?" The king, also, during this siege, performed an act of generosity which was less suitable to his character. Riding out one day alone, to take a survey of the fortress, he was attacked by two soldiers and dismounted. One of them drew his sword in order to dispatch him, when the king exclaimed, "Hold, knave! I am the King of England." The soldier suspended his blow; and raising the king from the ground with expressions of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service. Prince Henry was soon after obliged to capitulate; and being despoiled of all his patrimony, wandered about for some time with very few attendants, and often in great poverty. Robert returned with William to England; and the king soon after, accompanied by his brother, led an army into Scotland, and obliged Malcolm to accept terms of peace (1091), which was mediated by Robert on the part of William, and by Edgar Atheling on that of Malcolm. Advantageous conditions were stipulated for Edgar, who returned to England; Malcolm consented to do homage to William; and Cumberland, formerly held by the Scottish kings as a fief under the English crown, was now reduced to an English county, and secured by the fortification of Carlisle.

§ 3. All Europe, but especially France and Germany, was at this time carried away with the phrensy of the crusade preached by Peter the Hermit for the recovery of the holy sepulchre at Jerusalem.* Robert, Duke of Normandy, impelled by the bravery of his spirit, had early enlisted himself among the crusaders; but being always unprovided with money, he resolved to mortgage his dominions for a term of five years; and he offered them to his brother William for the very unequal sum of 10,000 marks. The bargain was soon concluded; the king raised the money by violent extortions on his subjects of all ranks, even on the convents, which were obliged to melt their plate in order to furnish the quota demanded of them: he was put in possession of Normandy and Maine; and Robert, providing himself with a magnificent train, set out for the Holy Land.

§ 4. William was destitute alike of religious feeling and re-

* The history of the Crusades is narrated in the Student's Gibbon, p 545, *seq.*

ligious principle, and during the latter part of his reign was engaged in quarrels with the Church. After the death of Lanfranc, the king, for several years, retained in his own hands the revenues of Canterbury, as he did those of many other vacant bishoprics; but, falling into a dangerous sickness, he was seized with remorse, and resolved, therefore, to supply instantly the vacancy of Canterbury (1093). For that purpose he sent for Anselm, a Piedmontese by birth, Abbot of Bec in Normandy, who was much celebrated for his learning and piety, and whom he persuaded with difficulty to accept the high dignity. William soon after recovered; and his passions regaining their wonted vigor, he returned to his former violence and rapine. He still preyed upon the ecclesiastical benefices; the sale of spiritual dignities continued as open as ever; and he kept possession of a considerable part of the revenues belonging to the see of Canterbury. But he found in Anselm the most persevering opposition, which was the more dangerous on account of the character of piety which he soon acquired in England by his great zeal against all abuses.

There was at that time a schism in the Church between Urban and Clement, who both pretended to the papacy; and Anselm, who, as Abbot of Bec, had already acknowledged Urban, was determined, without the king's consent, to introduce his authority into England. William was enraged at this attempt, and summoned a synod with an intention of deposing Anselm; but he was at last engaged by other motives to give the preference to Urban's title. Anselm received the pall from that pontiff; and matters seemed to be accommodated between the king and the primate, when the quarrel broke out afresh from a new cause. William had undertaken an expedition against Wales, and required the archbishop to furnish his quota of soldiers for that service; but Anselm sent them so miserably accoutred, that the king was extremely displeased, and threatened him with a prosecution. Anselm, on the other hand, demanded positively that all the revenues of his see should be restored to him; appealed to Rome against the king's injustice; and affairs came to such extremities, that the primate, finding it dangerous to remain in the kingdom, desired and obtained the king's permission to retire beyond sea (1097). All his temporalities were seized; but he was received with great respect by Urban, who considered him as a martyr in the cause of religion, and even menaced the king, on account of his proceedings against the primate and the Church, with the sentence of excommunication.

§ 5. In 1099 the Crusaders became masters of Jerusalem. Their success stimulated others to follow their example; and

William, Duke of Guienne and Count of Poitiers, like Robert, offered to mortgage all his dominions to William, in order to raise money for the purpose of proceeding to the Holy Land with an immense body of followers. The king accepted the offer, and had prepared a fleet and an army in order to escort the money and take possession of the rich provinces of Guienne and Poitou, when an accident put an end to his life and to all his ambitious projects. He was engaged in hunting in the New Forest, attended by Walter Tyrrel, a French gentleman, remarkable for his address in archery; and as William had dismounted after a chase, Tyrrel, impatient to show his dexterity, let fly an arrow at a stag which suddenly started before him. The arrow, glancing from a tree, struck the king in the breast, and instantly slew him;* while Tyrrel, without informing any one of the accident, put spurs to his horse, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the crusade. The body of William was found in the forest by the country people, and was buried at Winchester. Tradition long pointed out the tree struck by Tyrrel's arrow, and a stone still commemorates the spot where it stood.

William seems to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbor; an unkind and ungenerous relation. He was equally prodigal and rapacious in the management of his treasury; and if he possessed abilities, he lay so much under the government of impetuous passions that he made little use of them in his administration. He built a new bridge across the Thames at London, surrounded the Tower with a wall, and erected Westminster Hall, which still remains a noble specimen of the architecture of the time. It was remarked in that age that Richard, an elder brother of William's, perished by accident in the New Forest; Richard, his nephew, natural son of Duke Robert, lost his life in the same place, after the same manner. And all men, upon the king's fate, exclaimed that, as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence in expelling all the inhabitants of that large district to make room for his game, the just vengeance of Heaven was signalized in the same place by the slaughter of his posterity. William was killed on August 2d, 1100, in the 13th year of his reign, and about the 40th of his age. As he was never married, he left no legitimate issue.

§ 6. HENRY I., surnamed BEAUCLERC, A.D. 1100–1135.—Henry was hunting with Rufus in the New Forest when intelligence of that monarch's death was brought him; and being sensible of

* Such is the received account; but there are grounds for suspecting that Rufus was assassinated by an attendant.

the advantage attending the conjuncture, he hurried to Winchester, in order to secure the royal treasure. From thence, without losing a moment, he hastened to London; and having assembled some noblemen and prelates, whom his address, or abilities, or presents gained to his side, he was suddenly elected, or rather saluted king, and immediately proceeded to the exercise of royal authority. In less than three days after his brother's death the ceremony of his coronation was performed by Maurice, Bishop of London (Aug. 5). As Henry had usurped the throne in violation of the undoubted right of Robert, who had not yet returned from Palestine, he resolved, by fair professions at least, to gain the affections of all his subjects. He granted a charter, in which he promised—to the Church, that he would not seize the revenues of any see or abbey during a vacancy—to the barons and other tenants of the crown, that he would not oppress them with feudal exactions—and to the people, that he would observe the laws of King Edward the Confessor. This charter purports to have been passed with the advice and consent of the barons of England, who are here mentioned for the first time instead of the *witan*. Henry at the same time granted a charter to London, which seems to have been the first step toward rendering that city a corporation.

§ 7. Sensible of the great authority which Anselm had acquired, Henry invited him to return. On his arrival the king had recourse to his authority respecting his marriage with Matilda, daughter of Malcolm III., King of Scotland, and niece to Edgar Atheling, who had been educated under her aunt Christina in the nunnery of Rumsey: since, as she had worn the veil, though never taken the vows, doubts might arise concerning the lawfulness of the act. The affair was examined by Anselm, in a council of the prelates and nobles which was summoned at Lambeth; and Matilda there proved that she had put on the veil, not with a view of entering into a religious life, but merely in consequence of a custom then familiar to the English ladies, who protected their chastity from the brutal violence of the Normans, by taking shelter under that habit, which, amid the horrible licentiousness of the times, was yet generally revered. The council pronounced that Matilda was still free to marry; and her espousals with Henry were celebrated by Anselm with great pomp and solemnity. No act of the king's reign rendered him equally popular with his English subjects, and tended more to establish him on the throne.

§ 8. Meanwhile, Robert had taken possession of Normandy without opposition, and immediately made preparations for recovering England, of which, during his absence, he had been so

unjustly defrauded. The great fame which he had acquired in the East forwarded his pretensions, and many of the Norman barons, discontented at the separation of the duchy and kingdom, invited him to make an attempt upon England, and promised to join him with all their forces. Robert landed with his followers at Portsmouth (July 19, 1101); and Henry, who had collected an army chiefly through the influence of the primate, advanced to meet him. The two armies lay in sight of each other for some days without coming to action, and both princes, being apprehensive of the event, which would probably be decisive, hearkened the more willingly to the counsels of Anselm and the other great men, who mediated an accommodation between them. It was agreed that Robert should resign his pretensions to England, and receive in lieu of them an annual pension of 3000 marks; that, if either of the princes died without issue, the other should succeed to his dominions; that the adherents of each should be pardoned and restored to all their possessions either in Normandy or England; and that neither Robert nor Henry should thenceforth encourage, receive, cr protect the enemies of the other.

§ 9. The indiscretion of Robert soon made him a victim to Henry's ambitious schemes. Normandy, during the reign of this benign but dissolute prince, was become a scene of violence and depredation; and Henry having found that the nobility were more disposed to pay submission to him than to their legal sovereign, he collected, by arbitrary extortions in England, a great army and treasure, and landed in Normandy in 1105. In the second campaign he gained a decisive victory before the castle of Tenchebray, in which nearly 10,000 prisoners were taken, among whom was Duke Robert himself, and all the most considerable barons who adhered to his interests. This victory was followed by the final reduction of Normandy (1106). Henry, having received the homage of all the vassals of the duchy, returned into England, and carried along with him the duke as prisoner. That unfortunate prince was detained in custody during the remainder of his life, which was no less than 28 years, and he died in the castle of Cardiff, in Glamorganshire. Prince William, his only son, who had also been captured, was committed to the care of Helie de St. Saen, who had married Robert's natural daughter, and who, being a man of probity and honor, executed the trust with great affection and fidelity. Edgar Atheling, who had followed Robert in the expedition to Jerusalem, and who had lived with him ever since in Normandy, was another illustrious prisoner taken in the battle of Tenchebray. Henry gave him his liberty, and settled a small pension on him, with which he retired; and he lived to a good old age in England, totally neglected and forgotten. This

prince was distinguished by personal bravery; but nothing can be a stronger proof of his mean talents in every other respect than that he was allowed to live unmolested and go to his grave in peace.

§ 10. A little after Henry had completed the conquest of Normandy, and settled the government of that province, he finished a controversy which had been long depending between him and the Pope, with regard to the investitures in ecclesiastical benefices. Before bishops took possession of their dignities they had formerly been accustomed to pass through two ceremonies: they received from the hands of the sovereign a ring and crosier, as symbols of their office, and this was called their *investiture:* they also made those submissions to the prince which were required of vassals by the rites of the feudal law, and which received the name of *homage.* And as the king might refuse both to grant the *investiture* and to receive the *homage,* though the chapter had, by some canons of the Middle Age, been endowed with the right of election, the sovereign had in reality the sole power of appointing prelates. But Urban II. had equally deprived laymen of the rights of granting investiture and of receiving homage; and the Church openly aspired to a total independence of the state. Anselm had refused to do homage to the king; and Pascal II., who filled the papal throne in Henry's reign, supported Anselm in his refusal, and threatened to excommunicate the king for persisting in his demands. But Henry had established his power so firmly in England and Normandy, that the Pope consented to a compromise. Henry resigned the right of granting investitures, by which the spiritual dignity was supposed to be conferred; and Pascal allowed the bishops to do homage for their temporal properties and privileges. The pontiff was well pleased to have made this acquisition, which he hoped would in time involve the whole; and the king, anxious to procure an escape from a very dangerous situation, was content to retain some, though a more precarious authority, in the election of prelates.

§ 11. The acquisition of Normandy had been a great point of Henry's ambition; but the injustice of his usurpation was the source of great inquietude, involved him in frequent wars, and obliged him to impose on his English subjects those many heavy and arbitrary taxes of which all the historians of that age unanimously complain. William, the son of his brother Robert, had been withdrawn from his power by Helie de St. Saen, to whose care Henry had intrusted him. The cause of the young prince was espoused by Louis the Fat, King of France, and by other Continental princes. The wars which ensued required Henry's frequent presence in Normandy; and though he was generally suc-

cessful, he was not released from anxiety on this account till the year 1128, when his nephew was killed in a skirmish shortly after he had been created Count of Flanders by the French monarch. But eight years previously Henry received a terrible blow in the loss of his only son William. In 1120 the king, having concluded in Normandy a treaty of peace with the French king, set sail from Barfleur on his return, and was soon carried by a fair wind out of sight of land. His son William was detained by some accident; and his sailors, as well as their captain, Thomas Fitz-Stephens, having spent the interval in drinking, were so flustered, that, being in a hurry to follow the king, they heedlessly carried the ship on a rock, where she immediately foundered. William was put into the long-boat, and had got clear of the ship, when, hearing the cries of his natural sister, the Countess of Perche, he ordered the seamen to row back in hopes of saving her; but the numbers who then crowded in soon sunk the boat, and the prince, with all his retinue, perished. Above 140 young noblemen, of the principal families of England and Normandy, were lost on this occasion. A butcher of Rouen was the only person on board who escaped. He clung to the mast, and was taken up next morning by fishermen. Fitz-Stephens also took hold of the mast, but, being informed by the butcher that Prince William had perished, he said that he would not survive the disaster; and he threw himself headlong into the sea. Henry entertained hopes for three days that his son had put into some distant port of England; but when certain intelligence of the calamity was brought him he fainted away; and it was remarked that he never after was seen to smile, nor ever recovered his wonted cheerfulness. The death of William may be regarded, in one respect, as a misfortune to the English, because it was the immediate source of those civil wars which, after the demise of the king, caused such confusion in the kingdom; but it is remarkable that the young prince had entertained a violent aversion to the natives, and had been heard to threaten that when he should be king he would make them draw the plow, and would turn them into beasts of burden.

§ 12. Prince William left no children, and the king had not now any legitimate issue, except one daughter, Matilda, whom, in 1110, he had betrothed, though only eight years of age, to the Emperor Henry V., and whom he had then sent over to be educated in Germany. The king had lost his consort, Queen Maud, in 1118, and after the death of his son he was induced to marry again in hopes of having male heirs. Accordingly in 1121 he married Adelais, daughter of Godfrey, Duke of Louvain, and niece of Pope Calixtus, a young princess of an amiable person; but there was no issue by the marriage. The Emperor of Germany died

without issue, and in 1127 Henry bestowed his daughter on Geoffrey, the son of Fulk, Earl of Anjou, and endeavored to insure her succession by having her recognized heir to all his dominions, and obliging the barons, both of Normandy and England, to swear fealty to her. This marriage also threatened to prove fruitless, but in 1133 Matilda bore a son, who was named Henry after his grandfather. Thereupon the king made all the barons renew the oath of fealty which they had already sworn to her. During the latter years of his reign Henry resided generally in Normandy, where he died December 1, 1135, from eating too plentifully of lampreys, a food which always agreed better with his palate than his constitution. He died in the 67th year of his age, and the 35th of his reign, leaving by will his daughter Matilda heir of all his dominions, without making any mention of her husband Geoffrey, who had given him several causes of displeasure. His body was carried to England, and interred at Reading, in the abbey of St. Mary, which he had founded there.

Henry, like his father, was a monarch of great ability, and possessed all the great qualities both of body and mind, natural and acquired, which could fit him for the high station to which he attained. His person was manly, his countenance engaging, his eyes clear, serene, and penetrating. By his great progress in literature he acquired the name of *Beauclerc*, or the Scholar; but his application to those sedentary pursuits abated nothing of the activity and vigilance of his government. His temper was susceptible of the sentiments as well of friendship as of resentment; but his conduct toward his brother and nephew showed that he was too much disposed to sacrifice to his ambition all the maxims of justice and equity.

§ 13. STEPHEN, A.D. 1135–1154.—Adela, daughter of William the Conqueror, had been married to Stephen, Count of Blois, and had brought him several sons, among whom Stephen and Henry, the two youngest, had been invited over to England by the late king. Henry was created Bishop of Winchester, and Stephen had been endowed with great estates. The king had married him to Matilda, who was daughter and heir of Eustace, Count of Boulogne, and who brought him, besides that feudal sovereignty in France, an immense property in England. Stephen, in return, professed great attachment to his uncle, and appeared zealous for the succession of his daughter Matilda. But no sooner had Henry breathed his last, than, insensible to all the ties of gratitude and fidelity, he hastened over to England, and stopped not till he arrived at London, where some of the lower rank, instigated by his emissaries, as well as moved by his general popularity, immediately saluted him king. It was pretended that the late king on

his death-bed had expressed dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving Stephen heir to all his dominions. William, Archbishop of Canterbury, believing or feigning to believe this improbable tale, anointed Stephen, and put the crown upon his head (Dec. 26); and from this religious ceremony, that prince, without any shadow either of hereditary title or consent of the nobility or people, was allowed to proceed to the exercise of sovereign authority.

Stephen, that he might farther secure his tottering throne, passed a charter, in which he made liberal promises to all orders of men. He invited over from the Continent, particularly from Brittany and Flanders, great numbers of those bravoes or disorderly soldiers with whom every country in Europe, by reason of the general ill police and turbulent government, extremely abounded; and that he might also overawe all malcontents by new and additional terrors of religion, he procured a bull from Rome, which ratified his title.

§ 14. Matilda, and her husband Geoffrey, were as unfortunate in Normandy as they had been in England. The Norman nobility, hearing that Stephen had obtained the English crown, put him in possession of their government. Even Robert, Earl of Gloucester, natural son of the late king, who was much attached to the interests of his sister Matilda, and zealous for the lineal succession, consented, nevertheless, to do Stephen homage, and to take the oath of fealty; but with an express condition, that the king should never invade any of Robert's rights or dignities. The clergy and barons, in return for their submission, exacted terms destructive of public peace, as well as of royal authority; many required the right of fortifying their castles, and of putting themselves in a posture of defense; and the king found himself totally unable to refuse his consent to this exorbitant demand. All England was immediately filled with those fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned either with their vassals, or with licentious soldiers, who flocked to them from all quarters.

The Earl of Gloucester, having now settled with his friends the plan of an insurrection, retired beyond sea, sent the king a defiance, solemnly renounced his allegiance, and upbraided him with the breach of those conditions which had been annexed to the oath of fealty sworn by that nobleman (1138). David, King of Scotland, appeared at the head of an army in defense of his niece's title, and, penetrating into Yorkshire, committed the most barbarous devastations on that county. The fury of his massacres and ravages enraged the northern nobility, who assembled an army, with which they encamped at Northallerton, and awaited the arrival of the enemy. A great battle was here fought, called

the battle of the *Standard*, from a high crucifix, erected by the English on a wagon, and carried along with the army as a military ensign. The King of Scots was defeated, and he himself, as well as his son Harry, narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the English (1138).

§ 15. This success overawed the malcontents in England, and might have given some stability to Stephen's throne, had he not been so elated with prosperity as to engage in a controversy with the clergy, who were at that time an overmatch for any monarch. The bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln having, in imitation of the nobility, erected several strong fortresses, Stephen, who was now sensible from experience of the mischiefs attending these multiplied citadels, resolved to begin with destroying those of the clergy. Accordingly, he seized both those prelates, threw them into prison, and obliged them, by menaces, to deliver up those places of strength which they had lately erected. To the surprise of Stephen, the cause of the prelates was espoused by his own brother, Henry, Bishop of Winchester, who, having been appointed the papal legate, assembled a synod at Westminster, and there complained of the impiety of Stephen's measures, who had employed violence against the dignitaries of the Church. The Empress Matilda, invited by this opportunity, and secretly encouraged by the legate himself, landed in England, with Robert Earl of Gloucester, and a small retinue of knights (1139). She fixed her residence first at Arundel Castle, whose gates were opened to her by Adelais, the queen-dowager. Many barons declared for her, and open war broke out between the two parties. A frightful state of anarchy ensued. The castles of the nobility were become receptacles of licensed robbers, who, sallying forth day and night, committed spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons into slavery; and set fire to their houses after they had pillaged them of every thing valuable. The land was left untilled; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine, the natural result of those disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenseless people, to the most extreme want and indigence.

There happened at last an event which seemed to promise some end of the public calamities. Stephen himself, being captured by Earl Robert, near Lincoln, was conducted to Gloucester; and though at first treated with humanity, was soon after, on some suspicion, thrown into prison and loaded with irons (1141). The claims of Matilda to the throne were solemnly recognized in an ecclesiastical synod held at Winchester by Stephen's brother, the

legate. The only laymen summoned to this council were the Londoners, who were at length obliged to submit; and her authority, by the prudent conduct of Earl Robert, seemed to be established over the whole kingdom. But affairs remained not long in this situation. Matilda, besides the disadvantages of her sex, which weakened her influence over a turbulent and martial people, was of a passionate, imperious spirit, and knew not how to temper with affability the harshness of a refusal. Stephen's queen, seconded by many of the nobility, and by the citizens of London, petitioned for the liberty of her husband, and offered that on this condition he should renounce the crown and retire into a convent. The legate desired that Prince Eustace, his nephew, might inherit Boulogne and the other patrimonial estates of his father; and the Londoners also applied for the establishment of King Edward's laws. All these petitions were rejected in the most haughty and peremptory manner. The legate availed himself of the ill-humor excited by Matilda's imperious conduct, and secretly instigated the Londoners to a revolt. Having assembled all his retainers, he openly joined his force to that of the Londoners, and besieged Matilda in Winchester. The empress, being hard pressed by famine, made her escape; but in the flight, Earl Robert, her brother, fell into the hands of the enemy. This nobleman, though a subject, was as much the life and soul of his own party, as Stephen was of the other; and Matilda, sensible of his merit and importance, consented to exchange the prisoners on equal terms (1141). The civil war was again kindled with greater fury than ever, and continued several years. The empress at last retired into Normandy (1146), and about the same time her brother Robert died.

§ 16. In 1148 Matilda's son, Prince Henry, proceeded into Scotland, where he remained some time; made incursions into England; and by his dexterity and vigor in all manly exercises, by his valor in war, and his prudent conduct in every occurrence, he roused the hopes of his party, and gave symptoms of those great qualities which he afterward displayed when he mounted the throne of England. Soon after his return to Normandy he was, by Matilda's consent, invested with that duchy (1150), and upon the death of his father, Geoffrey, which happened in the subsequent year, he took possession both of Anjou and Maine. He still farther augmented his dominions by concluding a discreditable marriage with Eleanor, daughter and heir of William, Duke of Guienne and Earl of Poitou, whom Louis VII. of France had divorced on account of the levity of her conduct. This marriage gave him possession of Guienne, Poitou, and other provinces in the south of France (1152). The lustre which he received

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Henry II. From his monument at Fontevraud.

CHAPTER VII.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.—HENRY II., AND RICHARD I. A.D. 1154–1199.

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§ 1. HENRY II., 1154–1189.—Henry II., who now ascended the throne, was the first monarch of the house of the Plantagenets, whose name was derived from the *planta genista*, the Spanish broom-plant, a sprig of which was commonly worn by Geoffrey, Henry's father, in his hat.* The Plantagenets reigned over England for more than three centuries, and to this family all the English monarchs belonged from Henry II. to Richard III. (A.D.

* The portrait of Geoffrey Plantagenet on the following page, of which the original is now in the museum of Le Mans, served formerly to ornament the tomb of Geoffrey in the cathedral of Le Mans.



Geoffrey Plantagenet, father of Henry II.

1154–1485); but on the death of Richard II. they were divided into the houses of Lancaster and York, to the former of which belonged Henry IV., Henry V., and Henry VI. (1399–1471), and to the latter Edward IV., Edward V., and Richard III. (1471–1485). The first two Plantagenet monarchs were still Anglo-Norman princes; and it is not before the reign of John that a new epoch commences in English history.

No opposition was offered to the accession of Henry. He was in Normandy at the time of Stephen's death, and upon his arrival in England he was received with the acclamations of all orders of men, who swore with pleasure the oath of fealty and allegiance to him. He was crowned on the 19th of December. The first act of his government corresponded to the high idea entertained of his abilities, and prognosticated the re-establishment of justice and tranquillity, of which the kingdom had so long been bereaved. He immediately dismissed all those mercenary soldiers who had committed great disorders in the nation; he revoked all the grants made by his predecessor, even those which necessity had extorted from the Empress Matilda; he repaired the coin, which had been extremely debased during the reign of his predecessor, and he took proper measures against the return of a like abuse. He was rigorous in the execution of justice and in the suppression of robbery and violence; and, that he might restore authority to the laws, he caused all the newly-erected castles to be demolished, which had proved so many sanctuaries to freebooters and rebels.

§ 2. The Continental possessions of Henry were far more extensive than those of any of his predecessors. He was master, in the right of his father, of Anjou and Touraine; in that of his mother, of Normandy and Maine; in that of his wife, of Guienne, Poitou, Xaintogne, Auvergne, Perigord, Angoumois, the Limousin. These provinces composed above a third of the whole French monarchy, and were much superior, in extent and opulence, to those territories which were subjected to the immediate jurisdiction and government of the king. On the death of his brother Geoffrey in 1158, Henry prepared to take possession of the county of Nantes, which had been put into Geoffrey's hands by the inhabitants, after they had expelled their former prince, Count Hoel; but which had been seized by Conan, Duke or Count of Brittany, on the pretense that it had been separated by rebellion from his principality. Lest Louis, the French king, should interpose in the controversy, Henry paid him a visit, and so allured him by caresses and civilities, that an alliance was contracted between them; and they agreed that young Henry, heir to the English monarchy, should be affianced to Margaret of France, though the former was only five years of age and the latter was still in her cradle. Henry, now

secure of meeting with no interruption on this side, advanced with his army into Brittany; and Conan, in despair of being able to make resistance, not only delivered up the county of Nantes to him, but also betrothed his daughter and only child, yet an infant, to Geoffrey, the king's third son, who was of the same tender years. The Duke of Brittany died about seven years after; and Henry, being *mesne* lord, and also natural guardian to his son and daughter-in-law, put himself in possession of that principality, and annexed it to his other great dominions.

§ 3. In 1162 Henry commenced his long and memorable struggle with the papal power. On the death of Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, the king resolved to take rigorous measures against the multiplied encroachments of the clergy; and that he might be secure against any opposition, he advanced to that dignity Becket, his chancellor, on whose compliance he thought he could entirely depend.

Thomas à Becket, the first man of English descent who, since the Norman conquest, had, during the course of a whole century, risen to any considerable station, was born of reputable parents in the city of London; and, being endowed with industry and capacity, he early insinuated himself into the favor of Archbishop Theobald, and obtained from that prelate some preferments and offices. By their means he was enabled to travel for improvement to Italy, where he studied the civil and canon law at Bologna; and on his return he appeared to have made such proficiency in knowledge, that he was promoted by his patron to the archdeaconry of Canterbury, an office of considerable trust and profit. He was afterward employed with success by Theobald in transacting business at Rome; and on Henry's accession was promoted by the influence of the archbishop to the dignity of chancellor. Besides exercising this high office, Becket was put in possession of large baronies that had escheated to the crown; and to complete his grandeur, he was intrusted with the education of Prince Henry, the king's eldest son, and heir of the monarchy. The pomp of his retinue, the sumptuousness of his furniture, the luxury of his table, the munificence of his presents, corresponded to these great preferments, or, rather, exceeded any thing that England had ever before seen in any subject. His historian and secretary, Fitz-Stephens, mentions, among other particulars, that his apartments were every day in winter covered with clean straw or hay, and in summer with green rushes or boughs, lest the gentlemen who paid court to him, and could not, by reason of their great number, find a place at table, should soil their fine clothes by sitting on a dirty floor. A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons were proud of being re-

ceived at his table; his house was a place of education for the sons of the chief nobility; and the king himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments.

Becket, who by his complaisance and good-humor had rendered himself agreeable, and by his industry and abilities useful, to his master, appeared to him the fittest person for supplying the vacancy made by the death of Theobald. As he was well acquainted with the king's intentions of retrenching, or rather confining within the ancient bounds, all ecclesiastical privileges, Henry, who never expected any resistance from that quarter, immediately issued orders for electing him Archbishop of Canterbury (May 24, 1162). But no sooner was Becket installed in this high dignity than he totally altered his demeanor and conduct. Without consulting the king, he immediately returned into his hands the commission of chancellor, pretending that he must thenceforth detach himself from secular affairs, and be solely employed in the exercise of his spiritual functions; but in reality that he might break off all connections with Henry, and apprise him that Becket, as primate of England, was now become entirely a new personage. He maintained, in his retinue and attendants alone, his ancient pomp and lustre, which were useful to strike the vulgar; in his own person he affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification, which, he was sensible, would have an equal or a greater tendency to the same end. He wore sackcloth next his skin; he changed it so seldom that it was filled with dirt and vermin; his usual diet was bread, his drink water, which he even rendered unpalatable by the mixture of unsavory herbs; he tore his back with the frequent discipline which he inflicted on it; he daily on his knees washed, in imitation of Christ, the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterward dismissed with presents; and his aspect wore the appearance of seriousness and secret devotion. Becket waited not till Henry should commence those projects against the ecclesiastical power which he knew had been formed by that prince; he was himself the aggressor in several matters, and endeavored to overawe the king by the intrepidity and boldness of his enterprises.

The question between them was at length brought to an issue by the following case: A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a gentleman's daughter, had proceeded to murder the father; and the general indignation against this crime moved the king to require that the clerk should be delivered up, and receive condign punishment from the magistrate. Becket insisted on the privileges of the Church; confined the criminal in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the king's officers; maintained that no greater punishment could be inflicted on him than degra-

dation; and when the king demanded that, immediately after he was degraded, he should be tried by the civil power, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man twice upon the same accusation and for the same offense.

§ 4. Henry, laying hold of so plausible a pretense, resolved to determine at once those controversies which daily multiplied between the civil and the ecclesiastical jurisdictions. He summoned an assembly of all the prelates of England, and he put to them this concise and decisive question, Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops unanimously replied that they were willing, *saving their own order;* a device by which they thought to elude the present urgency of the king's demand, yet reserve to themselves, on a favorable opportunity, the power of resuming all their pretensions.

Henry was not content with a declaration in these general terms; he resolved, ere it was too late, to define expressly those customs with which he required compliance. For this purpose he summoned a general council of the nobility and prelates at Clarendon (Jan. 25, 1164), in which the laws, commonly called the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, were voted without opposition. The articles, 16 in number, established the following principal points: Clerical offenders were again brought under secular jurisdiction, from which they had been removed at some period since the Conquest. This step was imperatively demanded by the enormous increase of crime among the clergy, no fewer than 100 murders having been committed by men of that profession since the king's accession; and as the spiritual courts could inflict only spiritual penalties, these crimes met with no adequate punishment. Other articles regarded the cognizance by civil courts of clerical contracts and rights of advowson. The king asserted the power of approving the election of bishops, and of receiving their homage as barons; he forbade that any of his tenants in chief should be excommunicated without his consent, or that any of the clergy should leave the kingdom without his permission. At the same time was passed the *Assize of Clarendon*,* a series of regulations respecting civil affairs, which, however, was not confirmed till the year 1176.

§ 5. Becket at first obstinately withheld his assent to the *Constitutions;* but, finding himself deserted even by his own brethren, he was at last obliged to comply; and he promised, *legally, with good faith, and without fraud or reserve,* to observe the Constitu-

* The *Constitutions* will be found in Lord Lyttelton's *History of Henry II.*, App. to book iii., No. 2; the *Assize* in Palgrave's *English Commonwealth*, vol. ii., p. 168.

tions; and he took an oath to that purpose. When the Pope, however, not only refused to ratify, but absolutely annulled the Constitutions, Becket expressed the deepest sorrow for his compliance, and endeavored to engage all the other bishops in a confederacy to support their ecclesiastical privileges. On the other hand, Henry, being determined to prosecute the archbishop to the utmost, summoned, at Northampton, a great council, which he purposed to make the instrument of his vengeance against the inflexible prelate (Oct. 12, 1164). Becket was condemned as guilty of a contempt of the king's court for not having personally appeared in a suit instituted against him respecting some lands, and as wanting in the fealty which he had sworn to his sovereign; and all his goods and chattels were confiscated. The king, not content with this sentence, however violent and oppressive, farther demanded back from him, on various pretexts, several large sums of money; and finally required him to give in the accounts of his administration while chancellor, and to pay the balance due from the revenues of all the prelacies, abbeys, and baronies, which had, during that time, been subjected to his management. Becket, by the advice of the Bishop of Winchester, offered 2000 marks as a general satisfaction for all demands; but this offer was rejected by the king. After a few days spent in deliberation, Becket, having gone to church and said mass, proceeded thence to court, arrayed in his sacred vestments. As soon as he arrived within the palace gate he took the cross into his own hands, bore it aloft as his protection, and marched in that posture into the royal apartments. The king, who was in an inner room, was astonished at this parade, by which the primate seemed to menace him and his court with the sentence of excommunication; and he sent some of the prelates to remonstrate with him on account of such audacious behavior. The king would probably have pushed the affair to the utmost extremity against him; but Becket asked Henry's immediate permission to leave Northampton; and upon meeting with a refusal, he withdrew secretly, wandered about for some time disguised as a monk, under the name of Brother Christian, and at last took shipping and arrived safely at Gravelines.

§ 6. Louis, King of France, jealous of the rising greatness of Henry, and the Pope, whose interests were more immediately concerned in supporting Becket, received him with the greatest marks of distinction. A war ensued between Louis and Henry; and the Pope menaced Henry with excommunication. But after three years' time peace was concluded between the two monarchs, and the Pope and Henry began at last to perceive that, in the present situation of affairs, neither of them could expect a final and deci-

sive victory over the other, and that they had more to fear than to hope from the duration of the controversy. After much negotiation, all difficulties were finally adjusted between the parties (1170), and the king allowed Becket to return, after he had been six years in banishment, on conditions which may be esteemed both honorable and advantageous to that prelate. But the king attained not even that temporary tranquillity which he had hoped to reap from these expedients. During the heat of his quarrel with Becket, while he was every day expecting an interdict to be laid on his kingdom, and sentence of excommunication to be fulminated against his person, he had thought it prudent to have his son, Prince Henry, associated with him in the royalty, and to make him be crowned king by the hands of Roger, Archbishop of York (June 15, 1170). But Becket, claiming the sole right, as Archbishop of Canterbury, of officiating in the coronation, had inhibited all the prelates of England from assisting at this ceremony, and had procured from the Pope a mandate to the same purpose. Henry had promised that the ceremony should be renewed; but the violent spirit of Becket, elated by the power of the Church, and by the victory which he had already obtained over his sovereign, was not content with this voluntary compensation. On his arrival in England, at the beginning of December, he met the Archbishop of York and the bishops of London and Salisbury, who were on their journey to the king in Normandy. He notified to the archbishop the sentence of suspension, and to the two bishops that of excommunication, which, at his solicitation, the Pope had pronounced against them. He then proceeded, in the most ostentatious manner, to take possession of his diocese. In Rochester, and all the towns through which he passed, he was received with the shouts and acclamations of the populace. As he approached Southwark, the clergy, the laity, men of all ranks and ages, came forth to meet him, and celebrate with hymns of joy his triumphant entrance.

§ 7. When the suspended and excommunicated prelates arrived at Baieux, where the king then resided, and complained to him of the violent proceedings of Becket, he instantly perceived the consequences; and being vehemently agitated, burst forth into an exclamation against his servants, whose want of zeal, he said, had so long left him exposed to the enterprises of that ungrateful and imperious prelate. Four gentlemen of his household, Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Moreville, and Richard Brito, or the Breton, taking these passionate expressions to be a hint for Becket's death, immediately communicated their thoughts to each other; and swearing to avenge their prince's quarrel, secretly withdrew from court. Some menacing expressions which

they had dropped gave a suspicion of their design; and the king dispatched a messenger after them, charging them to attempt nothing against the person of the primate; but these orders arrived too late to prevent their fatal purpose. The four assassins, though they took different roads to England, arrived nearly about the same time at Saltwood, near Canterbury; and, being there joined by some assistants, they proceeded in great haste to the archiepiscopal palace. They found the primate, who trusted entirely to the sacredness of his character, very slenderly attended; and threw out many menaces and reproaches against him, requiring him, among other things, to quit the country, unless he consented to absolve the excommunicated prelates. Alarmed by the threats of the knights, the monks hurried the archbishop into the church, where vespers had already commenced. The assassins, who had retired to arm themselves, soon reappeared at the church door, which the monks would have fastened, but Becket forbade them to convert the house of God into a fortress. In the dim twilight the trembling monks concealed themselves under the altars and behind the pillars of the church. Becket met his murderers as he descended from the chapel of St. Benedict into the transept. Fitz-Urse, wielding in his hand a glittering axe, was the first to approach him, exclaiming, "Where is the traitor? where is the archbishop?" At the second call Becket replied, "Reginald, here I am; no traitor, but the archbishop and priest of God; what do you wish?" and, passing by him, took up his station between the central pillar and the massive wall which still forms the southwest corner of what was then the chapel of St. Benedict. He was then again required to revoke the excommunication; and on his giving another firm refusal, the assassins attempted to drag him out of the church in order to dispatch him beyond the sacred precincts. But Becket resisted with all his might, and, exerting his great strength, flung Tracy down upon the pavement. Finding it hopeless to remove him, Fitz-Urse approached him with his drawn sword, and, waving it over his head, merely dashed off his cap. Thereupon Tracy sprang forward and struck a more decisive blow. Grim, a monk of Cambridge, who up to this moment had his arm round Becket, threw it up to intercept the blade. The blow lighted upon the arm of the monk, which fell wounded or broken, and the spent force of the stroke descended on Becket's head, grazed the crown, and finally rested on the left shoulder, cutting through the clothes and skin. The next blow, whether struck by Tracy or Fitz-Urse, was only with the flat of the sword, and again upon the bleeding head, which Becket drew back, as if stunned, and then raised his clasped hands above it. The blood from the first blow was trickling down

his face in a thin streak; he wiped it with his arm; and when he saw the stain he said, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." At the third blow, which was also from Tracy, he sank on his knees, and murmured in a low voice, "For the name of Jesus and the defense of the Church I am willing to die." Without moving hand or foot, he fell flat on his face as he spoke, and, while in this posture, received from Richard the Breton a tremendous blow upon the skull. A subdeacon named Hugh, an associate of the assassins, planting his foot on the neck of the corpse, caused the blood and brains to spirt out upon the pavement. This foul deed was perpetrated on Tuesday, the 29th December (A.D. 1170), a day long memorable in England as the martyrdom of St. Thomas.*

Thomas à Becket was a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover to the world, and probably to himself, the enterprises of pride and ambition under the disguise of sanctity and of zeal for the interests of religion. An extraordinary personage, surely, had he been allowed to remain in his first station, and had directed the vehemence of his character to the support of law and justice, instead of being engaged by the prejudices of the times to sacrifice all private duties and public connections to ties which he imagined, or represented, as superior to every civil and political consideration. But no man who enters into the genius of that age can reasonably doubt of Becket's sincerity.

§ 8. The intelligence of his murder threw the king into great consternation. The point of chief importance to Henry was to convince the Pope of his innocence, or, rather, to persuade him that he would reap greater advantages from the submission of England than from proceeding to extremities against that kingdom. By the skill of his embassadors he found means to appease the pontiff, whose anathemas were only leveled in general against all the actors, accomplices, and abettors of Becket's murder; but the cardinals Albert and Theodin were appointed legates to examine the cause, and were ordered to proceed to Normandy for that purpose. The clergy, meanwhile, though their rage was happily diverted from falling on the king, were not idle in magnifying the sanctity of Becket. Endless were the panegyrics on his virtues, and numerous miracles were alleged to be wrought by his relics. Between two and three years after his death he was canonized by Pope Alexander; his body was removed to a magnificent shrine, enriched with presents from all parts of

* The preceding account of Becket's death is chiefly taken from Mr. Stanley's accurate and graphic narrative in his "Historical Memorials of Canterbury."

Christendom; pilgrimages were performed to obtain his intercession with Heaven; and it was computed that in one year above 100,000 pilgrims arrived in Canterbury, and paid their devotions at his tomb.

§ 9. As soon as Henry found that he was in no immediate danger from the thunders of the Vatican, he undertook a long-projected expedition against Ireland.

As Britain was first peopled from Gaul, so was Ireland probably from Britain. The Irish were converted to Christianity by St. Patrick about the middle of the 5th century; and as Ireland escaped the incursions of the barbarians who overran the rest of Europe, the ecclesiastics of that country had preserved a considerable share of learning when other nations were buried in ignorance. The Irish schools were resorted to by foreigners, and Irish missionaries spread their religion and their learning over the Continent of Europe. The invasion of the Danes and Northmen in the 8th century replunged Ireland into barbarism, from which, however, the towns which those invaders inhabited on the east coast were beginning to emerge. Besides many small tribes, there were, in the age of Henry II., five principal sovereignties in the island—Munster, Leinster, Meath, Ulster, and Connaught; and as it had been usual for the one or the other of these to take the lead in their wars, there was commonly some prince who seemed, for the time, to act as monarch of Ireland. Roderick O'Connor, King of Connaught, was then advanced to this dignity; but his government, ill obeyed even within his own territory, could not unite the people in any measures, either for the establishment of order or for defense against foreigners. The ambition of Henry had, very early in his reign, been moved to attempt the subjecting of Ireland; and a pretense was only wanting to invade a people who, being always confined to their own island, had never given any reason of complaint to any of their neighbors. For this purpose he had recourse to Rome, which assumed a right to dispose of kingdoms and empires, and especially of islands, according to an alleged donation of Constantine. Adrian IV. (Breakspear), the only Englishman who has ever sat upon the papal throne, gladly availed himself of the opportunity of bringing the Irish Church under the dominion of Rome, and therefore, in the year 1156, issued a bull in favor of Henry, giving him entire right and authority over the island. Henry, though armed with this authority, was prevented by various causes from putting his design into execution, and waited for a favorable opportunity of invading Ireland.

Dermot Macmorrogh, King of Leinster, had carried off Dovergilda, wife of O'Ruarc, Prince of Breffny, and thereby provoked

the resentment of the husband, who, having collected forces, and being strengthened by the alliance of Roderick, King of Connaught, invaded the dominions of Dermot, and expelled him his kingdom. The exiled prince craved the assistance of Henry in restoring him to his sovereignty, and offered, on that event, to hold his kingdom in vassalage under the crown of England. Henry, being at the time embarrassed by the rebellions of his French subjects, as well as by his disputes with the see of Rome, gave Dermot no farther assistance than letters patent, by which he empowered all his subjects to aid the Irish prince in the recovery of his dominions. Dermot, supported by this authority, formed a treaty with Richard de Clare of Strigul (Chepstow), surnamed Strongbow. This nobleman was the son of the Earl of Pembroke, but had impaired his fortune by expensive pleasures; and being ready for any desperate undertaking, he promised assistance to Dermot on condition that he should espouse Eva, daughter of that prince, and be declared heir to all his dominions. While Richard was assembling his succors, Dermot also engaged the assistance of two other knights in South Wales, Robert Fitz-Stephens and Maurice Fitz-Gerald. In 1169 Fitz-Stephens crossed over to Ireland with a small force and took the town of Waterford, and was shortly afterward joined by Fitz-Gerald. In the following year Richard de Clare, having obtained an ambiguous permission from Henry to embark in the enterprise, landed in Ireland, took Dublin, and, marrying Eva, became soon after, by the death of Dermot, master of the kingdom of Leinster, and prepared to extend his authority over all Ireland. Roderick, and the other Irish princes, were alarmed at the danger; and, combining together, besieged Dublin with an army of 30,000 men; but Earl Richard, making a sudden sally at the head of 90 knights, with their followers, put this numerous army to rout, chased them off the field, and pursued them with great slaughter. None in Ireland now dared to oppose themselves to the English.

Henry, jealous of the progress made by his own subjects, sent orders to recall all the English, and determined to attack Ireland in person; but Richard and the other adventurers found means to appease him by making him the most humble submissions. The monarch landed in Ireland at the head of 500 knights, besides other soldiers; he found the Irish so dispirited by their late misfortunes, that, in a progress which he had made through the island, he had no other occupation than to receive the homage of his new subjects. He left most of the Irish chieftains or princes in possession of their ancient territories; bestowed some lands on the English adventurers; gave Earl Richard the commission of Seneschal of Ireland; and, after a stay of a few months, returned

in triumph to England. By these trivial exploits, scarcely worth relating, except for the importance of the consequences, was Ireland subdued and annexed to the English crown (1171–1172). On his return to Normandy in the spring of 1172, Henry met the papal legates, and having sworn on the relics of the saints that he had not commanded nor desired the death of the archbishop, and having also made various concessions to the Church, he received absolution from the legates, and was confirmed in the grant of Ireland made by Pope Adrian.

§ 10. The king's precaution in establishing the several branches of his family seemed well calculated to prevent all jealousy among his children, and to perpetuate the greatness of his family. He had appointed Henry, his eldest son, to be his successor in the kingdom of England, the duchy of Normandy, and the counties of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine; Richard, his second son, was invested in the duchy of Guienne, and county of Poitou; Geoffrey, his third son, inherited, in right of his wife, the duchy of Brittany; and the new conquest of Ireland was destined for the appanage of John, his fourth son. But his hopes were frustrated by the unnatural conduct of these very children. In 1173 his three eldest sons fled to the court of France, and demanded of their father immediate possession of a portion, at any rate, of the territories promised to them. They had been encouraged in their filial disobedience by their mother, Eleanor, who had been offended with her husband on account of his numerous amours, and attempted herself to fly to France, but was seized and thrown into confinement. Young Henry had also been instigated by his father-in-law, King Louis, who persuaded him that the fact of his having been crowned as king conferred upon him the right of participating in the throne. Many of the Norman nobility deserted to Prince Henry; and the Breton and Gascon barons seemed equally disposed to embrace the quarrel of Geoffrey and Richard. Disaffection had crept in among the English; and the earls of Leicester and Chester in particular had openly declared against the king. On the Continent, however, Henry obtained at all points, and without much difficulty, the advantage over his enemies; and the chief hopes of the malcontents seemed now to depend on the state of affairs in England. William, King of Scotland, had also entered into this great confederacy; and a plan was concerted for a general invasion on different parts of the king's extensive and factious dominions. The King of Scots had crossed the border, the Flemings made a descent upon Suffolk, and several of the counties were in open revolt. The belief again gained ground that the king had been privy to the murder of the archbishop, and that these disasters were a judgment upon him.

§ 11. Under these circumstances Henry resolved to make a pilgrimage to the tomb of the martyr, and humble himself before the ashes of the saint. He crossed over from Normandy in 1174, and on July 12 entered Canterbury. As soon as he came within sight of the cathedral he dismounted, walked barefoot toward it, prostrated himself before the shrine of the saint, remained in fasting and prayer during a whole day, and watched all night the holy relics. He even submitted to a penance still more singular and humiliating. He assembled a chapter of the monks, disrobed himself before them, put a scourge of discipline into the hands of each, and presented his bare shoulders to the lashes which these ecclesiastics successively inflicted upon him. Next day he received absolution; and, departing for London, got soon after the agreeable intelligence of a great victory which his generals had obtained over the Scots at Alnwick, and of the capture of their king William. As this victory was gained on the very day of his absolution, it was regarded as the earnest of his final reconciliation with Heaven and with Saint Thomas. This great and important victory proved at last decisive in favor of Henry, and entirely broke the spirit of the English rebels, who hastened to make their submissions. Louis was glad to conclude a peace with Henry; his sons returned to their obedience; and William, King of Scotland, was compelled with all his barons and prelates to do homage to Henry in the cathedral of York, and to acknowledge him and his successors for their superior lord (1175). Berwick and Roxburgh were ceded to the English monarch, and the castle of Edinburgh was placed in his hands for a limited time. This was the first great ascendant which England obtained over Scotland; and, indeed, the first important transaction which had passed between the kingdoms.

§ 12. Henry, having thus, contrary to expectation, extricated himself with honor from a situation in which his throne was exposed to great danger, was employed for several years in the internal administration of his kingdom. One of the most important of his enactments was the appointment of itinerant justices, of which institution an account is given at the close of this book.* Another was the substitution in certain cases of a trial by sixteen sworn recognitors in place of the trial by battle. These recognitors were taken from the county in which the case was to be tried, and bear a close analogy to a modern jury.†

The success which had attended Henry in his wars did not much encourage his neighbors to form any attempt against him; and his transactions with them, during several years, contain little memorable. He sent over his fourth son, John, into Ireland with a view of making a more complete conquest of the island; but the

* See p. 131. † *Ibid.*

petulance and incapacity of this prince, by which he enraged the Irish chieftains, obliged the king soon after to recall him. The latter years of Henry's reign were imbittered by the renewed rebellion of his sons, and by their quarrels with one another. In 1183 Prince Henry was seized with a fatal illness in the midst of his criminal designs, and died expressing deep sorrow for his filial ingratitude. Richard and Geoffrey made war upon each other; and when this quarrel was accommodated, Geoffrey, the most vicious perhaps of all Henry's unhappy family, levied forces against his father. Henry was freed from this danger by his son's death, who was killed in a tournament at Paris (1186).

§ 13. In the year 1187 the city of Jerusalem fell into the hands of Sultan Saladin. A new crusade was determined upon. The French and English monarchs and the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa took the cross. In the midst of these preparations Prince Richard, who was supported by Philip of France, again took up arms against his father (1188). After much fruitless negotiation the King of England was obliged to defend his dominions by arms, and to engage in a war with France, and with his son, in which his reverses so subdued his spirit that he submitted to all the rigorous terms which were imposed upon him. But the mortification which Henry received from these terms was the least that he met with on this occasion. When he demanded a list of those barons to whom he was bound to grant a pardon for their connections with Richard, he was astonished to find at the head of them the name of his favorite son John. The unhappy father, already overloaded with cares and sorrows, finding this last disappointment in his domestic tenderness, broke out into expressions of the utmost despair, cursed the day in which he received his miserable being, and bestowed on his ungrateful and undutiful children a malediction which he never could be prevailed on to retract. This finishing blow, by depriving him of every comfort in life, quite broke his spirit and threw him into a lingering fever, of which he expired at the castle of Chinon near Saumur (July 6, 1189). His natural son, Geoffrey, who alone had behaved dutifully toward him, attended his corpse to Fontevraud, where it lay in state in the abbey church. Next day Richard, who came to visit the dead body of his father, was struck with horror and remorse at the sight; and he expressed a deep sense, though too late, of that undutiful behavior which had brought his parent to an untimely grave. Thus died, in the 58th year of his age, and 34th of his reign, the greatest prince of his time for wisdom, virtue, and abilities. He was of a middle stature, strong, and well proportioned; his countenance was lively and engaging; his conversation affable and entertaining; his elocution easy, persuasive, and ever at com-

mand. He loved peace, but possessed both bravery and conduct in war; was provident without timidity, severe in the execution of justice without rigor, and temperate without austerity. He preserved health, and kept himself from corpulency, to which he was somewhat inclined, by an abstemious diet, and by frequent exercise, particularly hunting. Henry had five sons by Eleanor, of whom only two, Richard and John, survived him. Of his natural children the most distinguished were his two sons by the "fair" Rosamond, daughter of Walter Clifford, a baron of Herefordshire. The celebrated story of the labyrinth at Woodstock and of the tragic fate of Rosamond is an invention of later times. Her elder son William, who received the surname of Longsword, married the daughter of the Earl of Salisbury. Her youngest son Geoffrey, already mentioned, became Bishop of Lincoln and Archbishop of York.



Richard I. From his monument at Fontevraud.

§ 14. RICHARD I., 1189–1199. The compunction of Richard for his undutiful behavior toward his father was durable, and influenced him in the choice of his ministers. The faithful servants of Henry, who had vigorously opposed all the enterprises of his sons, were received with open arms, and were continued in those offices which they had honorably discharged to their former master. One of Richard's first acts was to send orders for releasing his mother Eleanor from the confinement in which she had long been detained by Henry.

The history of Richard's reign consists of little more than his personal adventures. Impelled more by the love of military

glory than by superstition, he acted as if the sole purpose of his government had been the relief of the Holy Land, and the recovery of Jerusalem from the Saracens. This zeal against infidels, being communicated to his subjects, broke out in London on the day of his coronation (Sept. 3). The king had issued an edict prohibiting Jews from appearing at his coronation; but some of them, bringing him large presents from their nation, presumed, in confidence of that merit, to approach the hall in which he dined: being discovered, they were exposed to the insults of the by-standers; they took to flight; the people pursued them; the rumor was spread that the king had issued orders to massacre all the Jews; a command so agreeable was executed in an instant on such as fell into the hands of the populace, who, moved by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houses, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners. The inhabitants of the other cities of England imitated the example; in York 500 Jews, who had retired into the castle for safety, and found themselves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, and then, setting fire to the houses, perished in the flames.

The king, negligent of every consideration but his present object, endeavored to raise money by all expedients, how pernicious soever to the public, or dangerous to royal authority. He put to sale the revenues and manors of the crown, and the offices of greatest trust and power; and even sold, for so small a sum as 10,000 marks, the vassalage of Scotland, together with the fortresses of Roxburgh and Berwick, the greatest acquisition that had been made by his father during the course of his victorious reign. Leaving the administration in the hands of the bishops of Durham and Ely, whom he appointed justiciaries and guardians of the realm, Richard proceeded to the plains of Vezelay, on the borders of Burgundy, the place of rendezvous agreed on with the French king. Philip and Richard, on their arrival there (29th June, 1190), found their combined army amount to 100,000 men.

§ 15. The French prince and the English here reiterated their promises of cordial friendship, and pledged their faith not to invade each other's dominions during the crusade. They then separated; Philip took the road to Genoa, Richard that to Marseilles, with a view of meeting their fleets, which were severally appointed to rendezvous in these harbors. They put to sea; and, nearly about the same time, were obliged, by stress of weather, to take shelter in Messina, where they were detained during the whole winter. Here Richard was joined by Berengaria, daughter of the King of Navarre, with whom he had become enamored in Guienne. In the spring of the following year (1191), the English fleet, on leaving the port of Messina, met with a furious tempest,



Berengaria.

and the squadron in which Berengaria and her suite were embarked was driven on the coast of Cyprus. In consequence of their inhospitable treatment by Isaac, the ruler of Cyprus, Richard landed on the island, dethroned Isaac, and established governors over the island. Richard then espoused Berengaria (May 12), and immediately afterward sailed for Palestine.

§ 16. The arrival of Philip and Richard inspired new life into the Christians. The emulation between those rival kings and rival nations produced extraordinary acts of valor: Richard in particular drew to himself the general attention, and acquired a great and splendid reputation. Acre, which had been attacked for above two years by the united force of all the Christians in Palestine, now surrendered; but Philip, instead of pursuing the hopes of farther conquest, being disgusted with the ascendant assumed and acquired by Richard, declared his resolution of returning to France. The Christian adventurers under Richard's command determined, on opening the campaign, to attempt the siege of Ascalon, in order to prepare the way for that of Jerusalem; and they marched along the sea-coast with that intention. The march of 100 miles from Acre to Ascalon was a great and perpetual battle of 11 days. Ascalon fell into the hands of the Christians; other sieges were carried on with equal success; Richard was even able to advance within sight of Jerusalem, the object of his enterprise; when he had the mortification to find that, from the irresistible desire of all his allies to return home, there appeared an absolute necessity of abandoning for the present all hopes of farther conquest, and of securing the acquisitions of the Christians by an accommodation with Saladin. Richard therefore concluded a truce with that monarch (1192), and stipulated that Acre, Joppa, and other sea-port towns of Palestine should

remain in the hands of the Christians, and that every one of that religion should have liberty to perform his pilgrimage to Jerusalem unmolested.

§ 17. There remained, after the truce, no business of importance to detain Richard in Palestine; and the intelligence which he received, concerning the intrigues of his brother John, and those of the King of France, made him sensible that his presence was necessary in Europe. As he dared not to pass through France, he sailed to the Adriatic; and, being shipwrecked near Aquileia, he put on the disguise of a pilgrim, with the purpose of taking his journey secretly through Germany. At Vienna his expenses and liberalities betrayed the monarch in the habit of the pilgrim, and he was arrested by orders of Leopold, Duke of Austria (Dec. 20, 1192), who had served under Richard in Palestine, and had been disgusted by some insult of that haughty monarch. The emperor, Henry VI., required the royal captive to be delivered to him, and detained him in a castle in the Tyrol. The English learned the captivity of their king from a letter which the emperor sent to Philip, King of France.* The news excited the greatest indignation in England; and it seemed incredible that the champion of the cross should be treated with such indignity. Philip hastened to profit by the circumstance, and formed a treaty with John, of which the object was the perpetual ruin of Richard. Philip, in consequence, invaded Normandy, but was driven out of the province with loss; and John was equally unsuccessful in his enterprises in England. The justiciaries, supported by the general affection of the people, provided so well for the defense of the kingdom, that John was obliged, after some fruitless efforts, to conclude a truce with them.

§ 18. Meanwhile the high spirit of Richard suffered in Germany every kind of insult and indignity. He was even produced before the diet of the empire at Worms, and accused by Henry of many crimes and misdemeanors (May 20, 1193); but Richard, whose spirit was not broken by his misfortunes, after premising that his dignity exempted him from answering before any jurisdiction, except that of Heaven, yet condescended, for the sake of his reputation, to justify his conduct before that great assembly; and his spirit and eloquence made such impression on the German princes, that they exclaimed loudly against the conduct of the emperor. The Pope also threatened him with excommunication; and Henry at last agreed to restore Richard to his freedom for the sum of 150,000 marks, about 300,000 pounds of our

* The well-known story of the discovery of Richard's place of confinement by his page singing a song under his window rests on no historical authority, and owes its origin to a French romance of the 13th century.

present money, of which 100,000 marks were to be paid before he received his liberty, and 67 hostages delivered for the remainder. His escape was very critical; for Henry, having determined to violate the treaty for the sake of farther advantages, gave orders that Richard should be pursued and arrested. But the king, making all imaginable haste, had already embarked at the mouth of the Scheldt, and was out of sight of land when the messengers of the emperor reached Antwerp. As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance from captivity, he wrote to his confederate John in these terms: *Take care of yourself; the devil is broken loose.* The joy of the English was extreme on the appearance of their monarch (1194), who had suffered so many calamities, who had acquired so much glory, and who had spread the reputation of their name into the farthest East, whither their fame had never before been able to extend. The barons, in a great council, confiscated, on account of his treason, all Prince John's possessions in England; and they assisted the king in reducing the fortresses which still remained in the hands of his brother's adherents.

§ 19. Richard, having settled every thing in England, passed over with an army into Normandy, being impatient to make war on Philip, and to revenge himself for the many injuries which he had received from that monarch. Yet the incidents which attended these hostilities were mean and frivolous; and the war, frequently interrupted by truces, was continued till within a short period of Richard's death. Richard was wounded in the shoulder with an arrow while besieging the castle of Chalus, belonging to his vassal Vidomar, Viscount of Limoges, who had refused to surrender a treasure which he had discovered. The castle was taken, and all the garrison hanged, except the archer, Bertrand de Gourdon, who had wounded Richard, and whom the king reserved for a more deliberate and more cruel execution. The wound was not in itself dangerous, but the unskillfulness of the surgeon made it mortal; he so rankled Richard's shoulder in pulling out the arrow, that a gangrene ensued; and that prince was now sensible that his life was drawing toward a close. He sent for Gourdon, and asked him, "Wretch, what have I ever done to you to oblige you to seek my life?" "What have you done to me?" replied coolly the prisoner; "you killed with your own hands my father and my two brothers, and you intended to have hanged myself. I am now in your power, and you may take revenge by inflicting on me the most severe torments; but I shall endure them all with pleasure, provided I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a nuisance." Richard, struck with the reasonableness of this reply, and humbled by the near approach of death,

ordered Gourdon to be set at liberty and a sum of money to be given him; but, unknown to the monarch, the unhappy man was flayed alive, and then hanged. Richard died on the 8th of April, 1199, in the tenth year of his reign, and the 42d of his age. He left no issue behind him.

The most shining parts of this prince's character are his military talents. No man, even in that romantic age, carried personal courage and intrepidity to a greater height; and this quality gained him the appellation of the lion-hearted, *cœur de lion*. He passionately loved glory, chiefly military glory; and as his conduct in the field was not inferior to his valor, he seems to have possessed every talent necessary for acquiring it. Of an impetuous and vehement spirit, he was distinguished by all the good as well as the bad qualities incident to that character; he was open, frank, generous, sincere, and brave; he was revengeful, domineering, ambitious, haughty, and cruel, and was thus better calculated to dazzle men by the splendor of his enterprises, than either to promote their happiness or his own grandeur by a sound and well-regulated policy. King Richard was a passionate lover of poetry—there even remain some poetical works of his composition; and he bears a rank among the Provençal poets, or *Troubadours*, who were the first of the modern Europeans that distinguished themselves by attempts of that nature.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1154. Accession of Henry II.
1164. The *Constitutions of Clarendon* passed. The council of Northampton condemns Archbishop Becket, who flies abroad.
1170. Return of Becket. His assassination.
1171. Conquest of Ireland.
1173. Revolt of Prince Henry and his brothers.
1174. Penance of the king at the tomb of Becket. William, King of Scots defeated and captured at Alnwick.
1189. Death of Henry II. and accession of Richard I.
" Persecution and massacre of the Jews.
1191. Richard conquers Cyprus. Arrives in the Holy Land.
1192. Richard seized and confined in Germany.
1194. Returns to England.
1199. Death of Richard.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE ANGLO-NORMAN CONSTITUTION.

1. *The feudal system.*—While the barbarous tribes which overran Europe after the fall of the Roman empire were wandering from clime to clime in search of subsistence, every individual claimed an equal share of liberty; and thus, when Charles the Simple inquired of the Northmen what title their leader bore, they replied, "None, we are all equally free." But when they were settled in the possessions won with their swords they found new cares devolve upon them, and the necessity of a new system of polity. Having abandoned their life of wandering and brigandage, it became necessary not only to cultivate the land for a subsistence, but to be prepared to defend it both against the attempts of the ancient possessors to regain, and of fresh swarms of wanderers to seize it. Still retaining their military character, and ignorant alike of systems of finance and the expedient of a standing army, each man held

himself in readiness to obey the call to service in the field. The superior officers, who held large territories directly from the prince, were bound to appear with a proportionate number of followers; and these followers held their lands from their immediate lord on the same condition. Thus, as Dr. Robertson observes, "a feudal kingdom was properly the encampment of a great army; military ideas predominated, military subordination was established, and the possession of land was the pay which the soldiers received for their personal service." The possessions held by these tenures were called *fiefs*, or *beneficia*. The vassal who held them was not only bound to mount his horse and follow his lord, or suzerain, to the wars, but also to assist him with his counsel, and to attend as an assessor in his courts of justice. More special and definite services were—to guard the castle of his lord a certain number of days in the year; to pay a certain sum of money when his suzerain's eldest son was made a knight, and his eldest daughter was married; and to contribute to his ransom in case he was taken prisoner in war. In return for these services the lord was bound to afford his vassal protection in case of his fief being attacked; while the defense of each other's person was reciprocal. The natural consequence of this was the system called "subinfeudation," by which the immediate holder parceled out portions of his fief to others on the same conditions of tenure by which he held it himself. These sub-tenants owed to him the same duties which he owed to his lord, and he held his own court of justice, in which he exercised jurisdiction over his vassals. The few lands that remained free, that is, which were not bound to render service to a superior lord, or suzerain, though liable to burdens for the public defense, were called *alodial* in contradistinction to *feudal*.

The ceremony by which the vassal acknowledged his feudal dependence and obligations was called homage, from *homo*, a man, because the vassal became the man of his lord. Homage was accompanied with an oath of fealty on the part of the vassal, and investiture on the part of the lord, which was the conveying of possession of the fief by means of some pledge or token. Homage was of two kinds, liege and simple. Liege homage (from Lat. *ligare*, Fr. *lier*, to bind) not only obliged the liege man to do personal service in the army, but also disabled him from renouncing his vassality by surrendering his fief. The liege man took the oath of fealty on his knees without sword and spurs, and with his hands placed between those of his lord. The vassal who rendered simple homage had the power of finding a substitute for military service, or could altogether liberate himself by the surrender of his fief. In simple homage the vassal took the oath standing, girt with his sword and with his hands at liberty.

The aristocratical nature of feudalism will readily be inferred from the preceding description. The great chief, residing in his country-seat, which he was commonly allowed to fortify, lost in a great measure his connection or acquaintance with the prince, and added every day new force to his authority over the vassals of his barony. They received from him education in all military enterprises; his hospitality invited them to live and enjoy society in his hall; their leisure, which was great, made them perpetual retainers on his person, and partakers of his country sports and amusements; they had no means of gratifying their ambition but by making a figure in his train; his favor and countenance was their greatest honor; his displeasure exposed them to contempt and ignominy; and they felt every moment the necessity of his protection, both in the controversies which occurred with other vassals, and, what was more material, in the daily inroads and injuries which were committed by the neighboring barons. From these causes not only was the royal authority extremely eclipsed in most of the European states, but even the military vassals, as well as the lower dependents and serfs, were held in a state of subjection from which nothing could free them but the progress of commerce and the rise of cities, the true strong-holds of freedom.

2. *Feudalism in England.*—The introduction of feudalism was one of the principal changes effected in England by the Conquest. The king became the supreme lord of all the land; whence Coke says, "All the lands and tenements in England in the hands of subjects are holden mediately or immediately of the king; for in the law of England we have not properly allodium." (Coke upon Littleton, 1., 1.) Even the Saxon landholders who were not deprived of their lands were brought under the system of feudal tenure, and were subjected to services and imposts to which they were not before liable; but most of the manors were bestowed upon the Normans, who thus held immediately of the king, and were hence called *Tenants in Capite* or *Tenants in chief*. But though the Anglo-Saxon thane was reduced to the condition of a simple freeholder, or franklin, and though the Norman lord perhaps retained a certain portion of his estate as demesne land, yet the latter had no possessory right in the whole, and the estate was not therefore so profitable to him as might at first sight appear. The tenant-in-chief was bound to *knight service*, or the obligation to maintain, 40 days in the field, a certain number of cavaliers completely equipped, raised from his under-tenants. Even religious foundations and monasteries were liable to this service, the only exception being the tenure of *frankalmoign*, or free alms. Every estate of 20 pounds yearly value was considered as a knight's fee, and was bound to furnish a soldier. The tenants-in-chief appear from Domesday-Book to have amounted, in the reign of William the Conqueror to about 1400, including the numerous ecclesiastical foundations. The number of *mesne* lords, or those holding fiefs not directly from the king, was about 8000.

There were peculiarities in the feudal system of Normandy itself which were introduced by William into England. According to the generally received principle of feuds,

the oath of the vassal was due only to the lord of whom he immediately held. But William, as already related, exacted the oath of fealty from all the landowners of England, as well those who held *in capite* as the under-tenants. In doing this he seems to have been guided by the custom of Normandy, where the duke had immediate jurisdiction over all his subjects.* Hence William's power was much greater than that of the feudal sovereigns of the Continent, and the constitution approached more to an absolute despotism. The great fiefs of England did not, like those of France, date their origin in a period when the power of the vassal who received them was almost equal to that of the sovereign who bestowed them; but being distributed on the same occasion, and almost at the same time, William took care not to make them so large as to be dangerous to himself; for which reason also the manors assigned to his followers were dispersed in different counties. Hence the nobles in England never attained that pitch of power which they possessed in Germany, France, and Spain; nor do we find them defying the sovereign's jurisdiction, as was very common in those countries, by the right of carrying on private wars among themselves.

3. *The Great Council or Parliament.*—The supreme legislative power of England was lodged in the king and the Great Council of the realm, called *Commune Concilium Regni*, and also *Curia Regis*, and at a later time Parliament. The Great Council was attended by the archbishops, bishops, and principal abbots, and also by the *Greater Barons*. "The great tenants of the crown were of two descriptions—those who held by Knight Service in Capite, and those who held also in Capite by Grand Sergeantry, so called, says Littleton, from being a greater and more worthy service than Knight Service—attending the king not only in war but in his court. . . . To both descriptions of tenants the word BARON, in its more extended sense of a lord of the manor, was applicable; but the latter only, those who held of the king by Grand Sergeantry, held their lands *per Baroniam*, and were the King's Barons, and as such possessed both a civil and criminal jurisdiction, each in his Curia Baronis, or Court Baron, while the Lesser Barons had only a civil jurisdiction over their vassals. To both ranks alike pertained the service of attending the sovereign in war with a certain number of knights, according to the number of Knights' Fees holden of the Crown; and to those who held per baroniam was annexed the duty also of attending him in his Great Councils, afterward designated Parliaments; for it was the principle of the feudal system that every tenant should attend the court of his immediate superior, and hence it was that he who held per baroniam, having no superior but the crown, was bound to attend his sovereign in his Great Council or Parliament, which was in fact the Great Court Baron of the Realm" (Nicolas, *Historic Peerage of England*, ed. by Courthope, p. xviii.). This passage is quoted as a clear exposition of a difficult question; but there is reason to believe that the lesser barons were sometimes summoned, and particularly when taxes were to be imposed; for as the crown had only the right to exact from its immediate tenants the customary feudal aids, it became necessary, when the crown needed any extraordinary aid, to summon all the chief tenants in order to obtain their consent to the imposition. It was once disputed with great acrimony whether the Commons or representatives of counties and boroughs formed a part of the Great Council; but it is now universally acknowledged that they were not admitted into it till the reign of Henry III., and that the tenants alone of the crown composed that supreme and legislative assembly under the Anglo-Norman kings.

Mr. Hallam has summed up the constitution of this national assembly down to the reign of John as follows: "1. The Norman kings explicitly renounced all prerogative of levying money on the immediate military tenants of the crown without their consent given in a great council of the realm; this immunity extending also to their sub-tenants and dependents. 2. All these tenants in chief had a constitutional right to attend, and ought to be summoned; but whether they could attend without a summons is not manifest. 3. The summons was usually directed to the higher barons, and to such of a second class as the king pleased, many being omitted for different reasons, though all had a right to it. 4. On occasions when money was not to be demanded, but alterations made in the law, some of these second barons, or tenants in chief, were at least occasionally summoned, but whether by strict right or usage does not fully appear. 5. The irregularity of passing over many of them when councils were held for the purpose of levying money, led to the provision in the Great Charter of John by which the king promises that they shall be summoned through the sheriff on such occasions; but the promise does not extend to any other subject of parliamentary deliberation." (*Middle Ages*, iii., p. 213.)

Under the Conqueror and his sons it was customary to assemble such councils at the three great festivals of Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide, and on other occasions when needed. It does not, however, appear probable that such a council should have assembled so frequently in any large numbers, and though its existence indicates some limitation of the royal prerogative in the matter of legislation, yet it can not be determined how far its assent was necessary to the making of laws.

4. *Legislation.*—There was, indeed, little or no legislation under the early Norman kings; for the charters and other acts which they passed were rather confirmations of ancient privileges than new enactments. Even in Normandy itself there seems to be no trace of Norse jurisprudence, nor of états nor courts, previous to the conquest of England; the law seems to have lain in the breast of the sov-

* See Howard, *Ans. Lois des Francais*, i., p. 196, ap. Thorpe; Lappenberg's *Anglo-Norman Kings*, p. 96. Comp. Hallam, *Middle Ages*, vol i., p. 168.

ereign. (Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, ii., 258.) There is at all events no monument of jurisprudence previous to that epoch; and though a similarity may be subsequently traced between the English and Norman laws, yet England indisputably gave more than she borrowed. Learned men have even maintained that the famous Norman code called the *Grand Coûtumier*, or great customary, was of Anglo-Saxon origin; nay, the later Normans claimed *Magna Charta* as the foundation of their franchises.* In England the earliest legislation of the Norman sovereigns must be referred to the time of Henry II., and most of the changes ascribed to the Conqueror were not effected before that reign.†

6. *Courts of Justice.*—Besides the Great Council of the Realm, the king had an ordinary or select council, for administrative and judicial purposes, which was also called *Curia* or *Aula Regis* (the King's Court). It attended the person of the sovereign, and was composed of the great officers of state: as the chief justiciary,‡ chancellor, constable, marshal, chamberlain, treasurer, steward, and others nominated by the king. These were his councillors in political matters, and also the supreme court of justice of the kingdom, in which the king sometimes sat in person. A particular branch, called the *Court of Exchequer*, was established in very early times for the administration of all matters connected with the revenue. Its existence can at all events be traced to the reign of Henry I. By degrees, when suits began to multiply in the king's court, and pleadings became more technical and intricate, another branch was detached for the decision of private suits, which was called the *Court of Common Pleas*. It seems to have its beginning in the reign of Richard I.; but it was completely established by Magna Charta, of which the 14th clause enacted, "Common Pleas shall not follow our court, but be held in some certain place." The *Court of King's Bench* was formed out of the ancient *Curia Regis*, and at last monopolized this title, before common to it with the great and ordinary councils. The rolls of the King's Bench begin in the sixth year of Richard I. Properly the King's Bench was destined for suits relating to the king and the realm; but private suits were allowed to be carried to it from the courts below.

The county courts and Hundred-courts still continued as in Saxon times. All the freeholders of the county, even the greatest barons, were obliged to attend the sheriffs in these courts, and to assist them in the administration of justice. Such courts were unknown upon the Continent, and served as a powerful check upon the courts of the barons. Appeals were allowed from the county and baronial courts to the court of the king; and, lest the expense and trouble of a journey to court should discourage suitors, itinerant judges were established in the reign of Henry II. (A.D. 1176), who made their circuits through the kingdom, and tried all causes that were brought before them. For this purpose England was divided into six districts, nearly corresponding to the judges' circuits of the present day.

In judicial proceedings the ancient practice of compurgation by the oaths of friends and of trial by ordeal (p. 75) still subsisted under the Anglo-Norman kings; but the trial by ordeal was to some extent superseded by that of combat, which, if not introduced by the Normans, was very seldom practiced before the Conquest. The privilege of compurgation, an evident source of perjury, was abolished by Henry II., though by some exemption it continued to be preserved long afterward in London and boroughs. Trial by ordeal was abolished by the fourth Lateran Council at the beginning of the reign of Henry III. A regulation of Henry II. introduced an important change in suits for the recovery of land, by allowing a tenant who was unwilling to risk a judicial combat to put himself on the assize; that is, to refer the case to four knights chosen by the sheriff, who in their turn selected twelve more. These sixteen decided the case by their verdict; but this proceeding was limited to the king's court and that of the itinerant justices, and never took place in the county court or that of the hundred. This practice will again claim our attention when we come to trace the history of trial by jury.

6. *Revenue of the Crown.*—The power of the Anglo-Norman kings was much supported by a great revenue, and by a revenue that was fixed, perpetual, and independent of the subject. The first branch of the king's stated revenue was the royal demesnes or crown lands. The king was never content with the stated rents, but levied, at his pleasure, heavy taxes, called *tallages*, on the inhabitants both of town and country who lived within his demesne. They were assessed by the itinerant justices on their circuits. The tenants in capite were bound, as we have already seen, to furnish in war a soldier for every knight's fee, and if they neglected to do so, they were obliged to pay the king a composition in money called *escuage* or *scutage*. Another tax, levied upon all the lands at the king's discretion, was *Danegeld*, which was continued after all apprehension of the Danes had passed away; but the last instance recorded of its payment is in the 20th year of Henry II. The king also derived a considerable revenue from certain burdens to which his military tenants were liable. The most important of these feudal incidents, as they were called, were Reliefs, Fines upon alienation, Escheats, Forfeitures, Aids, Wardship, and Marriage. 1. A *Relief*, which was the same as the Saxon *heriot*, was a fine paid by the heir to his lord on succeeding to a fief. The fine was at first arbitrary, but by Magna Charta it was fixed at about a fourth of the

* Palgrave, *Normandy and England*, i., p. 107 sq. and notes, p. 729. Comp. Hallam *Middle Ages*, ii., p. 314. The Grand Customary itself, however, ascribes the Collection to Rolf: Lappenberg, *Anglo-Norman Kings*, by Thorpe, p. 92.

† Palgrave, *ibid.*, p. 113; Hallam, *ibid.*, p. 413.

‡ The chief justiciary presided in the king's court, and was, by virtue of his office, the regent of the kingdom during the absence of the sovereign. He was thus the greatest subject in the kingdom.

annual value of the fief. The king was entitled to a sort of extra relief, called *Primer Seisin*, on the death of any of his tenants in capite, provided the heir had attained his majority. The primer seisin consisted of one year's profits of the land. 2. A *Fine upon alienation* was a sum paid to the lord when the tenant transferred his fief to another. 3. An *Escheat* was when a fief reverted to the superior lord in consequence of the tenant having died without heirs. 4. A *Forfeiture* arose from the vassal failing to perform his duties toward either his lord or the state. "Under rapacious kings, such as the Norman line in England, a new doctrine was introduced, the corruption of blood, by which the heir was effectually excluded from deducing his title, at any distant time, through an attainted ancestor." (Hallam.) 5. *Aids* were contributions which the lord was entitled to demand from his vassal under certain circumstances. They were raised according to local customs, and were felt to be a great grievance. Three only were retained by the Magna Charta—to make the lord's eldest son a knight, to marry his eldest daughter, and to ransom his person from captivity. 6. *Wardship* was the right of the lord to the care of his tenant's person during his minority, and to receive the profits of his estate. 7. *Marriage*. The lord might tender a husband to his female ward in her minority, and if she rejected the proposal she forfeited the sum which the guardian could have obtained for such an alliance. This was afterward extended to the male wards. In both cases it became the source of great abuse and extortion.

7. *The Church.*—The policy of William the Conqueror was favorable to the Church of Rome, which had supported his claims to the English throne. One of his most important innovations was the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, which had been united in the Anglo-Saxon times. He prohibited the bishops from sitting in the county courts; he allowed ecclesiastical causes to be tried in spiritual courts only; and he so much exalted the power of the clergy that he assigned to the Church more than one third of the knights' fees into which he divided England.

8. *Villenage.*—A great part of the population under the Anglo-Norman kings was in a state of slavery, to which the name of *Villenage* was applied. In the Anglo-Saxon times a large part of the population consisted of *ceorls*, or freemen, forming a class between the thanes and the serfs. But under the Normans most of the ceorls were thrust down into slavery, and the Anglo-Saxon ceorls and serfs became the Norman *villeins*. It would seem, however, that the ceorls who had acquired land were allowed in many cases to retain their land and their freedom. These are the *Socmanni* or *Socmen* of Domesday-Book, the same as the small freeholders or yeomanry of later times. The condition of the villeins appears to have increased in rigor under the successive Anglo-Norman kings down to the time of Henry II., at which period the villein was absolutely dependent upon the will of the lord, and was incapable of holding any property of his own. Yet he appears to have possessed some personal rights; for though subject to be sold by his master, an action would lie against the latter for murder, rape, or mutilation. Villeins were divided into two classes, called *villeins regardant* and *villeins in gross*. The former were *adscripti glebæ*, or attached to certain lands; and when these lands changed owners the villeins regardant became the property of the new possessors. The *villeins in gross*, on the contrary, might be sold in open market, and transferred from hand to hand without regard to any land or settlement. They were called *en gross* because this term, in our legal phraseology, indicates property held absolutely, and without reference to any other. But there appears to have been no essential difference in the condition of these villeins. The way in which the villeins emerged from this degraded position into the peasantry of England will be narrated at the end of the next book.

B. AUTHORITIES FOR NORMAN HISTORY.

The principal sources of Norman history are: Dudo of St. Quentin, whose work contains the lives of the first three dukes (in Duchesne); William of Jumièges (Gemeticus), who epitomized the preceding work, and continued it down to the Battle of Hastings [*ibid.*]; William of Poitiers, *Gesta Guilelmi ducis Normannorum et regis Anglorum* [*ibid.*]; Ordericus Vitalis, *Historia Eccl.* [*ibid.*]; Wace, or Gasse, *Roman de Rou*; the *Hypodeigma Neustriæ* [Parker, Camden.]

The best modern works on the early history of Normandy are: The *Epitome* prefixed to Lappenberg's *Hist. of England under the Norman Kings*, translated and supplemented by Benjamin Thorpe; Palgrave, *Hist. of Normandy and England*, 8vo (only 2 vols. published, containing the history of Normandy to the death of Richard I.); Thierry, *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Angleterre par les Normands*, 4 vols., 8vo.

C. AUTHORITIES FOR ANGLO-NORMAN HISTORY.

Many of these authorities have been already enumerated in note C, appended to Book I. (p. 76). Thus, of those mentioned there, the *Saxon Chronicle* continues down to the year 1154; Florence of Worcester's work to 1308; Simeon of Durham's, with the continuation, 1156; Henry of Huntingdon's to 1154; Brompton's to 1199; Eadmer's to 1122; Hoveden's to 1201; Ingulf's to 1089, with continuations by Peter of Blois and by anonymous writers to 1486; Malmsbury's *Gesta Regum* to 1142; Peter Langtoft's work to 1307; Hugo Candidus' to 1175; Matthew of Westminster's (*Flores Historiarum*) to 1307; Roger of Wendover's to 1235.

Of the authorities for Norman history mentioned in the preceding note, the work of Ordericus Vitalis is also serviceable for Anglo-Norman history, as it comes down to the year 1141.

Robert de Thorigny, a monk of the abbey

of Bec, continued the history of William of Jumièges down to the year 1137; and it forms the 8th book of that work as published in Camden's *Anglica, Normanica*, etc. William of Newbury treats of the period from 1066 to 1197. The Chronicle of Radulphus de Diceto, a dean of St. Paul's, with a continuation, comes down to the year 1200. It is published in Twysden's Collection. The Chronicle of Gervase of Canterbury reaches to about the same period as the preceding (*ibid.*). Benedict of Peterborough's Chronicle embraces the period from 1170 to 1192 (in Hearne). Walter of Coventry continued Hoveden, besides writing other chronicles; but his works exist only in manuscript. Ralph of Coggeshall, who died about 1227, wrote a *Chronicon Anglicanum* from the Conquest to the year 1200. It has never been printed in England, but will be found in Martène and Durand's collection. The chroniclers of St. Alban's, formerly cited under the name of Matthew Paris, are in reality three persons—Roger of Wendover, Matthew Paris, and William Rishanger. Roger of Wendover, who has been already mentioned, is a contemporary authority from 1201. His work has been published by the *English Historical Society*. The principal work of Matthew Paris is the *Historia Major* (A.D. 1066 to 1259, with a continuation to 1273); but only the portion from 1235 to 1259 belongs to M. Paris, the remainder being a plagiarism from Wendover with interpolations. William Rishanger is the continuator of Paris from 1260 to 1273, and his work therefore belongs to the period embraced in the next book.

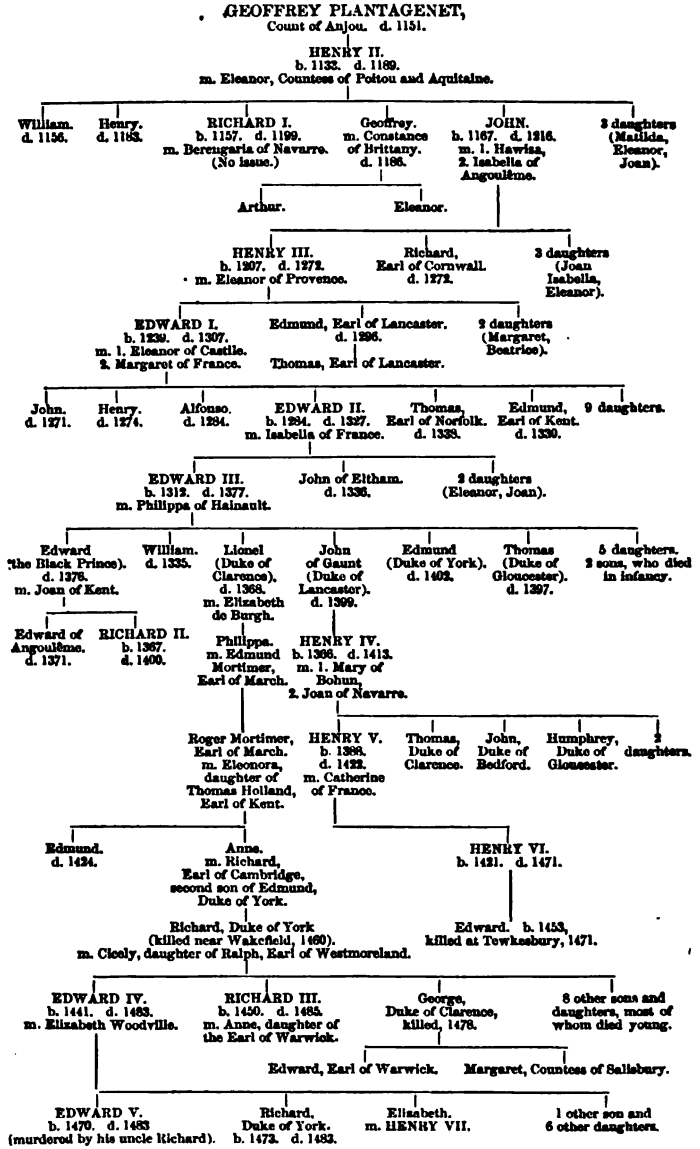
Other works that may be mentioned relating to the present period are—a chronicle from 1066 to 1289, by Thomas Wikes, a monk of the abbey of Oseney near Oxford (Gale); and Henry Knighton's Chronicle from 950 to 1395 (Twysden). Many chronicles of this period bear no author's name, and are called after the abbey or monastery in which they were composed or preserved. Among the principal of them may be named—the *Annales Burtonenses*, A.D. 1044–1262 (in Fulman's Collection); *Annales Waverlienses*, 1066–1291 (Gale); *Chronicon de Mailros* (Melrose), 753–1270 (Fulman, the Bannatyne Club), etc.

Among the works relating to particular periods may be named the Lives of Thomas à Becket by John of Salisbury, Benedict of Peterborough, Edward Grim, Herbert of Bosham, and others, published by Dr. Giles, in the *Patres Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*.

Richard of Devizes wrote a chronicle of the first three years of Richard I., which is published by the English Historical Society. The *Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Ricardi et aliorum in terram Hierosolymorum*, published in Gale, contains an account of King Richard's crusade. It is commonly attributed, but without any grounds, to Geoffrey Vinesauf.

Among modern works relating to this period may be mentioned that of Thierry, alluded to in the preceding note; Lappenberg's *Hist. of England under the Norman Kings*, translated by Thorpe (also mentioned in the preceding note), which comes down to the end of Stephen's reign; the continuation of this work by Pauli, *Geschichte von England*; and Lord Lyttleton's *Life of Henry II.* (6 vols. 8vo), a standard work in English literature, and remarkable for the purity of its style.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET.





John. From his tomb in Worcester Cathedral.



Isabella. From her tomb at Fontevraud.

BOOK III.

THE FOUNDATION OF ENGLISH LIBERTY.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JOHN TO THE DEATH OF RICHARD III.
A.D. 1199–1485.

CHAPTER VIII.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET CONTINUED.—JOHN AND HENRY III.
A.D. 1199–1272.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession and Marriage of JOHN. § 3. War with France. Murder of Prince Arthur. John is expelled from France. § 4. The King's Quarrel with the Court of Rome. Interdict of the Kingdom. § 5. Excommunication and Submission of the King. He does Homage to the Pope. § 6. War with France. § 7. Discontent and Insurrection of the Barons. § 8. Magna Charta. § 9. Civil Wars. Prince Lewis called over. Death and Character of the King. § 10. Accession of HENRY III. General Pacification. § 11. Commotions. War with France. § 12. King's Administration. His Partiality to Foreigners. § 13. Usurpations and Exactions of the Court of Rome. § 14. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, King of the Romans. Simon de Montfort. § 15. Parliament of Oxford, or Mad Parliament. § 16. Opposition to the Barons. Treaty with France. § 17. Civil Wars. Battle of Lewes. § 18. Leicester's Parliament. House of Commons. § 19. Battle of Evesham and Death of Leicester. § 20. Prince Edward's Crusade. Death and Character of the King.

§ 1. THE reign of John marks an important epoch in the his-

tory of the English nation. Under the early Anglo-Norman kings there had been two different races dwelling upon the English soil, speaking different languages, and possessing no common interests; but during the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I. the Saxons and Normans became fused into the English people, and they now united to oppose the tyranny of John, and to uphold their common interests.* During the reign of John and that of his successor the Saxon and Norman languages were supplanted by the English tongue; and not only were the foundations laid, but much of the superstructure was reared, of those liberties which are still the glory and the safety of the English nation.

§ 2. JOHN, 1199–1216.—John was the fifth and youngest son of Henry II., and as he received from his father no fiefs, like his other brothers, he obtained the surname of *Sans terre*, or *Lackland*, by which he is commonly known. Although Geoffrey, the third son of Henry II., had left two children, Arthur and Eleanor, and John had attempted to deprive Richard of his crown, yet the latter was induced, by the influence of their mother, to name John as his successor. But Arthur, who had become Duke of Brittany in right of his mother, was not left without supporters. The barons of Anjou, Maine, and Touraine immediately declared in his favor, and applied for assistance to the French monarch as their superior lord. Philip, who desired only an occasion to embarrass John, and dismember his dominions, embraced Arthur's cause, and sent him to Paris to be educated, along with his own son Louis. John, after being crowned at Westminster on the 27th May, crossed over to France, in order to conduct the war against Philip, and to recover the revolted provinces from his nephew, Arthur. His mother, Constantia, seized with a violent jealousy that Philip intended to usurp his dominions, found means to carry off her son secretly from Paris; she put him into the hands of his uncle and restored the provinces which had adhered to the young prince. From this incident Philip saw that he could not hope to make any progress against John; and the two monarchs entered into a treaty (1200), by which they adjusted the limits of all their territories. John, now secure, as he imagined, on the side of France, indulged his passion for Isabella, the daughter and heir of Aymar Taillefer, Count of Angoulême, a lady with whom he had become much enamored. His queen, the heiress of the family of Gloucester, was still alive; Isabella was married to the Count de la Marche, and was already consigned to the care of that nobleman, though, by reason of her tender years, the marriage had not been consummated. The passion of John made

* See Notes and Illustrations (A) on the amalgamation of the Saxon and Norman races.

him overlook all these obstacles; he persuaded the Count of Angoulême to carry off his daughter from her husband; and having, on some pretense or other, procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella, regardless both of the menaces of the Pope and the resentment of the injured count.

§ 3. But John's government, equally feeble and violent, gave great offense to his barons, who appealed to the King of France, and demanded redress from him as their superior lord. Philip perceived his advantage, opened his mind to great projects, interposed in behalf of the French barons, and began to talk in a high and menacing style to the King of England. The young Duke of Brittany, who was now rising to man's estate, sensible of the dangerous character of his uncle, determined to seek both his security and elevation by a union with Philip and the malcontent barons. (1203). He joined the French army, which had begun hostilities against the King of England; he was received with great marks of distinction by Philip, was knighted by him, espoused his daughter Mary, and was invested not only in the duchy of Brittany, but in the counties of Anjou and Maine, which he had formerly resigned to his uncle. Every attempt succeeded with the allies till an event happened which seemed to turn the scales in favor of John, and to give him a decisive superiority over his enemies. He fell on Arthur's camp, who was besieging Mirebeau, before that prince was aware of the danger, dispersed his army, took him prisoner, together with the most considerable of the revolted barons, and returned in triumph to Normandy. The greater part of the prisoners were sent over to England, but Arthur was shut up in the castle of Falaise. The fate of Arthur is involved in obscurity; but there is no reason to doubt the common report that John, after removing his nephew to Rouen, stabbed him with his own hands, and, fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine.

The states of Brittany now carried their complaints before Philip as their liege lord, and demanded justice for the violence committed by John on the person of Arthur. Philip received their application with pleasure, summoned John to stand a trial before him, and, on his non-appearance, passed sentence, with the concurrence of the peers, upon that prince, declared him guilty of felony and parricide, and adjudged him to forfeit to his superior lord all his seignories and fiefs in France. Philip now embraced the project of expelling the English, or rather the English king, from France, and of annexing to the crown so many considerable fiefs, which during several ages had been dismembered from it. While he was making considerable progress in this design, John remained in total inactivity at Rouen, passing all his time, with his young wife, in pastimes and amusements, as if his state had

been in the most profound tranquillity, or his affairs in the most prosperous condition. Philip pursued his victorious career without opposition from the English monarch. Town after town fell into his hands; and, at length, by the surrender of Rouen, the whole of Normandy was reunited to the crown of France, about three centuries after the cession of it by Charles the Simple to Rollo the first duke (1204). Philip carried his victorious army into the western provinces; soon reduced Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and part of Poitou; and in this manner the French crown, during the reign of one able and active prince, received such an accession of power and grandeur, as in the ordinary course of things it would have required several ages to attain.

§ 4. The papal chair was then filled by Innocent III., who, being endowed with a lofty and enterprising genius, gave full scope to his ambition, and attempted, perhaps more openly than any of his predecessors, to convert that superiority which was yielded him by all the European princes into a real dominion over them. A favorable incident soon happened which enabled so aspiring a pontiff to extend his usurpations on so contemptible a prince as John. Hubert, the primate, died in 1205; and as the monks or canons of Christchurch, Canterbury, possessed a right of voting in the election of their archbishop, some of the juniors of the order met clandestinely the very night of Hubert's death, chose Reginald, their sub-prior, for the successor, and, having enjoined him to the strictest secrecy, sent him immediately to Rome, in order to solicit the confirmation of his election. The vanity of Reginald prevailed over his prudence, and he no sooner arrived in Flanders than he revealed to every one the purpose of his journey, which was immediately known in England. The king was enraged at the novelty and temerity of the attempt, in filling so important an office without his knowledge or consent; the suffragan bishops of Canterbury, who were accustomed to concur in the choice of their primate, were no less displeased at the exclusion given them in this election; while the senior monks of Christchurch were injured by the irregular proceedings of their juniors. The canons of Christchurch, with the approbation of the king, now chose the Bishop of Norwich for their primate, and the suffragans subsequently concurred in their choice. The king and the convent of Christchurch dispatched twelve monks of that order to support before the tribunal of Innocent, the election of the Bishop of Norwich. But Innocent, refusing to recognize their election, compelled the twelve monks, under the penalty of excommunication, to choose for their primate Cardinal Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected, by his interests and attachments, with the see of Rome.

John was inflamed with the utmost rage when he heard of this attempt of the court of Rome; and he immediately vented his passion on the monks of Christchurch, by expelling them from the convent and taking possession of their revenues. Innocent, finding that John was not sufficiently tamed to submission, fulminated at last a sentence of interdict (March, 1208) which he had for some time held suspended over him.

§ 5. The interdict was followed up in the next year (1209) by the sentence of excommunication; and, as the king still refused to yield, the Pope three years afterward (1212) absolved John's subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and called upon Philip to carry the sentence of deposition into effect. The French monarch collected a large force for the purpose of invading England; and John, finding that he could not rely upon his own subjects, agreed to submit to all the requirements of the Pope. He not only acknowledged Langton as primate, but he passed a charter, in which he resigned England and Ireland to God, to St. Peter and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair, and agreed to hold these dominions as feudatory of the Church of Rome, by the annual payment of 1000 marks. In consequence of this agreement, he did homage to Pandolf, the Pope's envoy, with all the submissive rites which the feudal law required of vassals before their liege lord and superior (1213).

§ 6. When Pandolf, after receiving the homage of John, returned to France, he congratulated Philip on the success of his pious enterprise; and informed him that John, having thus made his kingdom a part of St. Peter's patrimony, had rendered it impossible for any Christian prince, without the most manifest and most flagrant impiety, to attack him. Philip was enraged on receiving this intelligence, and resolved to continue his enterprise, but the English fleet assembled under the Earl of Salisbury, the king's natural brother, attacked the French in their harbors, and destroyed and captured a great number of their ships. Philip, finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself, and thereby rendered it impossible for him to proceed farther with his enterprise.

§ 7. The interdict being at length removed, the king, as if he had nothing farther to attend to but triumphs and victories, went over to Poitou (1214), which still acknowledged his authority; and he carried the war into Philip's dominions. About the same time the great and decisive victory gained by the King of France at Bovines, over the Emperor Otho, established for ever the glory of Philip, and gave full security to all his dominions. John could therefore think henceforth of nothing farther than of ruling peaceably in his own kingdom, and concluded a peace at Chinon (Sept.

18); but he was destined to pass through a series of more humiliating circumstances than had ever yet fallen to the lot of any other monarch. Equally odious and contemptible both in public and private life, he had affronted the barons by his insolence, dishonored their families by his gallantries, enraged them by his tyranny, and given discontent to all ranks of men by his endless exactions and impositions. The effect of these lawless practices had already appeared in the general demand made by the barons of a restoration of their privileges; and after he had reconciled himself to the Pope, by abandoning the independence of the kingdom, he appeared to all his subjects in so mean a light that they universally thought they might with safety and honor insist upon their pretensions. Nothing forwarded this confederacy so much as the concurrence of Langton, Archbishop of Canterbury—a man whose memory, though he was obtruded on the nation by a palpable encroachment of the see of Rome, ought always to be respected by the English. The patriotic efforts of this prelate were warmly seconded by William, Earl of Pembroke; and to these two distinguished men the English nation are under the deepest obligations for the foundation of their liberties. Langton showed some of the principal barons a copy of Henry I.'s charter, which he said he had happily found in a monastery; and he exhorted them to insist on the renewal and observance of it. John, in order to break or subdue the league of his barons, endeavored to avail himself of the ecclesiastical power, of whose influence he had, from his own recent misfortunes, had such fatal experience. He granted to the clergy a charter, relinquishing forever that important prerogative for which his father and all his ancestors had zealously contended, yielding to them the free election on all vacancies, reserving only the power to issue a congé d'èlire, and to subjoin a confirmation of the election; and declaring that, if either of these were withheld, the choice should nevertheless be deemed just and valid; and he sent an agent to Rome in order to appeal to the Pope against the violence of his barons, and procure him a favorable sentence from that powerful tribunal. The barons, who had also endeavored to engage the Pope in their interests, easily saw, from the tenor of his letters, that they must reckon on having him as well as the king for their adversary; but they had already advanced too far to recede from their pretensions, and their passions were so deeply engaged, that it exceeded even the power of superstition itself any longer to control them. They chose Robert Fitz-Walter their general, whom they called the *Marshal of the army of God, and of Holy Church;* and they proceeded without farther ceremony to levy war upon the king. They were received without opposition into the capital; and finding now the

great superiority of their force, they issued proclamations requiring the other barons to join them. The king was left at Odiham in Hampshire, with a poor retinue of only seven knights; and after trying several expedients to elude the blow, he found himself at last obliged to submit at discretion.

§ 8. A conference between the king and the barons was appointed at Runnymede, between Windsor and Staines, a place which has ever since been celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies, the barons on the field of Runnymede, the king on a little shady island on the Buckinghamshire side of the river; and, after a debate of a few days, the king, with a facility somewhat suspicious, signed and sealed the charter which was required of him (19th June, 1215). This famous deed, commonly called the MAGNA CHARTA, or GREAT CHARTER, either granted or secured very important liberties and privileges to every order of men in the kingdom—to the clergy, to the barons, and to the people. The privileges granted to the clergy in the preceding February are confirmed by the Great Charter, and have been already enumerated. The barons were relieved from the chief grievances to which they had been subject by the crown. The "reliefs" of heirs of the tenants in chief, succeeding to an inheritance, were limited to a certain sum, according to the rank of the tenant; the guardians in chivalry were restrained from wasting the lands of their wards; heirs were to be married without disparagement, and widows secured from compulsory marriages. The next clause was still more important. It enacted that no "scutage" or "aid" should be imposed without the consent of the great council of the kingdom, except in the three feudal cases of the king's ransom, the knighting of his eldest son, and the marriage of his eldest daughter; and it provided that the prelates, earls, and greater barons should be summoned to this great council, each by a particular writ, and all other tenants in chief by a general summons of the sheriffs. All the privileges and immunities granted to the tenants in chief were extended to the inferior vassals. The franchises of the city of London, and of all other cities and boroughs, were declared inviolable; and aids in like manner were not to be required of them, except by the consent of the great council. One weight and one measure were extended throughout the kingdom. The freedom of commerce was granted to alien merchants. The Court of Common Pleas was to be stationary, instead of following the king's person. But "the essential clauses" of Magna Charta, as Mr. Hallam has well observed, are those "which protect the personal liberty and property of all freemen, by giving security from arbitrary imprisonment and arbitrary spoliation." NO FREEMAN SHALL

BE TAKEN OR IMPRISONED, OR BE DISSEISED OF HIS FREEHOLD, OR LIBERTIES, OR FREE CUSTOMS, OR BE OUTLAWED, OR EXILED, OR ANY OTHERWISE DESTROYED; NOR WILL WE PASS UPON HIM, NOR SEND UPON HIM, BUT BY LAWFUL JUDGMENT OF HIS PEERS, OR BY THE LAW OF THE LAND. WE WILL SELL TO NO MAN, WE WILL NOT DENY OR DELAY TO ANY MAN, JUSTICE OR RIGHT.* "It is obvious," adds Mr. Hallam, "that these words, interpreted by any honest court of law, convey an ample security for the two main rights of civil society. From the era therefore of King John's charter it must have been a clear principle of our Constitution that no man can be detained in prison without trial. Whether courts of justice framed the writ of Habeas Corpus in conformity to the spirit of this clause, or found it already in their register, it became from that era the right of every subject to demand it. That writ, rendered more actively remedial by the statute of Charles II., but founded upon the broad basis of Magna Charta, is the principal bulwark of English liberty; and if ever temporary circumstances, or the doubtful plea of political necessity, shall lead men to look on its denial with apathy, the most distinguishing characteristic of our Constitution will be effaced."†

Other clauses of the charter protected freemen and even villeins from excessive fines. The latter were not to be deprived of their carts, plows, and implements of husbandry.‡

The barons obliged the king to agree that London should remain in their hands, and the tower be consigned to the custody of the primate, till the 15th of August ensuing, or till the execution of the several articles of the Great Charter. The better to insure the same end, he allowed them to choose five-and-twenty members from their own body, as conservators of the public liberties; and no bounds were set to the authority of these men either in extent or duration. All men throughout the kingdom were bound, under the penalty of confiscation, to swear obedience to them; and the freeholders of each county were to choose twelve knights, who were to make report of such evil customs as required redress, conformably to the tenor of the Great Charter.

John seemed to submit passively to all these regulations, however injurious to majesty; but he only dissembled till he should find a favorable opportunity for annulling all his concessions, and he was determined, at all hazards, to throw off so ignominious a

* These are the words of the 4th chapter of Henry III.'s charter, which is the existing law. They differ only slightly from those in John's charter.

† Middle Ages, vol. ii., p. 324.

‡ John's charter is printed in the 1st volume of Rymer's Fœdera, and other places. Respecting the subsequent confirmations of the charter, see Notes and Illustrations (B).

slavery. He secretly sent abroad his emissaries to enlist foreign soldiers, and he dispatched a messenger to Rome, in order to lay before the Pope the Great Charter, which he had been compelled to sign, and to complain, before that tribunal, of the violence which had been imposed upon him. Innocent, considering himself as feudal lord of the kingdom, was incensed at the temerity of the barons, and issued a bull, in which he annulled and abrogated the whole charter, as unjust in itself, as obtained by compulsion, and as derogatory to the dignity of the apostolic see.

§ 9. The king, as his foreign forces arrived along with this bull, now ventured to take off the mask; and, under sanction of the Pope's decree, recalled all the liberties which he had granted to his subjects, and which he had solemnly sworn to observe. The barons, after obtaining the Great Charter, seem to have been lulled into a fatal security; the king was, from the first, master of the field; and immediately laid siege to the castle of Rochester, which was obstinately defended by William de Albiney, at the head of 140 knights with their retainers, but was at last reduced by famine. The captivity of William de Albiney, the best officer among the confederated barons, was an irreparable loss to their cause, and no regular opposition was thenceforth made to the progress of the royal arms. The ravenous and barbarous mercenaries, incited by a cruel and enraged prince, were let loose against the estates, tenants, manors, houses, parks of the barons, and spread devastation over the face of the kingdom. The king, marching through the whole extent of England, from Dover to Berwick, laid the provinces waste on each side of him, and considered every state, which was not his immediate property, as entirely hostile, and the object of military execution.

The barons, reduced to this desperate extremity, and menaced with the total loss of their liberties, their properties, and their lives, employed a remedy no less desperate; and making applications to the court of France, they offered to acknowledge Louis, the eldest son of Philip, for their sovereign, on condition that he would afford them protection from the violence of their enraged prince. Philip was strongly tempted to lay hold on the rich prize which was offered to him; and having exacted from the barons 25 hostages of the most noble birth in the kingdom, he sent over an army with Louis himself at its head (1216). The king was assembling a considerable army, with a view of fighting one great battle for his crown; but passing from Lynn to Lincolnshire his road lay along the sea-shore, which was overflowed at high water, and, not choosing the proper time for his journey, he lost in the inundation all his carriages, treasure, baggage, and regalia. The affliction for this disaster, and vexation from the distracted state

of his affairs, increased the sickness under which he then labored; and, though he reached the castle of Newark, he was obliged to halt there, and his distemper soon after put an end to his life, 17th October, 1216, in the 49th year of his age, and 18th of his reign, and freed the nation from the dangers to which it was equally exposed by his success or by his misfortunes.

The character of this prince is nothing but a complication of vices, equally mean and odious, ruinous to himself, and destructive to his people. Cowardice, inactivity, folly, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, treachery, tyranny, and cruelty; all these qualities appear too evidently in the several incidents of his life to give us room to suspect that the disagreeable picture has been anywise overcharged by the prejudices of the ancient historians. It is hard to say whether his conduct to his father, his brother, his nephew, or his subjects was most culpable; or whether his crimes, in these respects, were not even exceeded by the baseness which appeared in his transactions with the King of France, the Pope, and the barons. His European dominions, when they devolved to him by the death of his brother, were more extensive than have ever, since his time, been ruled by an English monarch; but he first lost, by his misconduct, the flourishing provinces in France, the ancient patrimony of his family; he subjected his kingdom to a shameful vassalage under the see of Rome; he saw the prerogatives of his crown diminished by law, and still more reduced by faction; and he died at last when in danger of being totally expelled by a foreign power, and of either ending his life miserably in prison, or seeking shelter as a fugitive from the pursuit of his enemies.

It was this king who, in the year 1215, first gave by charter, to the city of London, the right of electing, annually, a mayor out of their own body, an office which was till now held for life. He gave the city also power to elect and remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common councilmen annually. London Bridge was finished in this reign. The former bridge was of wood. Maud, the empress, was the first that built a stone bridge in England.

§ 10. HENRY III., 1216–1272.—The Earl of Pembroke, who, at the time of John's death, was Marshal of England, was, by his office, at the head of the armies, and consequently, during a state of civil wars and convulsions, at the head of the government; and it happened fortunately for the young monarch and for the nation that the power could not have been intrusted into more able and more faithful hands. He immediately carried young Prince Henry, now 9 years of age, to Gloucester, where the ceremony of coronation was performed (Oct. 28, 1216). As the concurrence of the papal authority was requisite to support the tottering throne,

Henry was obliged to swear fealty to the Pope, and renew that homage to which his father had already subjected the kingdom; and, in order to enlarge the authority of Pembroke, and give him a more regular and legal title to it, a general council of the barons was soon after summoned at Bristol, where that nobleman was chosen protector of the realm.



Henry III. From his Tomb in Westminster Abbey.

Pembroke, by renewing and confirming the Great Charter with some alterations, gave much satisfaction and security to the nation in general. He also wrote letters, in the king's name, to all the malcontent barons, most of whom began secretly to negotiate with him, and many of them openly returned to their duty. Louis soon found that the death of John had, contrary to his expectations, given an incurable wound to his cause, and that every English nobleman was plainly watching for an opportunity of returning to his allegiance. The French army was totally defeated at Lincoln, and driven from that city. A French fleet, bringing over a strong re-enforcement, were attacked by the English, and were routed with considerable loss. Louis, whose cause was now totally desperate, concluded a peace with Pembroke, and promised to evacuate the kingdom. Thus was happily ended a civil war which seemed to be founded on the most incurable hatred and jealousy, and had threatened the kingdom with the most fatal consequences.

§ 11. The Earl of Pembroke did not long survive the pacification, which had been chiefly owing to his wisdom and valor, and

he was succeeded in the government by Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester, and Hubert de Burgh, the justiciary (1218). The counsels of the latter were chiefly followed; and had he possessed equal authority in the kingdom with Pembroke, he seemed to be every way worthy of filling the place of that virtuous nobleman. But the powerful barons, who had once broken the reins of subjection to their prince, and obtained an enlargement of their liberties and independence, could ill be restrained by laws under a minority. They retained by force the royal castles, which they had seized during the past convulsions, or which had been committed to their custody by the protector; and they usurped the king's demesnes.

Notwithstanding these intestine commotions in England, and the precarious authority of the crown, Henry was obliged to carry on war in France. Louis VIII., who had succeeded to his father Philip, instead of complying with Henry's claim, who demanded the restitution of Normandy and the other provinces wrested from England, made an irruption into Poitou (1224), took Rochelle after a long siege, and seemed determined to expel the English from the few provinces which still remained to them. Henry sent over his uncle, the Earl of Salisbury, who stopped the progress of Louis's arms; but no military action of any moment was performed on either side.

§ 12. The character of the king, as he grew to man's estate, became every day better known; and he was found in every respect unqualified for maintaining a proper sway among those turbulent barons whom the feudal constitution subjected to his authority. Gentle, humane, and merciful even to a fault, he seems to have been steady in no other circumstance of his character; but to have received every impression from those who surrounded him, and whom he loved, for the time, with the most imprudent and most unreserved affection. Hubert de Burgh, while he enjoyed his authority, had an entire ascendant over Henry, and was loaded with honors and favors beyond any other subject. Besides acquiring the property of many castles and manors, he married the eldest sister of the King of Scots, was created Earl of Kent, and, by an unusual concession, was made chief justiciary of England for life; yet Henry, in a sudden caprice, threw off this faithful minister (1231), and exposed him to the violent persecutions of his enemies. The man who succeeded him in the government of the king and kingdom was Peter, Bishop of Winchester, a Poitevin by birth, who had been raised by the late king, and who was no less distinguished by his arbitrary principles and violent conduct than by his courage and abilities. This prelate had been left by King John justiciary and regent of the kingdom during an

expedition which that prince made into France; and his illegal administration was one chief cause of that great combination among the barons, which finally extorted from the crown the charter of liberties, and laid the foundations of the English Constitution. Henry, though incapable from his character of pursuing the same violent maxims which had governed his father, had imbibed the same arbitrary principles; and in prosecution of Peter's advice, he invited over a great number of Poitevins and other foreigners, who, he believed, could be more safely trusted than the English, and who seemed useful to counterbalance the great and independent power of the nobility. Every office and command was bestowed on these strangers; they exhausted the revenues of the crown, already too much impoverished; they invaded the rights of the people; and their insolence drew on them the hatred and envy of all orders of men in the kingdom.

The king, having married Eleanor, daughter of the Count of Provence (14th January, 1236), was surrounded by a great number of strangers from that country also, whom he caressed with the fondest affection, and enriched by an imprudent generosity. The resentment of the English barons rose high at the preference given to foreigners, but no remonstrance or complaint could ever prevail on the king to abandon them, or even to moderate his attachment toward them. The king's conduct would have appeared more tolerable to the English had any thing been done meanwhile for the honor of the nation, or had Henry's enterprises in foreign countries been attended with any success or glory to himself or to the public. But though he declared war against Louis IX. in 1242, and made an expedition into Guienne, upon the invitation of his step-father, the Count de la Marche, who promised to join him with all his forces, he was unsuccessful in his attempts against that great monarch, was worsted at Taillebourg, was deserted by his allies, lost what remained to him of Poitou, and was obliged to return, with the loss of honor, into England. He was more successful in 1253 in repelling an invasion made by the King of Castile upon Guienne; but he thereby involved himself and his nobility in an enormous debt, which both increased their discontents, and exposed him to great danger from their enterprises.

§ 13. The chief grievances suffered by the English during this reign were, however, the usurpations and exactions of the court of Rome. All the chief benefices of the kingdom were conferred on Italians; great numbers of that nation were sent over at one time to be provided for, and non-residence and pluralities were carried to an enormous height. The benefices of the Italian clergy in England amounted to 60,000 marks a year, a sum which exceeded

the annual revenue of the crown itself. The Pope exacted the revenues of all vacant benefices, the twentieth of all ecclesiastical revenues without exception, the third of such as exceeded 100 marks a year, and the half of such as were possessed by non-residents. He claimed the goods of all intestate clergymen; he pretended a title to all money gotten by usury; he levied benevolences upon the people; and when the king, contrary to his usual practice, prohibited these exactions, he threatened him with excommunication.

But the most oppressive expedient employed by the Pope was the embarking of Henry in a project for the conquest of Naples, or Sicily on this side the Fare (1255). He pretended to dispose of the Sicilian crown, both as superior lord of that particular kingdom, and as vicar of Christ, to whom all kingdoms of the earth were subjected; and he made a tender of it to Henry for his second son Edmund. Henry accepted the insidious proposal, gave the Pope unlimited credit to expend whatever sums he thought necessary for completing the conquest, and was surprised to find himself on a sudden involved in an immense debt of 135,541 marks, besides interest. He applied to the parliament for supplies, but the barons, sensible of the ridiculous cheat imposed by the Pope, determined not to lavish their money on such chimerical projects. In this extremity the clergy was his only resource. The Pope published a crusade for the conquest of Sicily from King Mainfroy, a more terrible enemy, as he pretended, to the Christian faith than any Saracen. He levied a tenth on all ecclesiastical benefices in England for three years, and gave orders to excommunicate all bishops who made not punctual payment. He granted to the king the goods of intestate clergymen, the revenues of vacant benefices, and the revenues of all non-residents.

§ 14. About the same time Richard, Earl of Cornwall, the brother of the king, was engaged in an enterprise no less expensive and vexatious than that of Henry, and not attended with much greater probability of success. The immense opulence of Richard having made the German princes cast their eyes on him as a candidate for the empire, he was tempted to expend vast sums of money on his election; and he succeeded so far as to be chosen King of the Romans, which seemed to render his succession infallible to the imperial throne (1256); but he found at last that he had lavished away the frugality of a whole life in order to procure a splendid title.

The king was engaged in constant disputes with his barons, who frequently addressed him with the severest remonstrances. He was compelled several times to confirm the Great Charter; and on one of these occasions it was done in the most solemn and

even awful manner. All the prelates and abbots were assembled; they held burning tapers in their hands; the Great Charter was read before them; they denounced the sentence of excommunication against every one who should thenceforth violate that fundamental law; they threw their tapers on the ground, and exclaimed, *May the soul of every one who incurs this sentence so stink and corrupt in hell!* The king bore a part in this ceremony, and subjoined, "So help me God I will keep all these articles inviolate, as I am a man, as I am a Christian, as I am a knight, and as I am a king crowned and anointed." Yet was the tremendous ceremony no sooner finished than his favorites, abusing his weakness, made him return to the same arbitrary and irregular administration, and the reasonable expectations of his people were thus perpetually eluded and disappointed. All these imprudent and illegal measures afforded a pretense to Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, a younger son of that Simon de Montfort who had conducted the crusade against the Albigenses, to attempt an innovation in the government, and to wrest the sceptre from the feeble and irresolute hand which held it. He had married the king's sister, Eleanor, widow of the Earl of Pembroke, and had governed Gascony for many years with vigor and success. He secretly called a meeting of the most considerable barons, who embraced the resolution of redressing the public grievances by taking into their own hands the administration of government. Henry having summoned a Parliament (May 2, 1258) in expectation of receiving supplies for his Sicilian project, the barons appeared in the hall clad in complete armor, and with their swords by their side. A violent altercation ensued; and the king at length promised to summon another Parliament at Oxford, on June 11, in order to arrange a new plan of government.

§ 15. This Parliament, which the Royalists, and even the nation, from experience of the confusions that attended its measures, afterward denominated the *mad Parliament*, met on the day appointed; and as all the barons brought along with them their military vassals, and appeared with an armed force, the king, who had taken no precautions against them, was in reality a prisoner in their hands, and was obliged to submit to all the terms which they were pleased to impose upon him. A council of state, consisting of 15 barons, was selected to make the necessary reforms. The king himself took an oath that he would maintain whatever ordinances they should think proper to enact for that purpose. Simon de Montfort was at the head of this supreme council, to which the legislative power was thus in reality transferred; and all their measures were taken by his secret influence and direction. Their chief enactments, called the Provisions of Oxford, were, that four

knights should be chosen by each county, to point out the grievances of their neighborhood; that three sessions of Parliament should be regularly held every year, in the months of February, June, and October; that a new sheriff should be annually elected by the votes of the freeholders in each county; that no heirs should be committed to the wardship of foreigners, and no castles intrusted to their custody; and that no new warrens or forests should be created, nor the revenues of any counties or hundreds be let to farm.

The Earl of Leicester and his associates roused anew the popular clamor which had long prevailed against foreigners, and they fell with the utmost violence on the king's half-brothers, who were supposed to be the authors of all national grievances, and whom the king was obliged to banish. The barons formed an association among themselves, and swore that they would stand by each other with their lives and fortunes; they displaced all the chief officers of the crown, the justiciary, the chancellor, the treasurer, and advanced either themselves or their own creatures in their place. The whole power of the state being thus transferred to them, they ventured to impose an oath, by which all the subjects were obliged to swear, under the penalty of being declared public enemies, that they would obey and execute all the regulations, both known and unknown, of the barons. Not content with the usurpation of the royal power, they introduced an innovation in the constitution of Parliament, which was of the utmost importance. They ordained that this assembly should choose a committee of 12 persons, who should, in the intervals of the session, possess the authority of the whole Parliament, and should attend, on a summons, the person of the king in all his motions. Thus the monarchy was totally subverted without its being possible for the king to strike a single stroke in defense of the constitution against the newly-erected oligarchy.

§ 16. But the barons, in proportion to their continuance in power, began gradually to lose that popularity which had assisted them in obtaining it; and the fears of the nation were aroused by some new edicts, which were plainly calculated to procure to themselves an impunity in all their violences. They appointed that the circuits of the itinerant justices, the sole check on their arbitrary conduct, should be held only once in seven years; and men easily saw that a remedy which returned after such long intervals, against an oppressive power which was perpetual, would prove totally insignificant and useless. The cry became loud in the nation that the barons should finish their intended regulations. The current of popularity was now much turned to the side of the crown, and the rivalship between the Earls of Leicester and

Gloucester, the chief leaders among the barons, began to disjoint the whole confederacy.

Louis IX., who then governed France, used all his authority with the Earl of Leicester, his native subject, to bend him to compliance with Henry. He made a treaty with England (20th May, 1259) at a time when the distractions of that kingdom were at the greatest height, and when the king's authority was totally annihilated; and the terms which he granted might, even in a more prosperous state of their affairs, be deemed reasonable and advantageous to the English. He yielded up some territories which had been conquered from Poitou and Guienne; he insured the peaceable possession of the latter province to Henry; he agreed to pay that prince a large sum of money; and he only required that the king should in return make a final cession of Normandy and the other provinces, which he could never entertain any hopes of recovering by force of arms. This cession was ratified by Henry, by his two sons and two daughters, and by the King of the Romans and his three sons: Leicester alone, either moved by a vain arrogance, or desirous to ingratiate himself with the English populace, protested against the deed, and insisted on the right, however distant, which might accrue to his consort.

§ 17. The situation of Henry soon after wore a more favorable aspect, and the secret desertion of the Earl of Gloucester to the crown seemed to promise him certain success in any attempt to resume his authority. The Pope absolved him from his oath; the king soon afterward resumed the government; and Leicester was obliged to fly to France. The death of the Earl of Gloucester, and the accession of his son to Leicester's side, soon changed the scene again. The civil war was renewed and carried on with various success, till at length the king and the barons agreed to submit their differences to the arbitration of the King of France. At a congress at Amiens (1264) Louis annulled the Provisions of Oxford, and determined that Henry might retain whatever foreigners he pleased in his service. But this decision, instead of quenching the flames, only caused them to break forth with redoubled vehemence. Leicester, having summoned his partisans from all quarters, gained a decisive victory over the royal forces at Lewes (May 13), taking Henry and his brother, the King of the Romans, prisoners. Prince Edward, the eldest son of Henry, who commanded the royal army, was obliged to assent to a treaty with the conqueror, called the *Mise* of Lewes, from an obsolete French term of that meaning. In order to obtain the liberation of the English monarch, Prince Edward and Henry, son of the King of the Romans, were obliged to surrender themselves as prisoners.

§ 18. Leicester had no sooner obtained this great advantage, and gotten the whole royal family in his power, than he openly violated every article of the treaty, and acted as sole master of the kingdom. In order to strengthen his power he summoned a new Parliament in London (Jan. 20, 1265), which forms a memorable epoch in constitutional history. Besides the barons of his own party, and several ecclesiastics, who were not immediate tenants of the crown, he ordered returns to be made of two knights from each shire, and, what is more remarkable, of two representatives of each borough, an order of men which in former ages had always been regarded as too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. This is rightly regarded as the first meeting of the HOUSE OF COMMONS. But Leicester's policy only forwarded by some years an institution for which the general state of things had already prepared the nation. Leicester, having thus assembled a Parliament of his own model, and trusting to the attachment of the populace of London, seized the opportunity of crushing his rivals among the powerful barons.

§ 19. But he soon found himself embarrassed by the opposition, as well as by the escape, of Prince Edward. The Royalists, secretly prepared for this latter event, immediately flew to arms; and the joy of this gallant prince's deliverance, the oppressions under which the nation labored, the expectation of a new scene of affairs, and the accession of the Earl of Gloucester, procured Edward an army which Leicester was unable to withstand. The contest was brought to a conclusion by the battle of Evesham (Aug. 4, 1265). Leicester himself was slain, with his eldest son Henry, and about 160 knights, and many other gentlemen of his party. The old king had been purposely placed by the rebels in the front of the battle; and, being clad in armor, and thereby not known by his friends, he received a wound, and was in danger of his life; but crying out, *I am Henry of Winchester, your king*, he was saved, and put in a place of safety by his son, who flew to his rescue. The lifeless body of Leicester was mangled by the victors. The people long regarded him as a martyr to their cause and the champion of their liberties. The victory of Evesham proved decisive, and the king's authority was established in all parts of the kingdom.

§ 20. Prince Edward, finding the state of the kingdom tolerably composed, was seduced (1270) by his avidity for glory, and by the prejudices of the age, as well as by the earnest solicitations of the King of France, to undertake an expedition against the infidels in the Holy Land. He sailed from England with an army, and arrived in Louis's camp before Tunis in Africa, where he found that monarch already dead, from the intemperance of the climate and

the fatigues of his enterprise. Prince Edward, not discouraged by this event, continued his voyage to the Holy Land, where he signalized himself (1271) by acts of valor, revived the glory of the English name in those parts, and struck such terror into the Saracens that they employed an assassin to murder him, who wounded him in the arm, but perished in the attempt. During his absence the old king, overcome by the cares of government and the infirmities of age, expired at Bury St. Edmonds (November 16, 1272), in the 66th year of his age, and 57th of his reign. His brother, the King of the Romans (for he never attained the title of emperor), died about seven months before him.

The most obvious feature of Henry's character is his incapacity for government, which rendered him as much a prisoner in the hands of his own ministers and favorites, and as little at his own disposal, as when detained a captive in the hands of his enemies. From this source, rather than from insincerity or treachery, arose his negligence in observing his promises; and he was too easily induced, for the sake of present convenience, to sacrifice the lasting advantages arising from the trust and confidence of his people.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1199. Accession of King John.
1204. Normandy conquered by Philip Augustus.
1208. England placed under an interdict by the Pope.
1212. John deposed by Pope Innocent.
1213. John does homage to the Pope for England.
1215. Magna Charta granted.
1216. Death of King John, and accession of Henry III.
1258. Parliament of Oxford, or Mad Parliament.
1264. Battle of Lewes and capture of the king.
1265. Leicester's parliament. Burgesses first summoned.
" Battle of Evesham and death of Leicester.
1272. Death of Henry III.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ON THE AMALGAMATION OF THE SAXON AND NORMAN RACES.

The period at which this event took place has given rise to much discussion. It was the favorite theory of Thierry that the distinction between the two races continued till a very late time. Lord Macaulay supposes the amalgamation to have taken place between the accession of John and the death of Edward I., remarking, "It is certain that, when John became king, the distinction between Saxons and Normans was strongly marked, and that before the end of the reign of his grandson it had almost disappeared." (*Hist. of England*, i., p. 16.) But even Macaulay supposes the distinction to have lasted too long. It is impossible to reject the specific statement of a contemporary writer that the distinction between the two races was almost obliterated in the reign of Henry II. ("sic permixtæ sunt nationes, ut vix discerni possit hodie, de liberis loquor, quis Anglicus, quis Normannus sit genere," quoted by Hallam, *Middle Ages*, ii., p. 321); and this amalgamation must have been completed after the separation of Normandy from England in the reign of John. This view is in accordance with two other facts: 1. That the commencement of English literature dates from the 13th century, for the *Ormulum*, which is the oldest specimen of the English language extant, can not be placed later than this date. 2. That before the 13th century had passed away, the difference of dress, which in that state of society would survive

many other differences, was no longer observed, and the distinctive peculiarities of Norman and Saxon attire had disappeared. See Buckle, *History of Civilization in England*, i., p. 566.

B. CONFIRMATIONS OF THE GREAT CHARTER.

The Great Charter was always regarded as a fundamental law; but as the English monarchs were constantly disposed to evade it, the barons and the people repeatedly claimed its confirmation from their sovereigns. No fewer than thirty-eight solemn ratifications of it are recorded; of which six were made by Henry III., three by Edward I., fifteen by Edward III., six by Richard II., six by Henry IV., one by Henry V., and one by Henry VI. The Charter received a few alterations upon its successive confirmations in the first, second, and ninth years of Henry III.'s reign, the last of which is in our statute book and has never received any alteration. The most important change in the Charter, as confirmed by Henry III., was the omission of the clause which prohibited the levying of aids or escuages without the consent of Parliament. But though this clause was omitted, it continued to be observed during the reign of Henry, for we find the barons constantly refusing him the aids or subsidies which his prodigality was demanding. But he still retained the right of levying money upon towns under the name of tallage, and also claimed the right of levying other contributions, such as upon the export of wool. But a final stop was put to all these exactions by the celebrated statute passed in the 25th year of the reign of Edward I., entitled *Confirmatio Chartarum*. This statute not only confirmed the Great Charter, but gave, to use the words of Hallam, "the same security to private property which Magna Charta had given to personal liberty." In it the king solemnly declared that "for no business from thenceforth we shall take such manner of aids, tacks, nor prises, but by the common consent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed." Thus was the great principle of parliamentary taxation explicitly acknowledged eighty years after the first enactment of the Great Charter. On the Magna Charta, see Blackstone's Introduction to the Charter; Thompson's Essay on Magna Charta; Creasy, On the English Constitution, p. 128, *sqq.*

C. TRIAL BY JURY.

We have already adverted (p. 75) to the mistaken and now obsolete opinion that trial by jury existed in England in the Anglo-Saxon times. The 12 thanes who sat in the Sheriff's Court have no analogy to a modern jury except in their number. Their function of presenting offenders gave them more the resemblance of the present grand jury; and they seem, like the *scabini* or *échevins* of the Continent, to have formed a permanent magistracy. So also the Anglo-Saxon compurgators resembled the witnesses in a modern trial rather than the jurymen.

Nor do we find any trace of trial by jury, properly so called, in the century which succeeded the Norman conquest. The first approach to trial by jury is the assize of novel disseisin introduced in the reign of Henry II. By this custom, in a suit for the recovery of land, a tenant who was unwilling to risk a judicial combat might put himself on the assize—that is, refer the case to four knights chosen by the sheriff, who, in their turn, selected 12 more. The 16 knights thus impanneled were then sworn, and decided the case by their verdict. Whether this was a Norman or an Anglo-Norman institution is lost in obscurity, and need not be here discussed. Whether the words in the charter of John that "a man is to be tried by the lawful judgment of his peers" really means trial by jury may admit of dispute; but at any rate it clearly recognizes the great principle upon which trial by jury rests.

In criminal cases at all events we find an approach to a jury under Henry III. Trial by ordeal had now grown out of fashion; and though the trial by combat still remained, it could not, of course, be practiced unless some prosecutor appeared. But as a person vehemently suspected of a crime might be committed to safe custody on the presentment of a jury, he had the option of appealing to a second jury, which was sometimes composed of 12 persons. Such a jury, however, still differed from a modern one in the essential principle that it did not come to a decision upon the evidence of others. The jurors in fact continued to be witnesses, and founded their verdict on their own knowledge of the prisoner and of the facts of the case. Hence they are often called *recognitors*, because they decided from previous knowledge or recognition, including what they had heard and believed to be true. They seem to have admitted documentary evidence, but parole evidence seldom or never.

The great distinction between a modern and an ancient jury lies in the circumstance that the former are not witnesses themselves, but merely judges of the testimony of others. A previous knowledge of the facts of the case, which would now be an objection to a juryman, constituted in former days his merit and eligibility. At what precise period witnesses distinct from the jury themselves, and who had no voice in the verdict, first began to be regularly summoned, can not be ascertained. The first trace of such a practice occurs in the 23d year of Edward III., and had probably been creeping in previously. That it was perfectly established by the middle of the 15th century we have clear evidence from Fortescue's treatise *De Laudibus Legum Angliæ* (c. 26), written about that period. Personal knowledge of a case continued to be allowed in a juror, who was even required to act upon it; and it was not till a comparatively recent period that the complete separation of the functions of juryman and witness was established.

For farther information on this subject see Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. ii., ch. viii., pt. i., and note viii.; and Forsyth's *History of Trial by Jury*.



Edward I. From the Tower.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REIGNS OF EDWARD I. AND EDWARD II. A.D. 1272–1327.

§ 1. Accession of EDWARD I. Civil Administration. § 2. Conquest of Wales. § 3. Persecution of the Jews. § 4. Disputed Succession to the Scottish Crown. Award of Edward. § 5. War with France. § 6. Conquest of Scotland. § 7. War with France. Dissensions of the Barons and Confirmation of the Charters. § 8. Peace with France. Revolt of Scotland. § 9. Battle of Falkirk. Death of Wallace. § 10. Insurrection of Robert Bruce. § 11. Edward's last Expedition against Scotland. His Death and Character. § 12. Accession of EDWARD II. Weakness of the King and Discontent of the Barons. § 13. Banishment and Murder of Gaveston. § 14. War with Scotland. § 15. Hugh le Despenser. Civil Commotions. Lancaster executed. § 16. Truce with Scotland. Conspiracy against the King. He is dethroned and murdered.

§ 1. EDWARD I., 1272–1307.—PRINCE EDWARD had reached Sicily in his return from the Holy Land, when he received intelligence of the death of his father; but as he soon learned the quiet settlement of the kingdom, under Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, the Earl of Cornwall, son of Richard, King of the Romans, and the Earl of Gloucester, as guardians of the realm, he was in no hurry to take possession of the throne, but spent more than a

year in Italy and France before he made his appearance in England. After arranging the affairs of the province of Guienne, and settling a dispute between the Countess of Flanders and his subjects, he landed at Dover in August, 1274, and was crowned at Westminster (August 19) by Robert, Archbishop of Canterbury. In a Parliament which he summoned at Westminster in the following February he took care to inspect the conduct of all his magistrates and judges, to displace such as were either negligent or corrupt, to provide them with sufficient force for the execution of justice, to extirpate all bands and confederacies of robbers, and to repress those more silent robberies which were committed either by the power of the nobles or under the countenance of public authority.

Under the Statute of Gloucester, in 1278 [6 Edw. I., c. 1], enacted for the stricter administration of justice, Edward issued commissions to inquire into all encroachments on the royal demesne; into the value of escheats, forfeitures, and wardships; and into the means of repairing or improving every branch of the revenue. The commissioners, in the execution of their office, began to carry matters too far against the nobility, and to question titles to estates which had been transmitted from father to son for several generations. Earl Warrenne, who had done eminent service in the late reign, being required to show his titles, drew his sword, and subjoined that William the Bastard had not conquered the kingdom for himself alone, his ancestor was a joint adventurer in the enterprise, and he himself was determined to maintain what had from that period remained unquestioned in his family. The king, sensible of the danger, desisted from making farther inquiries of this nature; but he caused a strict investigation to be instituted into his father's grants to the Church, and in 1279 was passed the Statute of Mortmain (*in mortuâ manu*),* by which it was forbidden to make over lands and tenements to ecclesiastical corporations without the king's license.

§ 2. In the year 1283 was completed the conquest of Wales, one of the most important events of his reign. Llewellyn, prince of Wales, had been deeply engaged with the Montfort faction; and in the general accommodation made with the vanquished, had also obtained his pardon; but as he had reason to dread the future effects of resentment and jealousy in the English monarch, he maintained a secret correspondence with his former associates, and even made his addresses to a daughter of the Earl of Leicester, who was sent to him from beyond sea, but, being intercepted

* As the members of ecclesiastical bodies (being professed) were reckoned dead persons in law, land therefore holden by them might with great propriety be said to be held *in mortuâ manu*. Kerr's Blackstone, i., p. 509.

in her passage near the Isles of Scilly, was detained in the court of Edward. This incident increased the mutual jealousy between Edward and Llewellyn. Edward sent him repeated summons to perform the duty of a vassal, and in 1276 levied an army to reduce him to obedience. The same intestine dissensions which had formerly weakened England, now prevailed in Wales, and had even taken place in the reigning family. David and Roderic, brothers to Llewellyn, dispossessed of their inheritance by that prince, had been obliged to have recourse to the protection of Edward, and they seconded with all their interest, which was extensive, his attempts to enslave their native country. Edward, equally vigorous and cautious, entering by the north with a formidable army, pierced into the heart of the country; and, having carefully explored every road before him and secured every pass behind him, approached the Welsh army in its last retreat among the hills of Snowdon. Destitute of magazines, cooped up in a narrow corner, they, as well as their cattle, suffered all the rigors of famine; and Llewellyn, without being able to strike a stroke for his independence, was at last obliged to submit at discretion, and receive the terms imposed upon him by the victor (1277). He returned with Edward to England, and did homage to the king at Westminster; after which he received back his bride, and was allowed to return to Wales. But complaints soon arose on the side of the vanquished. Prince David, seized with the national spirit, made peace with his brother, and promised to concur in the defense of public liberty. The Welsh flew to arms; and Edward, not displeased with the occasion of making his conquest final and absolute, assembled all his military tenants, and advanced into Wales with an army which the inhabitants could not reasonably hope to resist. The situation of the country gave the Welsh at first some advantage; but Llewellyn was defeated and slain in an action, and 2000 of his followers were put to the sword (1282). David, who succeeded him in the principality, could never collect an army sufficient to face the English; and being chased from hill to hill, and hunted from one retreat to another, was obliged to conceal himself under various disguises, and was at last betrayed in his lurking-place to the enemy. Edward sent him in chains to Shrewsbury; and, bringing him to a formal trial before all the peers of England, ordered this sovereign prince to be hanged, drawn, and quartered as a traitor (1283). All the Welsh nobility submitted to the conqueror; the laws of England, with the sheriffs and other ministers of justice, were established in that principality; and though it was long before national antipathies were extinguished, and a thorough union attained between the people, yet this important conquest, which it had re-

quired 800 years fully to effect, was at last, through the abilities of Edward, completed by the English. The king invested in the principality his second son Edward, then an infant, who had been born at Caernarvon. The death of his eldest son, Alphonso, soon after made young Edward heir of the monarchy, the principality of Wales was fully annexed to the crown, and henceforth gives a title to the eldest son of the kings of England.

§ 3. The settlement of Wales appeared so complete to Edward that in less than two years after he went abroad (1286), in order to make peace between Alphonso, King of Aragon, and Philip the Fair, who had lately succeeded his father Philip the Hardy on the throne of France. Edward had powers from both princes to settle the terms and he succeeded in his endeavors. He staid abroad about three years; and on his return found many disorders to have prevailed, both from open violence and from the corruption of justice. Edward, in order to remedy this prevailing abuse, summoned a Parliament and brought the judges to a trial (1289), where all of them, except two, who were clergymen, were convicted of this flagrant iniquity, were fined and deposed. The following year was marked by the banishment of all the Jews from England. Throughout Edward's reign that people had experienced both his anxiety for their conversion and the judicial rigor with which he visited their real or imputed offenses. For the former object he set the friars to preach, and in vain supported their exhortations by the offer of pecuniary advantages. Of his rigor the following are some examples: Clipping the coin was in the early part of Edward's reign a crime of frequent occurrence, and the perpetration was facilitated by the custom, sanctioned by the laws, of cutting the silver penny into halves and quarters. In 1278, 280 Jews were hanged for this crime in London alone, the mere possession of clipped money being deemed sufficient evidence of guilt. Many Christians, however, suffered the same punishment. About eight years afterward all the Jews in England, including women and children, were thrown into prison for some imputed offense, and detained till they had paid a fine of £12,000. At last, in the year 1290, the whole race was banished the kingdom, to the number of 16,311. This severe step is attributed to the persuasion of Eleanor, the king's mother. Edward allowed them to carry abroad all their money and movables, which proved a temptation to the sailors and others to murder many of them; for which, however, the king inflicted capital punishment. Jews were not permitted to come again into England till the time of the Commonwealth.

§ 4. We now come to give an account of the state of affairs in Scotland, which gave rise to the most interesting transactions of

this and of some of the subsequent reigns. Alexander III., who had espoused the sister of Edward, died in 1286, without leaving any male issue, and without any descendant, except Margaret, born of Eric, King of Norway, and of Margaret, daughter of the Scottish monarch. This princess, commonly called the Maid of Norway, had, through her grandfather's care, been recognized as his successor by the states of Scotland; and on Alexander's death was acknowledged Queen of Scotland. Edward was naturally led to build mighty projects on this incident; and having lately, by force of arms, brought Wales under subjection, he attempted, by the marriage of Margaret with his eldest son, to unite the whole island into one monarchy. The states of Scotland readily gave their assent to the English proposals; but this project, so happily formed and so amicably conducted, failed of success by the sudden death of the Norwegian princess, who expired on her passage to Scotland (1291), and left a very dismal prospect to the kingdom. There were numerous competitors; but three only had any real claim to the crown. These were the descendants of the three daughters of David, Earl of Huntingdon, and brother of William, King of Scotland, the prince taken prisoner by Henry II. John Baliol, Lord of Galloway, was the grandson of Margaret, the eldest daughter; Robert Bruce, Lord of Anandale, was the son of Isabel, the second daughter; and Hastings, Lord of Abergavenny, was the grandson of Ada, the third daughter. Baliol and Bruce laid claim to the whole kingdom; and Hastings maintained that, in right of his mother, he had a title to a third of it. The parliament of Scotland, threatened with a furious civil war, agreed in making a reference to Edward. The temptation was too strong for the virtue of the English monarch to resist; and he purposed to lay hold of the present favorable opportunity, if not to create, at least to revive, his claim of a feudal superiority over Scotland. Carrying with him a great army, he advanced to the frontiers, and invited the Scottish parliament, and all the competitors, to attend him in the castle of Norham, a place situated on the southern banks of the Tweed, in order to determine that cause which had been referred to his arbitration. When the whole Scottish nation had thus unwarily put themselves in his power, Edward claimed the right of determining among the competitors to the crown, not in virtue of the reference made to him, but in quality of superior and liege lord of the kingdom, and required an acknowledgment of his claim. The Scottish parliament was astonished at so new a pretension, and answered only by their silence; but the king, in order to maintain the appearance of free and regular proceedings, desired them to remove into their own country to deliberate upon his claim, and to inform him

of their resolution; and he appointed a plain at Upsettleton, on the northern banks of the Tweed, for that purpose.

When the Scottish barons assembled in this place, though moved with indignation at the injustice of this unexpected claim, and at the fraud with which it had been conducted, they found themselves betrayed into a situation in which it was impossible for them to make any defense for the ancient liberty and independence of their country. The king, therefore, interpreting their silence as consent, addressed himself to the several competitors; and, previously to his pronouncing sentence, required their acknowledgment of his superiority. There appeared on this occasion no fewer than nine claimants, who all proved themselves equally obsequious. Edward next gave orders that Baliol should choose 40 commissioners: Bruce 40 more; to these the king added 24 Englishmen: he ordered these 104 commissioners to examine the cause deliberately among themselves, and make their report to him; and he promised in the ensuing year to give his determination. During this interval, Edward, in order to give greater authority to his intended decision, proposed this general question both to the commissioners and to all the celebrated lawyers in Europe: whether a person descended from the eldest sister, but farther removed by one degree, were preferable, in the succession of kingdoms, fiefs, and other indivisible inheritances, to one descended from the younger sister, but one degree nearer to the common stock? This was the true state of the case; and the principle of representation had now gained such ground every where that a uniform answer was returned to the king in the affirmative. He therefore pronounced sentence in favor of Baliol, who, upon renewing his oath of fealty to England, was put in possession of the kingdom (1292). The conduct of Edward, both in the deliberate solemnity of the proceedings and in the justice of the award, was so far unexceptionable; but he immediately proceeded in such a manner as made it evident that, not content with his claim of superiority, he aimed at the absolute sovereignty and dominion of the kingdom. He required King John himself, by six different summons on trivial occasions, to come to London; refused him the privilege of defending his cause by a procurator; and obliged him to appear at the bar of his parliament as a private person. His intention plainly was to enrage Baliol by these indignities, to engage him in rebellion, and to assume the dominion of the state as the punishment of his treason and felony. Accordingly Baliol, though a prince of a soft and gentle spirit, returned into Scotland highly provoked at this usage, and determined at all hazards to vindicate his liberty; and the war which soon after broke out between France and England gave him a favorable opportunity of executing his purpose.

§ 5. In an accidental rencontre between the crews of an English and a Norman vessel at a watering-place near Bayonne, one of the latter was killed. A series of reprisals ensued on both sides, and the sea became a scene of piracy between the nations. At length a fleet of 200 Norman vessels set sail to the south for wine and other commodities, and in their passage seized all the English ships which they met with, hanged the seamen, and seized the goods. The inhabitants of the English seaports, informed of this incident, fitted out a fleet of 60 sail, stronger and better manned than the others, and awaited the enemy on their return. After an obstinate battle they put them to rout, and sunk, destroyed, or took the greater part of them (1293). The affair was now become too important to be any longer overlooked by the sovereigns. Philip cited the king, as Duke of Guienne, to appear in his court at Paris, and answer for these offenses; and Edward, finding himself in immediate danger of war with the Scots, allowed himself to be deceived by the gross artifice of Philip, who proposed that, if Edward would once consent to give him possession of Guienne, he should think his honor fully repaired, would engage to restore that province immediately, and would accept of a very easy satisfaction for all other injuries. But the French monarch was no sooner put in possession of Guienne than the citation was renewed, Edward was condemned for nonappearance, and Guienne, by a formal sentence, was declared to be forfeited and annexed to the crown (1294). Edward, fallen into a like snare with that which he himself had spread for the Scots, was enraged; and the more so as he was justly ashamed of his own conduct in being so egregiously overreached by the court of France. He formed alliances with several princes on the Continent, and sent a powerful army into Guienne, which met at first with some success, but was ultimately defeated in every quarter. The French king, in order to make a greater diversion of the English force, and to engage Edward in dangerous and important wars, formed a secret alliance with John Baliol, King of Scotland—the commencement of that strict union which during so many centuries was maintained by mutual interests and necessities between the French and Scottish nations.

§ 6. The expenses attending these multiplied wars of Edward, and his preparations for war, joined to alterations which had insensibly taken place in the general state of affairs, obliged him to have frequent recourse to Parliamentary supplies. Edward became sensible that the most expeditious way of obtaining supply was to assemble the deputies of all the boroughs, to lay before them the necessities of the state, and to require their consent to the demands of their sovereign. For this reason he issued writs

to the sheriffs, enjoining them to send to Parliament, along with two knights of the shire, two deputies from each borough within their county; and these provided with sufficient powers from their community to consent, in their name, to what he and his council should require of them: *as it is a most equitable rule*, says he, in his preamble to this writ, *that what concerns all should be approved of by all, and common dangers be repelled by united efforts*—a noble principle which laid the foundation of a free and equitable government. These writs were issued in the 23d year of his reign (1295), and are regarded by Hume and others as the true epoch of the House of Commons; but there is now sufficient evidence that the representatives of the boroughs had been summoned on previous occasions during his reign; and accordingly the Parliament summoned by Simon de Montfort under Henry III. must be regarded as the real foundation of the House of Commons.*

When Edward received intelligence of the treaty secretly concluded between John and Philip, he marched into Scotland with a numerous army to chastise his rebellious vassal (1294). He gained a decisive victory over the Scots near Dunbar. All the southern parts of the country were instantly subdued by the English; and the feeble and timid Baliol hastened to make a solemn and irrevocable resignation of his crown into the hands of Edward. The English king marched northward to Aberdeen and Elgin, without meeting an enemy; and, having brought the whole kingdom to a seeming state of tranquillity, returned to the south with his army, carrying away with him the stone on which the Scotch kings were inaugurated, and to which the popular superstition paid the highest veneration. Baliol was carried prisoner to London, and committed to custody in the Tower. Two years after he was restored to liberty, and submitted to a voluntary banishment in France, where, without making any farther attempts for the recovery of his royalty, he died in a private station. Earl Warrenne was left Governor of Scotland, and Edward returned with his victorious army into England.

§ 7. An attempt which he made about the same time for the recovery of Guienne was not equally successful. In order to carry on the war, the king stood in need of large sums of money, which he raised by arbitrary exactions both on the clergy and laity. Notwithstanding his many noble qualities, Edward was of an imperious disposition. He resolutely refused to confirm the Great Charter; and among his other heavy exactions, without the consent of Parliament, those on the export of wool are particularly mentioned. The clergy, after a violent struggle, were obliged to

* For an account of the rise and progress of the English Parliament, see Notes and Illustrations to chap. xii.

submit, and to pay a fifth part of all their movables. But the nobles and the commons were more successful in their resistance. They found intrepid leaders in Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, the constable, and Roger Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, the marshal of England, two patriots, to whom England owes the deepest gratitude, since they had the courage to withstand the arbitrary will of one of the most prudent and successful monarchs that had sat upon the English throne since the Conquest. Edward assembled on the sea-coast an army which he purposed to send over to Guienne, while he himself should in person make an impression on the side of Flanders; and he intended to put these forces under the command of the Earls of Hereford and Norfolk; but these two powerful earls refused to execute his commands, and affirmed that they were only obliged by their office to attend his person in the wars. A violent altercation ensued; and the king, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the constable, exclaimed, *Sir Earl, by God, you shall either go or hang. By God, Sir King*, replied Hereford, *I will neither go nor hang.* And he immediately departed with the marshal, and above thirty other considerable barons. Upon this opposition the king laid aside the project of an expedition against Guienne, and crossed over into Flanders; but the constable and marshal, with the barons of their party, resolved to take advantage of Edward's absence, and to obtain an explicit assent to their demands. When summoned to attend the Parliament at London, they came with a great body of cavalry and infantry, and before they would enter the city required that the gates should be put into their custody. Their demands, however, were moderate, and such as sufficiently justify the purity of their intentions in all their past measures. They only required that the two charters (the Great Charter and that of the forests) should receive a solemn confirmation; that a clause should be added to secure the nation forever against all impositions and taxes without consent of Parliament; and that they themselves and their adherents, who had refused to attend the king into Flanders, should be pardoned for the offense, and should be again received into favor. The Prince of Wales and his council assented to these terms, and the charters were sent over to the king at Ghent in Flanders, to be there confirmed by him. Edward was at last obliged, after many internal struggles, to affix his seal to the charters, as also to the clause that bereaved him of the power which he had hitherto assumed of imposing arbitrary taxes upon the people. This took place in 1297, and in the 25th year of his reign. Edward subsequently attempted to evade these engagements, and in 1305 secretly applied to Rome, and procured from that mercenary court an absolution from all the oaths

and engagements which he had so often reiterated to observe both the charters; but he soon after granted a new confirmation. Thus, after the contests of nearly a whole century, and these ever accompanied with violent jealousies, often with public convulsions, the Great Charter was finally established; and the English nation have the honor of extorting, by their perseverance, this concession from the ablest, the most warlike, and the most ambitious of all their princes.*

§ 8. In 1298 peace was concluded between France and England by the mediation of Pope Boniface. Their union was cemented by a double marriage—that of Edward himself, who was now a widower, with Margaret, Philip's sister, and that of the Prince of Wales with Isabella, daughter of that monarch. Philip was willing to restore Guienne to the English; Edward agreed to abandon his ally the Earl of Flanders, on condition that Philip should treat in like manner his ally the King of Scots.

It was, indeed, high time for Edward to apply himself to the affairs of Scotland. There was one William Wallace, of a small fortune, but descended of an ancient family in the west of Scotland, whose courage prompted him to undertake, and enabled him finally to accomplish, the desperate attempt of delivering his native country from the dominion of foreigners. This man, whose valorous exploits are the object of just admiration, but have been much exaggerated by the traditions of his countrymen, had been provoked by the insolence of an English officer to put him to death; and finding himself obnoxious, on that account, to the severity of the administration, he fled into the woods, and offered himself as a leader to all those whom their crimes or bad fortune, or avowed hatred of the English, had reduced to a like necessity. He was endowed with gigantic force of body, with heroic courage of mind, with disinterested magnanimity, with incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons; and he soon acquired, among those desperate fugitives, that authority to which his virtues so justly entitled him. Wallace having, by many fortunate enterprises, brought the valor of his followers to correspond to his own, resolved to strike a decisive blow against the English government; and he concerted the plan of attacking Ormesby, to whom, as justiciary, the government had been deputed by Warrenne, at Scone, and of taking vengeance on him for all the violence and tyranny of which he had been guilty. The justiciary, apprised of his intentions, fled hastily into England; all the other officers of that nation imitated his example; their terror added alacrity and courage to the Scots, who betook

* On the confirmation of the Charter, see also Notes and Illustrations (B) to chap. viii.

themselves to arms in every quarter. Warrenne, having collected an army of 40,000 men in the north of England, suddenly entered Scotland, but was defeated by Wallace with great slaughter at Cambuskenneth, near Stirling. Among the slain was Cressingham, the English treasurer, whose memory was so extremely odious to the Scots that they flayed his dead body, and made saddles and girths of his skin. Warrenne, finding the remainder of his army much dismayed by this misfortune, was obliged again to evacuate the kingdom, and retire into England. Wallace, breaking into the northern counties during the winter season, laid every place waste with fire and sword; and, after extending on all sides, without opposition, the fury of his ravages as far as the bishopric of Durham, he returned, loaded with spoils and crowned with glory, into his own country (1297).

§ 9. Edward now hastened over to England, collected the whole military force of England, Wales, and Ireland, and marched with an army of nearly 100,000 combatants to the northern frontiers. The king gained a decisive victory over the Scots at Falkirk (1298). The whole Scottish army was broken, and chased off the field with great slaughter; and the Scots never suffered a greater loss in any action, nor one which seemed to threaten more inevitable ruin to their country.

The subjection of Scotland, notwithstanding this great victory of Edward, was not yet entirely completed. The English army, after reducing the southern provinces, was obliged to retire for want of provisions, and left the northern counties in the hands of the natives. In 1303 the Scots again rose in arms, and gained several successes. The king assembled both a great fleet and a great army; and, entering the frontiers of Scotland, appeared with a force which the enemy could not think of resisting in the open field. The English navy, which sailed along the coast, secured the army from any danger of famine; Edward's vigilance preserved it from surprises; and by this prudent disposition they marched victorious from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, ravaging the open country, reducing all the castles, and receiving the submissions of all the nobility, even those of the regent. Wallace, though he attended the English army in their march, found but few opportunities of signalizing that valor which had formerly made him so terrible to his enemies. At last that hardy warrior, who was determined, amid the universal slavery of his countrymen, still to maintain his independency, was betrayed into Edward's hands by Sir John Monteith, his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his concealment. The king, whose natural bravery and magnanimity should have induced him to respect like qualities in an enemy, enraged at some acts of vi-

olence committed by Wallace during the fury of war, resolved to overawe the Scots by an example of severity. He ordered Wallace to be carried in chains to London, to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submissions or sworn fealty to England, and to be executed in Smithfield (1305). But the Scots, already disgusted at the great innovations introduced by the sword of a conqueror into their laws and government, were farther enraged at the injustice and cruelty exercised upon Wallace; and it was not long ere a new and more fortunate leader presented himself, who conducted them to liberty, to victory, and to vengeance.

§ 10. Robert Bruce, son of that Robert who had been one of the competitors for the crown, had succeeded, by his father's death, to all his rights; and the demise of John Baliol, together with the captivity of Edward, eldest son of that prince, seemed to open a full career to the genius and ambition of this young nobleman. At a meeting of the Scottish nobility at Dumfries (Feb. 1306), he called upon them to throw off the English yoke; but finding that John Comyn, the son of Baliol's sister, and one of the most powerful of the Scottish nobles, was not ready to join his side, Bruce attacked him in the cloisters of the Grey Friars, and running him through the body, left him for dead. Sir Thomas Kirkpatrick, one of Bruce's friends, asked him soon after if the traitor were slain, *I believe so*, replied Bruce. *And is that a matter*, cried Kirkpatrick, *to be left to conjecture? I will secure him.* Upon which he drew his dagger, ran to Comyn, and stabbed him to the heart.

§ 11. The murder of Comyn affixed the seal to the conspiracy of the Scottish nobles: they had now no resource left but to shake off the yoke of England, or to perish in the attempt. Bruce was solemnly crowned and inaugurated in the Abbey of Scone, by the Bishop of St. Andrews, who had zealously embraced his cause. The English were again chased out of the kingdom, except such as took shelter in the fortresses that still remained in their hands; and Edward found that the Scots, twice conquered in his reign, and often defeated, must yet be anew subdued. Not discouraged with these unexpected difficulties, he sent Aymer de Valence with a considerable force into Scotland to check the progress of the malcontents; and that nobleman, falling unexpectedly upon Bruce at Methven in Perthshire, threw his army into such disorder as ended in a total defeat. Bruce fought with the most heroic courage, but was at last obliged to yield to superior fortune, and take shelter, with a few followers, in the western isles. Edward, vowing revenge against the whole Scottish nation, assembled a great army, and was preparing to enter the frontiers, secure of success, when he unexpectedly sickened and died near Carlisle (July 7,

1307), enjoining with his last breath his son and successor to prosecute the enterprise, and never to desist till he had finally subdued the kingdom of Scotland. He expired in the 69th year of his age, and 35th of his reign, hated by his neighbors, but extremely respected and revered by his own subjects.

The enterprises finished by this prince, and the projects which he formed and brought near to a conclusion, were more prudent, more regularly conducted, and more advantageous to the solid interests of his kingdom, than those which were undertaken in any reign, either of his ancestors or his successors. Edward, however exceptionable his character may appear on the head of justice, is the model of a politic and warlike king: he possessed industry, penetration, courage, vigilance, and enterprise; he was frugal in all expenses that were not necessary; he knew how to open the public treasures on a proper occasion; he punished criminals with severity; he was gracious and affable to his servants and courtiers; and being of a majestic figure, expert in all military exercises, and in the main well-proportioned in his limbs, notwithstanding the great length and the smallness of his legs, he was as well qualified to captivate the populace by his exterior appearance as to gain the approbation of men of sense by his more solid virtues. But the chief advantage which the people of England reaped, and still continue to reap, from the reign of this great prince, was the correction, extension, amendment, and establishment of the laws, which Edward maintained in great vigor, and left much improved to posterity; for the acts of a wise legislator commonly remain, while the acquisitions of a conqueror often perish with him. This merit has justly gained for Edward the appellation of the English Justinian.

§ 12. EDWARD II., 1307–1327.—This prince, called Edward of Caernarvon, from the place of his birth, was 23 years of age at his father's death. The prepossessions entertained in his favor kept the English from being fully sensible of the extreme loss which they had sustained by the death of the great monarch who filled the throne; but the first act of his reign blasted all these hopes, and showed him to be totally unqualified to rule. The indefatigable Robert Bruce, though his army had been dispersed, and he himself had been obliged to take shelter in the western isles, remained not long inactive; but before the death of the late king had sallied from his retreat and again collected his followers, had appeared in the field and had obtained by surprise an important advantage over Aymer de Valence, who commanded the English forces. But Edward, after marching a little way into Scotland, immediately returned upon his footsteps and disbanded his army. His grandees perceived from this conduct that the author-

ity of the crown, fallen into such feeble hands, was no longer to be dreaded; and Edward's passion for favorites soon gave them a pretext for complaint. There was one Piers Gaveston, son of a Gascon knight of some distinction, who had honorably served the late king, and who, in reward of his merits, had obtained an establishment for his son in the family of the Prince of Wales. This young man soon insinuated himself into the affections of his master by his agreeable behavior, and by supplying him with all those innocent though frivolous amusements which suited his capacity and his inclinations. Edward, after his accession, not content with conferring on him possessions which had sufficed as an appanage for a prince of the blood, daily loaded him with new honors and riches; married him to his own niece, sister of the Earl of Gloucester; and seemed to enjoy no pleasure in his royal dignity but as it enabled him to exalt to the highest splendor this object of his fond affections. When he went to France, both in order to do homage for the duchy of Guienne and to espouse the Princess Isabella, to whom he had long been affianced, Edward left Gaveston guardian of the realm, with more ample powers than had usually been conferred.

§ 13. It would afford but little amusement or instruction to detail all the events which at last drew down upon the favorite the tragical fate which he had courted through his insolence and ostentation. Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, cousin-german to the king, and first prince of the blood, headed a confederacy of the nobles against Gaveston, and compelled the king to banish him (1308). Edward, however, contrived to convert even this circumstance into a mark of favor by making his minion Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and shortly after managed to procure his recall. The king set no longer any bounds to his extravagant fondness and affection; while Gaveston himself, forgetting his past misfortunes, and blind to their causes, resumed his former offensive behavior. In 1311 a junto of the barons, besides extorting some measures of reform, obliged the king to pass an ordinance for the removal of evil counselors, by which a great number of persons were by name excluded from every office of power and profit; and Piers Gaveston himself was forever banished the king's dominions, under the penalty, in case of disobedience, of being declared a public enemy. But Edward, removing to York, freed himself from the immediate terror of the barons' power, invited back Gaveston from Flanders, which that favorite had made the place of his retreat, and declaring his banishment to be illegal, and contrary to the laws and customs of the kingdom, openly reinstated him in his former credit and authority (1312). The barons, highly provoked at this disappointment, and apprehensive of danger to themselves,

from the declared animosity of so powerful a minion, saw that either his or their ruin was now inevitable. The Earl of Lancaster, Guy, Earl of Warwick, Humphrey Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, and others, renewed with redoubled zeal their former confederacies against him. The Earl of Lancaster suddenly raised an army and marched to York, where he found the king already removed to Newcastle. He flew thither in pursuit of him; and Edward had just time to escape to Tynemouth, where he embarked, and sailed with Gaveston to Scarborough. He left his favorite in that fortress; but Gaveston, sensible of the bad condition of his garrison, was obliged to capitulate, and to surrender himself prisoner. He was ultimately conducted to Warwick Castle. The Earls of Lancaster, Hereford, and Arundel immediately repaired thither; and without any regard to the laws, or the military capitulation, they ordered the head of the obnoxious favorite to be struck off by the hands of the executioner.

§ 14. The terror of the English power being abated by the feeble conduct of the king, even the least sanguine of the Scots began to entertain hopes of recovering their independence; and the whole kingdom, except a few fortresses which he had not the means to attack, acknowledged the authority of Robert Bruce. But the union of all parties in England, after the death of Gaveston, restored that kingdom to its native force, and opened again the prospect of reducing Scotland. Edward assembled forces from Gascony, Flanders, Ireland, and Wales, for this important enterprise, which, joined with the English, formed an army amounting, according to the Scotch writers, to 100,000. The army collected by the Bruce exceeded not 30,000 combatants; but, being composed of men who had distinguished themselves by many acts of valor, who were rendered desperate by their situation, and who were inured to all the varieties of fortune, they might justly, under such a leader, be deemed formidable to the most numerous and best appointed armies. He posted himself at Bannockburn, about two miles from Stirling, where, on the 25th June, 1314, he gained a great and decisive victory over the English, which secured the independence of Scotland, and fixed Bruce on the throne of that kingdom. The king himself narrowly escaped by taking shelter in Dunbar, whose gates were opened to him by the Earl of March, and he thence passed by sea to Berwick.

§ 15. The king's chief favorite, after the death of Gaveston, was Hugh le Despenser, or Spenser, a young man of English birth, of high rank, and of a noble family, who possessed all the exterior accomplishments of person and address which were fitted to engage the weak mind of Edward. His father was a nobleman

venerable from his years, respected through all his past life for wisdom, valor, and integrity, and well fitted, by his talents and experience, to have supplied the defects both of the king and of his minion; but no sooner was Edward's attachment declared for young Spenser than the turbulent Lancaster, and most of the great barons, regarded him as their rival, made him the object of their animosity, and formed violent plans for his ruin. After committing many disorders they entered London with their troops (1321); and giving in to the Parliament, which was then sitting, a charge against the Spensers, of which they attempted not to prove one article, they procured, by menaces and violence, a sentence of attainder and perpetual exile against these ministers. In the following year Edward hastened with his army to the marches of Wales, the chief seat of the power of his enemies, whom he found totally unprepared for resistance. Lancaster, in order to prevent the total ruin of his party, summoned together his vassals and retainers; declared his alliance with Scotland, which had long been suspected; and, being joined by the Earl of Hereford, advanced with all his forces against the king. But being disappointed in that plan of operations, he fled with his army to the north, in expectation of being there joined by his Scottish allies; he was pursued by the king; and his army diminished daily, till he came to Boroughbridge, where he was defeated and captured. Lancaster, who was guilty of open rebellion, was condemned by a court martial, and led to execution. He was clothed in a mean attire, placed on a lean jade without a bridle, conducted to an eminence near Pomfret, one of his own castles, and there beheaded (1322).

§ 16. Edward, after making one more fruitless attempt against Scotland, whence he retreated with dishonor, found it necessary to terminate hostilities with that kingdom by a truce of thirteen years. This truce was the more seasonable for England, because the nation was at that juncture threatened with hostilities from France. Charles the Fair had some grounds of complaint against the king's ministers in Guienne; and Queen Isabella, who had obtained permission to go over to Paris, and endeavor to adjust in an amicable manner the difference with her brother, proposed that Edward should resign the dominion of Guienne to his son, now thirteen years of age; and that the prince should come to Paris, and do the homage which every vassal owed to his superior lord. Spenser was charmed with the contrivance; young Edward was sent to Paris; and the ruin covered under this fatal snare was never perceived or suspected by any of the English council (1325).

The queen, on her arrival in France, had there found a great

number of English fugitives, the remains of the Lancastrian faction; and their common hatred of Spenser soon begat a secret friendship and correspondence between them and that princess. Among the rest was young Roger Mortimer, a potent baron in the Welsh marches, who was easily admitted to pay his court to Queen Isabella. The graces of his person and address advanced him quickly in her affections. He became her confidant and counselor in all her measures; and, gaining ground daily upon her heart, he engaged her to sacrifice at last to her passion all the sentiments of honor and of fidelity to her husband. Mortimer lived in the most declared intimacy with her; a correspondence was secretly carried on with the malcontent party in England; and when Edward, informed of those alarming circumstances, required her speedily to return with the prince, she publicly replied that she would never set foot in the kingdom till Spenser was forever removed from his presence and councils—a declaration which procured her great popularity in England, and threw a decent veil over all her treasonable enterprises. She affianced young Edward with Philippa, daughter of the Count of Holland and Hainault; and having, by the assistance of this prince, enlisted in her service nearly 3000 men, she set sail from the harbor of Dort, and landed safely and without opposition on the coast of Suffolk (1326). She was joined by the earls of Kent and Norfolk, and many of the nobility; and Edward, being deserted by his subjects, departed for the West; but, being disappointed in his expectations with regard to the loyalty of those parts, he passed over to Wales, where, he flattered himself, his name was more popular, and which he hoped to find uninfected with the contagion of general rage which had seized the English. The elder Spenser, created Earl of Winchester, was left governor of the castle of Bristol; but the garrison mutinied against him, and he was delivered into the hands of his enemies and executed. The king took shipping for Ireland; but being driven back by contrary winds, he endeavored to conceal himself in the mountains of Wales. He was soon discovered, was put under the custody of the Earl of Leicester, and was confined in the castle of Kenilworth. The younger Spenser also fell into the hands of his enemies, and was executed without any appearance of a legal trial. The queen then summoned, in the king's name, a Parliament at Westminster (Jan. 7, 1327). A charge was drawn up against the king, in which, even though it was framed by his inveterate enemies, nothing but his narrow genius or his misfortunes were objected to him. His deposition was voted; the prince, already declared regent by his party, was placed on the throne; and a deputation was sent to Edward, at Kenilworth, to require his resignation, which menaces and terror

soon extorted from him (Jan. 20). That unfortunate monarch was transferred to Berkeley Castle, and the impatient Mortimer secretly sent orders to his keepers instantly to dispatch him. These ruffians threw him on a bed, held him down violently with a table which they flung over him, thrust into his fundament a red-hot iron, which they inserted through a horn; and though the outward marks of violence upon his person were prevented by this expedient, the horrid deed was discovered to all the guards and attendants by the screams with which the agonizing king filled the castle while his bowels were consuming (Sept. 21). Thus miserably perished, in the 44th year of his age and 21st of his reign, Edward II., than whom it is not easy to imagine a prince less fitted for governing the fierce and turbulent people subjected to his authority.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1272. Accession of Edward I.
1283. Conquest of Wales.
1290. The Jews banished from England.
1296. Conquest of Scotland.
1305. Wallace executed in London.
1307. Accession of Edward II.
1314. Battle of Bannockburn, and independence of Scotland under Robert Bruce.
1322. The Earl of Lancaster defeated and executed.
1326. Queen Isabella invades England, and deposes her husband.
1327. The king murdered at Berkeley Castle.



Noble of Edward III.

Obv.: EDWARD'. DEI. GRA. REX. ANGL' Z FRANC'. D. HYB'G. The king standing in a ship (type supposed to relate to the naval victory gained by him over the French fleet off Sluys, A.D. 1340). Rev.: IHC: TRANSIENS: PER: MEDIVM: ILLORVM: IBAT +. Cross fleury, with a fleur-de-lis at each point, and a lion passant under a crown in each quarter.

CHAPTER X.

HOUSE OF PLANTAGENET CONTINUED.—EDWARD III. AND RICHARD II. A.D. 1327–1399.

§ 1. Accession of EDWARD III. War with Scotland. § 2. Fall of Mortimer. § 3. King's Administration. War with Scotland. Battle of Halidown Hill. § 4. Edward's Claim to the Crown of France. § 5. War with France. § 6. Domestic Disturbances. Affairs of Brittany. § 7. Renewal of the French War. Battle of Crécy. § 8. Captivity of the King of Scots. Calais taken. § 9. Institution of the Garter. War in Guienne and Battle of Poitiers. § 10. Captivity of King John. Invasion of France and Peace of Bretigni. § 11. The Black Prince in Castile. Rupture with France. § 12. Death of the Prince of Wales. Death and Character of the King. § 13. Miscellaneous Transactions of this Reign. § 14. Accession of RICHARD II. Insurrections. § 15. Discontents of the Nobility. Expulsion or Execution of the King's Ministers. § 16. Counter-revolution. Ascendency of the Duke of Lancaster. Cabals and Murder of the Duke of Gloucester. § 17. Death of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. Revolt of his Son Henry. Deposition, Death, and Character of the King. § 18. The Wiclifites.

§ 1. EDWARD III., 1327–1377.—AFTER the king's murder a council of regency was appointed by Parliament, and the Earl of Lancaster was made guardian and protector of the king's person, who, at the age of 14, ascended the throne with the title of Edward III. The real power, however, was in the hands of Isabella and Mortimer.

The Scots seized the opportunity offered by the unsettled state of the English government to make some devastating incursions into the northern counties. The young king, who had put himself at the head of an army in order to repress them, was near falling into the hands of the enemy. Douglas, having surveyed

exactly the situation of the English camp, entered it secretly in the nighttime, with a body of 200 determined soldiers, and advanced to the royal tent, with the view of killing or carrying off the king in the midst of his army. But some of Edward's attendants, awaking in that critical moment, made resistance; his chaplain and chamberlain sacrificed their lives for his safety; the king himself, after making a valorous defense, escaped in the dark; and Douglas, having lost the greater part of his followers, was glad to make a hasty retreat with the remainder. Soon after, the Scottish army decamped without noise in the dead of night; and, having thus gotten the start of the English, arrived without farther loss in their own country. This inglorious campaign was followed by a disgraceful peace. As the claim of superiority in England, more than any other cause, had tended to inflame the animosities between the two nations, Mortimer, besides stipulating a marriage between Jane, sister of Edward, and David, the son and heir of Robert, consented to resign absolutely this claim, to give up all the homages done by the Scottish Parliament and nobility, and to acknowledge Robert as independent sovereign of Scotland. This treaty was ratified by Parliament, 1328, but was, nevertheless, the source of great discontent among the people.

§ 2. But the fall of Mortimer was now approaching. Having persuaded the Earl of Kent that his brother, King Edward, was still alive, and detained in some secret prison in England, he induced the unsuspicious earl to enter into a conspiracy for his restoration, and then caused him to be condemned by the Parliament, and executed (1330). The Earl of Lancaster, on pretense of his having assented to this conspiracy, was soon after thrown into prison; and many of the prelates and nobility were prosecuted. Mortimer employed this engine to crush all his enemies, and to enrich himself and his family by the forfeitures. He assumed the title of Earl of March, affected a state and dignity equal or superior to the royal; his power became formidable to every one; and all parties, forgetting past animosities, conspired in their hatred of Mortimer. It was impossible that these abuses could long escape the observation of a prince endowed with so much spirit and judgment as young Edward. He communicated his intentions of subverting Mortimer to several nobles; and the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of their enterprise. The queen-dowager and Mortimer lodged in that fortress: the king also was admitted, though with a few only of his attendants; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked every evening, and the keys carried to the queen, it became necessary to communicate the design to Sir William Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By his direction the king's associates

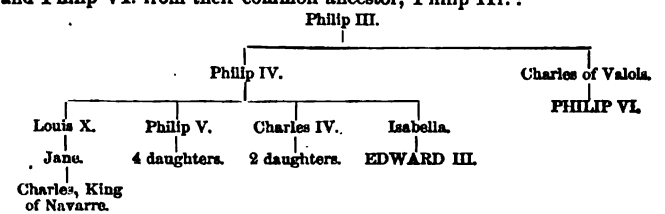
were admitted through a subterraneous passage, which had formerly been contrived for a secret outlet from the castle, but was now buried in rubbish; and Mortimer, without having it in his power to make resistance, was suddenly seized in an apartment adjoining to the queen's. A Parliament was immediately summoned, which condemned him, from the supposed notoriety of the facts alleged against him, without trial, or hearing his answer, or examining a witness; and he was hanged on a gibbet at Tyburn (1330). The queen was confined to her own house at Risings, near London; and though the king, during the remainder of her life, paid her a decent visit once or twice a year, she never was able to reinstate herself in any credit or authority.

§ 3. Edward, having now taken the reins of government into his own hands, applied himself with industry and judgment to redress all those grievances which had proceeded either from want of authority in the crown, or from the late abuses of it. The robbers, thieves, murderers, and criminals of all kinds had, during the course of public convulsions, multiplied to an enormous degree, and were openly protected by the great barons, who made use of them against their enemies. Many of these gangs had become so numerous as to require the king's own presence to disperse them; and he exerted both courage and industry in executing this salutary office. For the next three or four years Edward's attention was engaged with the affairs of Scotland. The wise and valiant Robert Bruce, who had recovered by arms the independence of his country, died soon after the last treaty of peace with England, leaving David, his son, a minor, under the guardianship of Randolph, Earl of Murray, the companion of all his victories. A good deal of discontent had been excited among many of the English nobility by the non-performance of that article of the treaty by which they were to be restored to their estates in Scotland. Under the influence of these feelings they resolved on setting up Edward Baliol, the son of John, who was then residing in Normandy, as a pretender to the Scottish crown; and Edward secretly encouraged Baliol in the enterprise, and gave countenance to the nobles who were disposed to join in the attempt. The arms of Baliol were attended with surprising success; that prince was crowned at Scone (1332); and David, his competitor, was sent over to France with his betrothed wife, Jane, sister to Edward. But Baliol's imprudence, or his necessities, making him dismiss the greater part of his English followers, he was attacked on a sudden near Annan, put to the rout, and chased into England in a miserable condition; and thus lost his kingdom by a revolution as sudden as that by which he had acquired it.

While Baliol enjoyed his short-lived and precarious royalty, he had offered to acknowledge Edward's superiority, and to espouse the Princess Jane, if the Pope's consent could be obtained for dissolving her former marriage, which was not yet consummated. Edward, ambitious of recovering that important concession made by Mortimer during his minority, willingly accepted the offer; but as the dethroning of Baliol had rendered this stipulation of no effect, the king prepared to reinstate him in possession of the crown, and advanced toward the north with an army for that purpose. Douglas, the Scottish regent, was defeated and slain at Halidown-hill, a little north of Berwick. Baliol was acknowledged as king by a Parliament held at Perth (1333), and the superiority of England was again recognized; many of the Scottish nobility swore fealty to Edward; and to complete the misfortunes of that nation, Baliol ceded Berwick, Dunbar, Roxborough, Edinburgh, and all the southeast counties of Scotland, which were declared to be forever annexed to the English monarchy. But the Scots were still far from being subdued. In 1335, and again in the following year, Edward was obliged to proceed thither with an army; and, as a war was now likely to break out between France and England, the Scots had reason to expect from this incident a great diversion of that force which had so long oppressed and overwhelmed them.

§ 4. This war was occasioned by Edward's claim to the crown of France, which embroiled the two countries for more than a century. Upon the death of Charles IV. in 1328 without male issue, Philip de Valois, the cousin of Charles, succeeded as Philip VI., since by the French law no female was capable of succeeding to the crown. Edward III., however, laid claim to the crown in right of his mother Isabella; and since the last three kings of France had all left daughters, who were still alive, he maintained that, though his mother Isabella was, on account of her sex, incapable of succeeding, a right to the crown could be transmitted to him through her. But even if this argument had been of any avail, Charles, King of Navarre, had a preferable title to the throne (see genealogical table below).* Edward's claim indeed was so

* The following genealogical table exhibits the descent of Edward III. and Philip VI. from their common ancestor, Philip III.:



unreasonable, and so thoroughly disavowed by the whole French nation, that to insist on it was no better than pretending to the violent conquest of the kingdom; and it is probable that he would never have farther thought of it had it not been that in several particulars he had found reason to complain of Philip's conduct with regard to Guienne, as well as of that prince's having given protection to the exiled David Bruce, and supported, or at least encouraged the Scots in their struggles for independence.

§ 5. Edward now began to prepare for war, formed various alliances on the Continent, and assumed the title of King of France (1337). He crossed over to Flanders, where he had obtained the adhesion of Van Artevelde, the leader of the popular party among the Flemings (1338); and in the following year he invaded France, but was obliged to retreat without effecting any thing. Edward, however, was a prince of too much spirit to be discouraged by the first difficulties of an undertaking; and he was anxious to retrieve his honor by more successful and more gallant enterprises. Philip, apprised from the preparations which were making both in England and the Low Countries that he must expect another invasion from Edward, fitted out a great fleet of 400 vessels, manned with 40,000 men; and he stationed them off Sluys, with a view of intercepting the king in his passage to the Continent (1340). The English navy was much inferior in number, consisting only of 240 sail; but whether it were by the superior abilities of Edward, or the greater dexterity of his seamen, they gained the wind of the enemy, and had the sun in their backs, and with these advantages began the action. The Flemings, descrying the battle, hurried out of their harbors, and brought a re-enforcement to the English, which, coming unexpectedly, had a greater effect than in proportion to its power and numbers. 230 French ships were taken; 30,000 Frenchmen were killed, with two of their admirals; the loss of the English was inconsiderable compared to the greatness and importance of the victory. But though the lustre of this great success increased the king's authority among his allies, and though Edward marched to the frontiers of France at the head of above 100,000 men, consisting chiefly of foreigners, nothing of importance followed. A peace was concluded in the course of the year between the two monarchs, and Edward returned to England.

§ 6. Edward now found himself in a bad situation both with his own people and with foreign states; and it required all his genius and capacity to extricate himself from such multiplied difficulties and embarrassments. His unjust and exorbitant claims on France and Scotland had engaged him in an implacable war with these two kingdoms; he had lost almost all his foreign alli

ances by his irregular payments; he was deeply involved in debts, for which he owed a consuming interest; except his naval victory, none of his military operations had been attended with glory or renown; the animosity between him and the clergy, especially Stratford, Archbishop of Canterbury, to whom the charge of collecting the taxes had been chiefly intrusted, was open and declared; the people were discontented on account of many arbitrary measures in which he had been engaged; and, what was more dangerous, the nobility, taking advantage of his present necessities, were determined to retrench his power, and, by encroaching on the ancient prerogatives of the crown, to acquire to themselves independence and authority. The Parliament framed an act to confirm the great charter anew, and to oblige all the chief officers of the law and of the state to swear to the regular observance of it. They enacted that no peer should be punished but by the award of his peers in Parliament; that the chief officers of state should be appointed by the advice of Parliament; and that they should answer before Parliament to any accusation brought against them. In return for these important concessions, the Parliament offered the king a grant of 20,000 sacks of wool; and his wants were so urgent from the clamors of his creditors and the demands of his foreign allies, that he was obliged to accept of the supply on these hard conditions. He ratified this statute in full Parliament; but he subsequently issued an edict to abrogate and annul it; and after two years of this arbitrary exertion of royal power, the obnoxious statute was formally repealed by the Parliament.

A disputed claim to the succession of Brittany on the death of the Duke John III. again attracted Edward's attention toward France. The succession was claimed by the Count de Montfort, John's brother by a second marriage, and by Charles de Blois, nephew of the French king, who had married John's niece. Montfort offered to do homage to Edward as King of France for the duchy of Brittany, and proposed a strict alliance for the support of their mutual pretensions. Edward saw immediately the advantages attending this treaty; Montfort, an active and valiant prince, closely united to him by interest, opened at once an entrance into the heart of France, and afforded him much more flattering views than his allies on the side of Germany and the Low Countries. Montfort, however, fell into the hands of his enemies; was conducted as a prisoner to Paris; but Jane of Flanders, Countess of Montfort, the most extraordinary woman of the age, after she had put Brittany in a good posture of defense, shut herself up in Hennebonne till she was relieved by the succors which Edward sent her under the command of Sir Walter Manny, one of the bravest captains of England (1342).

§ 7. In the autumn of the same year Edward undertook, in person, the defense of the Countess of Montfort; and, as the last truce with France was now expired, the war, which the English and French had hitherto carried on as allies to the competitors for Brittany, was thenceforth conducted in the name and under the standard of the two monarchs. This war, like the preceding, was carried on without any important advantages on either side till 1346, when the English gained the first of the two great victories which have shed such a lustre upon Edward's reign. The king had intended to sail to Guienne, which was threatened by a formidable French army, and embarked at Southampton, on board a fleet of nearly 1000 sail of all dimensions, carrying with him, besides all the chief nobility of England, his eldest son, the Prince of Wales, now 16 years of age. The winds proved long contrary; and the king, in despair of arriving in time in Guienne, at last ordered his fleet to sail to Normandy, and safely disembarked his army at La Hogue (July, 1346).

This army, which, during the course of the ensuing campaign, was crowned with the most splendid success, consisted of 4000 men-at-arms, 10,000 archers, 10,000 Welsh infantry, and 6000 Irish. Edward, after laying waste Normandy and advancing almost up to the gates of Paris, retreated toward Flanders, pursued by the French king with an immense army. Edward had crossed the River Somme below Abbeville, when he was overtaken by the French army. He took up his position near the village of Crecy, about 15 miles east of Abbeville, and determined there to await the enemy. He drew up his army on a gentle ascent, and divided them into three lines, the first commanded by the Prince of Wales, and the third by himself. He had likewise the precaution to throw up trenches on his flanks, in order to secure himself from the numerous bodies of the French, who might assail him from that quarter; and he placed all his baggage behind him in a wood, which he also secured by an intrenchment. Edward, besides the resources which he found in his own genius and presence of mind, employed also a new invention against the enemy, and placed in his front some pieces of artillery, the first that had yet been made use of on any remarkable occasion in Europe. The invention of artillery was at this time known in France as well as in England; but Philip, in his hurry to overtake the enemy, had probably left his cannon behind him, which he regarded as a useless encumbrance. After a long day's march from Abbeville, the French army, imperfectly formed into three lines, arrived, already fatigued and disordered, in presence of the enemy. The first line, consisting of Genoese cross-bow men, was commanded by Anthony Doria and Charles Grimaldi; the second was led by

the Count of Alençon, brother to the king; Philip himself was at the head of the third. The King of Bohemia, and the King of the Romans, his son, were also present, with all the nobility and great vassals of the crown of France. The army consisted of above 120,000 men, more than three times the number of the English. But the prudence of one man was superior to the advantage of all this force and splendor.

The English, on the approach of the enemy, kept their ranks firm and immovable; and the Genoese first began the attack. There had happened, a little before the engagement, a thundershower, which had moistened and relaxed the strings of the Genoese cross-bows; their arrows, for this reason, fell short of the enemy. The English archers, taking their bows out of their cases, poured in a shower of arrows upon this multitude who were opposed to them, and soon threw them into disorder. The young Prince of Wales had the presence of mind to take advantage of this situation, and to lead on his line to the charge. The young prince had been knighted only a month before; and Edward, who was watching the battle from a windmill, resolved to leave to his son the glory of the victory. Although the prince was then hard pressed by the French, the king refused to send succors to his assistance, saying, "Let the child win his spurs, and let the day be his." After a stout resistance the French cavalry was thrown into disorder; the Count of Alençon was slain; the Welsh infantry rushed into the throng, and with their long knives cut the throats of all who had fallen; nor was any quarter given that day by the victors. The King of France advanced in vain with the rear to sustain the line commanded by his brother. He had himself a horse killed under him, and was at length obliged to quit the field of battle. The whole French army took to flight, and was followed and put to the sword, without mercy, till the darkness of the night put an end to the pursuit. The king, on his return to the camp, flew into the arms of the Prince of Wales, and exclaimed, "My brave son! persevere in your honorable course; you are my son; for valiantly have you acquitted yourself to-day, and worthy are you of a crown." From this time the young prince became the terror of the French, by whom he was called the Black Prince, from the color of the armor which he wore on that day.

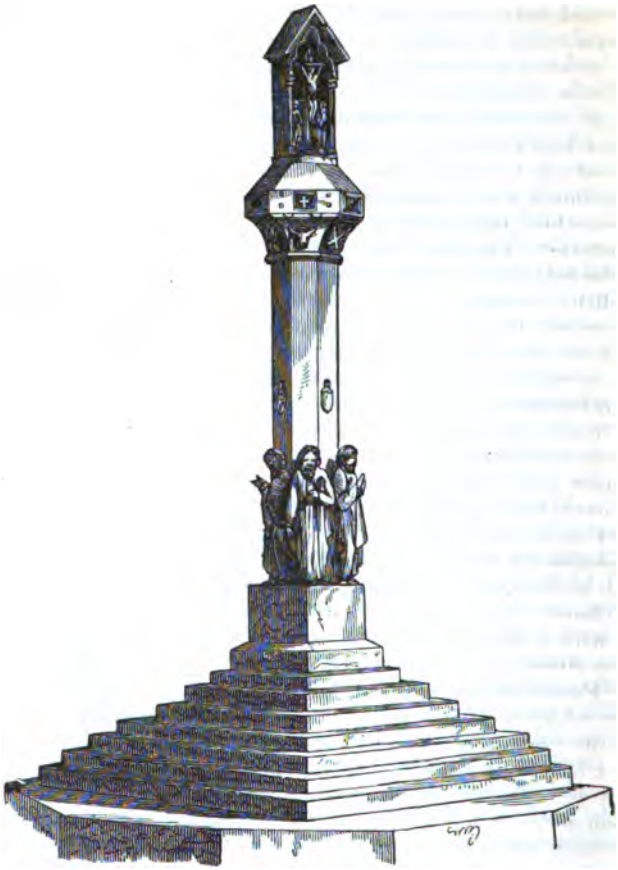
This battle, which is known by the name of the battle of Crécy, began about four o'clock in the afternoon, and continued till evening (Aug. 26, 1346). On the day of battle and on the ensuing there fell, by a moderate computation, 1200 French knights, 1400 gentlemen, 4000 men-at-arms, besides about 30,000 of inferior rank: many of the principal nobility of France and the King of

Bohemia were left on the field of battle. The fate of the King of Bohemia was remarkable. He was blind from age, but, being resolved to hazard his person and set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to two gentlemen of his train; and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterward found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. It is said that the crest of the King of Bohemia was three ostrich feathers, and his motto *Ich dien*, I serve, which the Prince of Wales and his successors adopted in memorial of this great victory.* The action may seem no less remarkable for the small loss sustained by the English than for the great slaughter of the French; there were killed in it only one esquire and three knights, and very few of inferior rank. The king, not elated by his present prosperity so far as to expect the total conquest of France, or even that of any considerable provinces, limited his ambition to the conquest of Calais, which would secure an easy entrance into France; and after the interval of a few days, which he employed in interring the slain, he marched with his victorious army, and presented himself before that place.

§ 8. While Edward was engaged in this siege, which employed him nearly a twelvemonth, there passed in different places many other events; and all to the honor of the English arms. The Earl of Derby, who commanded the English forces in Guienne, carried his incursions to the banks of the Loire, and filled all the southern provinces of France with horror and devastation. The Scots, under the command of their king, David Bruce, entered Northumberland, but were completely defeated by Earl Percy, at Neville's Cross, near Durham (Oct. 12, 1346); and the king himself was taken prisoner, with many of the nobility. David Bruce was detained in captivity till 1357, when he was liberated for a ransom of 100,000 marks.

The town of Calais had been defended with remarkable vigilance, constancy, and bravery by the townsmen, during a siege of unusual length; and Philip had made a vain attempt to relieve it. At length, after enduring all the extremities of famine, John de Vienne, the governor, surrendered unconditionally, Aug. 4, 1347. The story runs that Edward had at first resolved to put all the garrison to death; but that at last he only insisted that six of the most considerable citizens should be sent to him, to be disposed of as he thought proper; that they should come to his camp, carrying the keys of the city in their hands, bareheaded and barefooted, with ropes about their necks; and on these conditions he promised to spare the lives of all the remainder. When this in-

* There is, however, great doubt respecting the truth of this tradition. See the essay by Sir H. Nicolas in the Archæologia, vol. xxxii.



Neville's Cross.

telligence was conveyed to Calais it struck the inhabitants with consternation; and they found themselves incapable of coming to any resolution in so cruel and distressful a situation. At last one of the principal inhabitants, called Eustace de St. Pierre, stepped forth and declared himself willing to encounter death for the safety of his friends and companions; another, animated by his example, made a like generous offer; a third and a fourth presented themselves to the same fate; and the whole number was soon completed. These six heroic burgesses appeared before Edward in the guise of malefactors, laid at his feet the keys of their city, and

were ordered to be led to execution. It is surprising that so generous a prince should ever have entertained such a barbarous purpose against such men; and still more that he should seriously persist in the resolution of executing it. But the entreaties of his queen saved his memory from that infamy; she threw herself on her knees before him, and, with tears in her eyes, begged the lives of these citizens. Having obtained her request, she carried them into her tent, ordered a repast to be set before them, and, after making them a present of money and clothes, dismissed them in safety.* The king, after taking possession of Calais, ordered all the inhabitants to evacuate the town, and peopled it anew with English; a policy which probably preserved so long to his successors the dominion of that important fortress. He made it the staple of wool, leather, tin, and lead; the four chief, if not the sole, commodities of the kingdom for which there was any considerable demand in foreign markets.

Through the mediation of the Pope's legates Edward concluded a truce with France; but, even during this cessation of arms, an attempt was made to deprive him of Calais (1348). Edward, however, being informed of the plot, proceeded to Calais with 1000 men; and when the French presented themselves to take possession of the town, according to the stipulation, he rushed forth with cries of battle and victory (Jan. 1, 1349). The king, who fought as a private man, distinguished himself in single combat with a French knight named Ribaumont, by whom he was twice struck to the ground, but whom he at last made prisoner. The French officers who had fallen into the hands of the English were admitted to sup with the Prince of Wales and the English nobility; and after supper the king himself came into the apartment, and went about conversing familiarly with one or other of his prisoners. He openly bestowed the highest encomiums on Ribaumont; called him the most valorous knight that he had ever been acquainted with; confessed that he himself had at no time been in so great danger as when engaged in combat with him; and presented him with a string of pearls which he wore about his own head.

§ 9. It was about the same time (1349) that the king instituted the order of the Garter. Its origin is lost in obscurity, but, according to the received story, was as follows: At a court-ball, Edward's mistress, commonly supposed to be the Countess of Salisbury, dropped her garter; and the king, taking it up, observed some of the courtiers to smile, as if they thought that he had not obtained this favor merely by accident, upon which he

* This dramatic and interesting story is narrated by Froissart alone, and is open to much suspicion.

called out, *Honi soit qui mal y pense*, Evil to him that evil thinks; and gave these words as the motto of the order.

A grievous calamity, more than the pacific dispositions of the princes, served to maintain and prolong the truce between France and England. A destructive pestilence invaded England as well as the rest of Europe; and is computed to have swept away near a third of the inhabitants in every country which it attacked. Above 50,000 souls are said to have perished by it in London alone. This malady first discovered itself in the north of Asia, was spread over all that country, made its progress from one end of Europe to the other, and sensibly depopulated every state through which it passed. The truce between the two kingdoms, which had always been ill-observed on both sides, expired in 1355. John had succeeded to the French throne on the death of his father, Philip de Valois, in 1350; and France was distracted by the factions excited by Charles, King of Navarre. John had succeeded, indeed, in seizing and imprisoning that monarch; but his brother Philip and Geoffrey d'Harcourt took up and continued his designs, and had recourse to the protection of England. Edward, well pleased that the factions in France had at length gained him some partisans in that kingdom, which his pretensions to the crown had never been able to accomplish, purposed to attack his enemy both on the side of Guienne, under the command of the Prince of Wales, and on that of Calais, in his own person. Young Edward arrived in the Garonne with his army, overran Languedoc, advanced even to Narbonne, laying every place waste around him; and, after an incursion of six weeks, returned with a vast booty and many prisoners to Guienne, where he took up his winter-quarters. The King of England's incursion from Calais was of the same nature, and attended with the same issue. After plundering and ravaging the open country he retired to Calais, and thence went over to England, in order to defend that kingdom against a threatened invasion of the Scots, who, taking advantage of the king's absence, had surprised Berwick. But on the approach of Edward they abandoned that place, which was not tenable while the castle was in the hands of the English; and retiring to their mountains, gave the enemy full liberty of burning and destroying the whole country from Berwick to Edinburgh. In the following year (1356) the Prince of Wales, encouraged by the success of the preceding campaign, took the field with an army of 12,000 men, of which not a third were English; and with this small body he ventured to penetrate into the heart of France. His intentions were to march into Normandy, and to join his forces with those of the Earl of Lancaster and the partisans of the King of Navarre; but finding all the bridges on

the Loire broken down, and every pass carefully guarded, he was obliged to think of making his retreat into Guienne. The King of France, provoked at the insult offered him by this incursion, and entertaining hopes of success from the young prince's temerity, collected a great army of above 60,000 men, and advanced by hasty marches to intercept his enemy. They came within sight at Maupertuis near Poitiers; and Edward, sensible that his retreat was now become impracticable, prepared for battle with all the courage of a young hero, and with all the prudence of the oldest and most experienced commander. John, at the instance of the Cardinal of Perigord, lost a day in negotiation. The Prince of Wales had leisure during the night to strengthen, by new intrenchments, the post which he had before so judiciously chosen; and he contrived an ambush of 300 men at arms and as many archers, whom he ordered to make a circuit, that they might fall on the flank or rear of the French army during the engagement. The van of his army was commanded by the Earl of Warwick, the rear by the Earls of Salisbury and Suffolk, the main body by the prince himself. John also arranged his forces in three divisions. There was no reaching the English army but through a narrow lane, and a body of English archers who lined the hedges plied the advancing enemy on each side with their arrows, and slaughtered them with impunity. The French detachment, much discouraged by the unequal combat and diminished in their number, arrived at the end of the lane, where they met on the open ground the Prince of Wales himself, at the head of a chosen body, ready for their reception. They were discomfited and overthrown, and, recoiling upon their own army, put every thing into disorder. In that critical moment the men placed in ambush unexpectedly appeared and attacked in flank the dauphin's line, which fell into some confusion. The Duke of Orleans, and several other French commanders, fled with their divisions; but King John made the utmost efforts to retrieve by his valor what his imprudence had betrayed; till, spent with fatigue, and overwhelmed by numbers, he and his son yielded themselves prisoners. Young Edward received the captive king with all the marks of regard and sympathy; administered comfort to him amid his misfortunes; paid him the tribute of praise due to his valor; and ascribed his own victory merely to the blind chance of war, or to a superior providence which controls all the efforts of human force and prudence. The behavior of John showed him not unworthy of this courteous treatment; his present abject fortune never made him forget a moment that he was a king. More touched by Edward's generosity than by his own calamities, he confessed that, notwithstanding his defeat and captivity, his honor was still un-

impaired; and that, if he yielded the victory, it was at least gained by a prince of such consummate valor and humanity. Edward ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the prisoner, and he himself served at the royal captive's table, as if he had been one of his retinue; he stood at the king's back during the meal, constantly refused to take a place at table, and declared that, being a subject, he was too well acquainted with the distance between his own rank and that of royal majesty to assume such freedom. The battle of Poitiers was fought Sept. 19, 1356.

The Prince of Wales conducted his prisoner to Bordeaux; and not being provided with forces so numerous as might enable him to push his present advantages, he concluded a two years' truce with France, which was also become requisite that he might conduct the captive king with safety into England. On entering London, May 24, 1357, he was met by a great concourse of people of all ranks and stations. The prisoner was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a white steed, distinguished by its size and beauty and by the richness of its furniture. The conqueror rode by his side in a meaner attire, and carried by a black palfrey. In this situation, more glorious than all the insolent parade of a Roman triumph, he passed through the streets of London, and presented the King of France to his father, who advanced to meet him, and received him with the same courtesy as if he had been a neighboring potentate that had voluntarily come to pay him a friendly visit.

§ 10. During the captivity of John, France was thrown into the greatest confusion by domestic factions and disorders. Edward employed himself during a conjuncture so inviting chiefly in negotiations with his prisoner; and John had the weakness to sign terms of peace, by which he agreed to restore all the provinces which had been possessed by Henry II. and his two sons, and to annex them forever to England, without any obligation of homage or fealty on the part of the English monarch. But the dauphin and the states of France rejected this treaty, so dishonorable and pernicious to the kingdom; and Edward, on the expiration of the truce, having now, by subsidies and frugality, collected some treasure, prepared himself for a new invasion of France (1359). It is unnecessary to follow the ravages of the English during this invasion, in which many of the French provinces were laid waste with fire and sword, and the people suffered incredible miseries. At length the dauphin agreed to the terms of a peace, which was concluded at Bretigni near Chartres, on the following conditions (May 8, 1360). It was stipulated that King John should be restored to his liberty, and should pay as his ransom three millions of crowns of gold, about 1,500,000 pounds of our

present money, which was to be discharged at different payments; that Edward should forever renounce all claim to the crown of France, and to the provinces of Normandy, Maine, Touraine, and Anjou, possessed by his ancestors; and should receive in exchange the provinces of Poitou, Xaintonge, l'Agenois, Perigord, the Limousin, Quercy, Rouergue, l'Angoumois, and other districts in that quarter, together with Calais, Guisnes, Montreuil, and the county of Ponthieu, on the other side of France; that the full sovereignty of all these provinces, as well as that of Guienne, should be invested in the crown of England, and that France should renounce all title to feudal jurisdiction, homage, or appeal from them; that the King of Navarre should be restored to all his honors and possessions; that Edward should renounce his confederacy with the Flemings, John his connections with the Scots; that the disputes concerning the succession of Brittany between the families of Blois and Montfort should be decided by arbiters appointed by the two kings; and that forty hostages, such as should be agreed on, should be sent to England as a security for the execution of all these conditions. In consequence of this treaty the King of France was brought over to Calais, whither Edward also soon after repaired; and there both princes solemnly ratified the treaty. John was sent to Boulogne; the king accompanied him a mile on his journey, and the two monarchs parted with many professions, probably cordial and sincere, of mutual amity. In 1363 John came over to England, as he was unable to fulfill the terms of his release. He was lodged in the Savoy, the palace where he had resided during his captivity, and where he soon after sickened and died. John was succeeded on the throne by Charles the dauphin, a prince educated in the school of adversity, and well qualified, by his consummate prudence and experience, to repair all the losses which the kingdom had sustained from the errors of his two predecessors.

§ 11. In 1367 the Black Prince marched into Castile, in order to restore Peter, surnamed the *Cruel*, who had been driven from the throne of that country by his natural brother, Henry, Count of Transtamare, with the assistance of the French. Henry was defeated by the English prince at Najara, and was chased off the field, with the loss of above 20,000 men. There perished only 4 knights and 40 private men on the side of the English. Peter, who so well merited the infamous epithet which he bore, purposed to murder all his prisoners in cold blood, but was restrained from this barbarity by the remonstrances of the Prince of Wales. All Castile now submitted to the victor; Peter was restored to the throne; and Edward finished this perilous enterprise with his usual glory. But the barbarities exercised by Peter over his

helpless subjects, whom he now regarded as vanquished rebels, revived all the animosity of the Castilians against him; and on the return of Henry of Transtamare, and some forces levied anew in France, the tyrant was again dethroned, and was taken prisoner. His brother, in resentment of his cruelties, murdered him with his own hand; and was placed on the throne of Castile, which he transmitted to his posterity. The Duke of Lancaster, who espoused in second marriage the eldest daughter of Peter, inherited only the empty title of that sovereignty, and, by claiming the succession, increased the animosity of the new king of Castile against England.

But the prejudice which the affairs of Prince Edward received from this splendid though imprudent expedition ended not with it. He had involved himself so much in debt by his preparations and the pay of his troops that he found it necessary, on his return, to impose a new tax on his French subjects. This incident revived the animosity of the Gascons, who were encouraged to carry their complaints to Charles, as to their lord paramount, against these oppressions of the English government. Charles, in open breach of the treaty of Bretigni, sent to the Prince of Wales a summons to appear in his court at Paris, and there to justify his conduct toward his vassals. The prince replied that he would come to Paris; but it should be at the head of 60,000 men. Hence the war between the French and English broke out again; and Edward, by advice of Parliament, resumed the title of King of France (1369). The French invaded the southern provinces; and by means of their good conduct, the favorable dispositions of the people, and the ardor of the French nobility, they made every day considerable progress against the English. The state of the Prince of Wales's health did not permit him to mount on horseback, or exert his usual activity; and when he was obliged by his increasing infirmities to throw up the command and return to his native country, the affairs of the English in the south of France seemed to be menaced with total ruin. Shortly before his departure Edward perpetrated an act of cruelty which is the greatest blot upon his fair name. Having retaken the town of Limoges, which had revolted from him, he ordered all the inhabitants to be butchered; and being too ill to ride or walk, he was carried in a litter through the street to view the carnage. After the departure of the Black Prince the king endeavored to send succors into Gascony; but all his attempts, both by sea and land, proved unsuccessful. He was at last obliged, from the necessity of his affairs, to conclude a truce with the enemy, after almost all his ancient possessions in France had been ravished from him, except Bordeaux and Bayonne, and all his conquests except Calais.

§ 12. The decline of the king's life was thus exposed to many mortifications, and corresponded not to the splendid and noisy scenes which had filled the beginning and the middle of it. This prince, who during the vigor of his age had been chiefly occupied in the pursuits of war and ambition, began at an unseasonable period to indulge himself in pleasure; and, being now a widower, he attached himself to one Alice Perrers, who acquired a great ascendant over him, and, by her influence, gave such general disgust, that, in order to satisfy the Parliament, he was obliged to remove her from court. The Prince of Wales, after a lingering illness, died in the 46th year of his age (June 8, 1376). His valor and military talents formed the smallest part of his merit: his generosity, affability, and moderation gained him the affections of all men; and he was qualified to throw a lustre, not only on that rude age in which he lived, but on the most shining period of ancient or modern history. He was buried in the cathedral of Canterbury, where his tomb is still shown. The king survived about a year the death of his son, and England was deprived at once of both these princes, its chief ornament and support. He expired in the 65th year of his age, and the 51st of his reign (June 21, 1377), and was buried at Westminster. The people were then sensible, though too late, of the irreparable loss which they had sustained. The ascendant which the English then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigor of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blessed with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after. He gained the affections of the great, yet curbed their licentiousness; he made them feel his power without their daring or even being inclined to murmur at it; his affable and obliging behavior, his munificence and generosity, made them submit with pleasure to his dominion; his valor and conduct made them successful in most of their enterprises; and their unquiet spirits, directed against a public enemy, had no leisure to breed those disturbances to which they were naturally so much inclined, and which the frame of the government seemed so much to authorize. This was the chief benefit which resulted from Edward's victories and conquests. His foreign wars were in other respects neither founded in justice, nor directed to any salutary purpose.

Edward had six sons and five daughters by his queen Philippa of Hainault. His sons were: 1. Edward, the Black Prince, who

married Joan, daughter of his uncle the Earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children. By the Prince of Wales she had a son Richard, who alone survived his father. 2. William, who died young. 3. Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who left one daughter, Philippa, married to Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March. 4. John of Gaunt, so called from being born at Ghent, Duke of Lancaster, and father of Henry IV. 5. Edmund, Duke of York. 6. Thomas, Duke of Gloucester.

§ 13. Conquerors, though usually the bane of human kind, proved often, in those feudal times, the most indulgent of sovereigns. They stood most in need of supplies from their people; and, not being able to compel them by force to submit to the necessary impositions, they were obliged to make them some compensation by equitable laws and popular concessions. This remark is in some measure justified by the conduct of Edward III. He took no steps of moment without consulting his Parliament and obtaining their approbation, which he afterward pleaded as a reason for their supporting his measures. The Parliament, therefore, rose into greater consideration during his reign, and acquired more regular authority, than in any former time.*

One of the most popular laws enacted by any prince was the statute which passed in the twenty-fifth of this reign, and which limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain, to three principal heads—conspiring the death of the king, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies.

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III., and his method of conducting the work may serve as a specimen of the condition of the people in that age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, he assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.

It is easy to imagine that a prince of so much sense and spirit as Edward would be no slave to the court of Rome. Though the old tribute was paid during some years of his minority, he afterward withheld it; and when the Pope, in 1367, threatened to cite him to the court of Rome for default of payment, he laid the matter before his Parliament. That assembly unanimously declared that King John could not, without a national consent, subject his kingdom to a foreign power; and that they were therefore determined to support their sovereign against this unjust pretension. During this reign the statute of provisors was enacted, rendering it penal to procure any presentations to benefices from the court of Rome, and securing the rights of all patrons and electors, which

* See Notes and Illustrations to chap. xii.: on the Parliament.

had been extremely encroached on by the Pope. By a subsequent statute, every person was outlawed who carried any cause by appeal to the court of Rome.

Edward III. may be called the father of English commerce. He encouraged Flemish weavers to settle in his kingdom, and protected them against the selfishness of the English weavers. Wool was the chief article of export and source of revenue. The merchants carried on an extensive trade with the Baltic. The use of the French language in pleadings and public deeds was abolished in this reign; but the first English paper which we meet with in Rymer is in the year 1386, during the reign of Richard II.

§ 14. RICHARD II., 1377–1399.—Richard II., son of the Black Prince, upon whom the crown devolved, was born at Bordeaux in 1366, and was therefore now only 11 years of age; and the Lords, on the petition of the House of Commons, who were now beginning to take a greater share in public affairs, elected a council to conduct the ordinary course of business. Richard was crowned at Westminster July 16.

The first three or four years of Richard's reign passed without any thing memorable taking place except some fruitless expeditions against France. The expenses of these armaments, and the usual want of economy attending a minority, much exhausted the English treasury, and obliged the Parliament, besides making some alterations in the councils, to impose a new and unusual tax of three groats on every person, male and female, above fifteen years of age; and they ordained that, in levying that tax, the opulent should relieve the poor by an equitable compensation. This imposition produced a mutiny. The first disorder was raised in a village of Essex, and Kent soon followed the example. The tax-gatherers came to the house of a tiler in Dartford and demanded payment for his daughter, whom he asserted to be below the age assigned by the statute. One of these fellows offered to produce a very indecent proof to the contrary, and at the same time laid hold of the maid, which the father resenting, immediately knocked out the ruffian's brains with his hammer. The by-standers applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the people to take vengeance on their tyrants, and to vindicate their native liberty. They immediately flew to arms; the whole neighborhood joined in the sedition; the flame spread in an instant over the county; it soon propagated itself into those of Hertford, Surrey, Sussex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Lincoln. Before the government had the least warning of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond control or opposition; the populace had shaken off all regard to their former masters;

and, being headed by the most audacious and criminal of their associates, who assumed the feigned names of Wat Tyler, Jack Straw, Hob Carter, and Tom Miller, by which they were fond of denoting their mean origin, they committed every where the most outrageous violence on such of the gentry or nobility as had the misfortune to fall into their hands.

The mutinous populace, amounting to 100,000 men, assembled on Blackheath, 12th June, 1381, under their leaders Tyler and Straw, where they were addressed by one John Ball, an itinerant preacher, who took for his text the following lines:

> When Adam delved, and Eve span,
> Where was then the gentleman?

They broke into the city, burned the Duke of Lancaster's palace of the Savoy, cut off the heads of all the gentlemen whom they laid hold of, and pillaged the warehouses of the rich merchants. A great body of them quartered themselves at Mile End; and the king, finding no defense in the Tower, was obliged to go out to them and ask their demands. They required a general pardon, the abolition of slavery, freedom of commerce in market-towns without toll or impost, and a fixed rent on lands, instead of the services due by villenage. These requests were complied with; charters to that purpose were granted them; and this body immediately dispersed and returned to their several homes.

During this transaction another body of the rebels had broken into the Tower, had murdered Simon of Sudbury the Archbishop of Canterbury and chancellor, with Sir Robert Hales, the treasurer, and some other persons of distinction, and continued their ravages in the city. The next morning the king, passing along Smithfield, very slenderly guarded, met with Wat Tyler, at the head of these rioters, and entered into a conference with him. Tyler, having ordered his companions to retire till he should give them a signal, after which they were to murder all the company except the king himself, whom they were to detain prisoner, feared not to come into the midst of the royal retinue. He there behaved himself in such a manner, that Walworth, the Mayor of London, not able to bear his insolence, drew his sword and struck him so violent a blow as brought him to the ground, where he was instantly dispatched by others of the king's attendants. The mutineers, seeing their leader fall, prepared themselves for revenge; and this whole company, with the king himself, had undoubtedly perished on the spot, had it not been for an extraordinary presence of mind which Richard discovered on the occasion. He ordered his company to stop; he advanced alone toward the enraged multitude; and accosting them with an affable and in-

trepid countenance, he asked them, "What is the meaning of this disorder, my good people? Are ye angry that ye have lost your leader? I am your king; I will be your leader." The populace, overawed by his presence, implicitly followed him; he led them into the fields, to prevent any disorder which might have arisen by their continuing in the city; being there joined by Sir Robert Knollys, and a body of well-armed veteran soldiers, who had been secretly drawn together, he strictly prohibited that officer from falling on the rioters and committing an undistinguished slaughter upon them; and he peaceably dismissed them with the same charters which had been granted to their fellows. Soon after the nobility and gentry, hearing of the king's danger, in which they were all involved, flocked to London with their adherents and retainers, and Richard took the field at the head of an army 40,000 strong. It then behooved all the rebels to submit; the charters of enfranchisement and pardon were revoked by Parliament; the low people were reduced to the same slavish condition as before; and several of the ringleaders were severely punished for the late disorders. Some were even executed without process or form of law.

§ 15. A youth of sixteen (which was at this time the king's age), who had discovered so much courage, presence of mind, and address, raised great expectations in the nation; but in proportion as Richard advanced in years these hopes vanished; and his want of capacity, at least of solid judgment, appeared in every enterprise which he attempted. In 1385 he undertook an expedition against the Scots, who had risen with the assistance of the French. But, though he advanced toward Edinburgh with an army of 60,000 men, and destroyed in his way all the towns and villages on each side of him, his impatience to return to England and enjoy his usual pleasures and amusements outweighed every consideration, and he led back his army without effecting any thing by all these mighty preparations.

The subjection in which Richard was held by his uncles, particularly by the Duke of Gloucester, a prince of ambition and genius, was extremely disagreeable to the king, and he soon attempted to shake off the yoke imposed upon him. Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, a young man of a noble family, of an agreeable figure, but of dissolute manners, had acquired an entire ascendant over him, and governed him with an absolute authority. The jealousy of power immediately produced an animosity between the minion and his creatures on the one hand, and the princes of the blood and chief nobility on the other; and the usual complaints against the insolence of favorites were loudly echoed and greedily received in every part of the kingdom. Their

first attempts were directed against the king's ministers; and Michael de la Pole, the chancellor, lately created Earl of Suffolk, was, at the instigation of the Duke of Gloucester, impeached and condemned by the Parliament on somewhat frivolous charges (1386). Gloucester and his associates next attacked the king himself and his royal dignity, and framed a commission, which was ratified by Parliament, by which a council of regency was formed with the Duke of Gloucester at the head, to which the sovereign power was transferred. In the following year, Richard, having obtained from his judges, whom he met at Nottingham, a declaration that the commission was derogatory to the royalty and prerogative of the king, attempted to recover his power; but the Duke of Gloucester and his adherents took up arms, defeated the forces of the king, and executed and banished his adherents. Robert de Vere, whom the king had created Duke of Ireland, fled into the Low Countries, where he died in exile a few years after.

§ 16. In less than a twelvemonth, however, Richard, who was in his twenty-third year, declared in Council, that, as he had now attained the full age which entitled him to govern by his own authority his kingdom and household, he resolved to exercise his right of sovereignty; and he proceeded to change all his ministers (1389). Even the Duke of Gloucester was removed for a time from the council; and no opposition was made to these great changes. It is not easy for us to assign the reason of this unexpected event. The Duke of Lancaster returned soon after from Spain; having resigned to his rival all pretensions to the crown of Castile, upon payment of a large sum of money, and having married his daughter, Philippa, to the King of Portugal. The authority of this prince served to counterbalance that of the Duke of Gloucester, and secured the power of Richard, who paid great court to his eldest uncle, by whom he had never been offended, and whom he found more moderate in his temper than the younger.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, still continued, though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little vigor, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalship between the two martial families of Percy and Douglas than from any national quarrel: a fierce battle or skirmish, celebrated in the ballad of "Chevy Chase," was fought at Otterbourne, in which young Percy, surnamed *Hotspur*, from his impetuous valor, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain; and

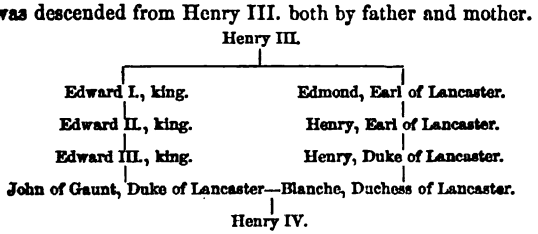
the victory remained undecided. Some insurrections of the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and he recovered, in some degree, by this enterprise, his character of courage, which had suffered a little by the inactivity of his reign. At last the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace, but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretensions, that they were content to establish a truce of 25 years; and, to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who had lost his first consort, Anne of Bohemia, was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of Charles (1396). Meanwhile, the Duke of Gloucester, taking advantage of the king's indolent character and his addiction to low pleasures, resumed his plots and cabals. The king, seeing that either his own or his uncle's ruin was inevitable, caused Gloucester to be unexpectedly arrested; to be hurried on board a ship which was lying in the river; and to be carried over to Calais, where alone he could safely be detained in custody. The Earls of Arundel and Warwick were seized at the same time: the malcontents, so suddenly deprived of their leaders, were astonished and overawed; and the concurrence of the Dukes of Lancaster and York in those measures bereaved them of all possibility of resistance. A Parliament was immediately summoned, which passed whatever acts the king was pleased to dictate to them: they annulled forever the commission which usurped upon the royal authority, and they declared it treasonable to attempt, in any future period, the revival of any similar commission. The Commons then preferred an impeachment against Fitz-Alan, Archbishop of Canterbury, and brother to Arundel, and accused him for his concurrence in procuring the illegal commission, and in attainting the king's ministers. The primate pleaded guilty; but, as he was protected by the ecclesiastical privileges, the king was satisfied with a sentence which banished him the kingdom and sequestered his temporalities. An accusation was presented against the Duke of Gloucester and the Earls of Arundel and Warwick by several of the nobles. The Earl of Arundel was condemned and executed; the Earl of Warwick was, on account of his submissive behavior, pardoned as to his life, but doomed to perpetual banishment in the Isle of Man. A warrant was next issued to the earl marshal, Governor of Calais, to bring over the Duke of Gloucester, in order to his trial; but the governor returned for answer that the duke had died suddenly of an apoplexy in that fortress. In the subsequent reign proofs were produced in Parliament that he had been suffocated with pillows by his keepers; and it appeared that the king, apprehensive lest the public trial and execution of so popular a prince and so near a relation might

prove both dangerous and invidious, had taken this base method of gratifying, and, as he fancied, concealing his revenge upon him.

§ 17. The death of the Duke of Lancaster in 1399 involved the king in fresh troubles. Lancaster's son and successor had been banished by Richard for 10 years, in order to prevent a duel between him and the Duke of Norfolk; and on his father's death Richard seized his estates. Henry, the new duke, had acquired, by his conduct and abilities, the esteem of the public; he was connected with most of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendship; and as the injury done him by the king might in its consequences affect all of them, he easily brought them, by a sense of common interest, to take part in his resentment. Embarking at Nantes with a retinue of 60 persons, among whom were the Archbishop of Canterbury and the young Earl of Arundel, nephew to that prelate, he landed at Ravenspur in Yorkshire, and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, two of the most potent barons in England. The malcontents in all quarters flew to arms; London discovered the strongest symptoms of its disposition to mutiny and rebellion; and Henry's army, increasing on every day's march, soon amounted to the number of 60,000 combatants. Richard was at this time absent on an expedition into Ireland. His uncle, the Duke of York, whom he had left guardian of the realm, assembled an army of 40,000 men, but found them entirely destitute of zeal and attachment to the royal cause, and soon after openly joined the Duke of Lancaster, who was now entirely master of the kingdom. The king, receiving intelligence of this invasion and insurrection, hastened over from Ireland and landed at Milford Haven; but, being deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner and carried first to Flint Castle and afterward to London. The Duke of Lancaster now began to carry his views to the crown itself. He first extorted a resignation from Richard (Sept. 29); but as he knew that this deed would plainly appear the result of force and fear, he also purposed, notwithstanding the danger of the precedent to himself and his posterity, to have him solemnly deposed in Parliament for his alleged tyranny and misconduct. A charge, consisting of 33 articles, was accordingly drawn up against him and presented to that assembly, in which the exertion of arbitrary prerogatives was imputed to him: such as the dispensing power, levying purveyance, employing the marshal's court, extorting loans, granting protections from lawsuits, etc. The charge was not canvassed, nor examined, nor disputed in either house, and seemed to be received with universal approbation. Richard was deposed by the suffrages of both houses; and the throne being now vacant, the Duke of Lancaster stepped forth, and having crossed himself on

the forehead and on the breast, and called upon the name of Christ, pronounced these words: "In the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I, Henry of Lancaster, challenge this realm of England, and the crown, with all the members and appurtenances, as that I am descended by right line of blood, coming from the good lord King Henry III., and through that right that God of his grace hath sent me, with help of my kin and of my friends, to recover it; the which realm was in point to be undone for default of governance, and undoing of good laws." In order to understand this speech, it must be observed that there was a silly story received among some of the lowest vulgar, that Edmond, Earl of Lancaster, son of Henry III., was really the elder brother of Edward I.; but that, by reason of some deformity in his person, he had been postponed in the succession, and his younger brother imposed on the nation in his stead. As the present Duke of Lancaster inherited from Edmond by his mother, this genealogy made him the true heir of the monarchy,* and it is therefore insinuated in Henry's speech; but the absurdity was too gross to be openly avowed either by him or by the Parliament. The case is the same with regard to his right of conquest: he was a subject who rebelled against his sovereign; he entered the kingdom with a retinue of no more than sixty persons; he could not therefore be the conqueror of England; and this right is accordingly insinuated, not avowed. But no objection was taken to the claims of Henry; and the unanimous voice of Lords and Commons placed him on the throne (Sept. 30). Henry, in six days after, called together, without any new election, the same members; and this assembly he denominated a new Parliament. They were employed in the usual task of reversing every deed of the opposite party. On the motion of the Earl of Northumberland, the House of Peers resolved unanimously that Richard should be imprisoned under a secure guard in some secret place, and should be deprived of all commerce with any of his friends or partisans.

* He was descended from Henry III. both by father and mother.



There could be no doubt that the rightful heir to the crown, on the deposition of Richard, was the Earl of March, then a child, the grandson of Lionel, Duke of Clarence. See genealogical table, p. 134.

It was easy to foresee that he would not long remain alive in the hands of such barbarous and sanguinary enemies. The exact manner of his death is unknown, for the common account that he was murdered at Pomfret by Sir Piers Exton rests on no sufficient evidence. The corpse was exhibited for two days in St. Paul's Church (March 12, 1400). He died in the 34th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign. He left no posterity, either legitimate or illegitimate. He appears to have been a weak prince, and unfit for government, less for want of natural parts and capacity than of solid judgment and a good education. He was violent in his temper, profuse in his expense, fond of idle show and magnificence, devoted to favorites, and addicted to pleasure; passions, all of them, the most inconsistent with a prudent economy, and consequently dangerous in a limited and mixed government. The last two years of his reign were altogether tyrannical; and his deposition, like the subsequent one of James II., seems to have been necessary for the preservation of national liberty. "The sincere concurrence," observes Mr. Hallam (*Middle Ages*, vol. iii., p. 81), "which most of the prelates and nobility, with the mass of the people, gave to changes that could not be otherwise effected by one so unprovided with foreign support as Henry, prove this revolution to have been, if not an indispensable, yet a national act, and should prevent our considering the Lancastrian kings as usurpers of the throne."

§ 18. There was a sensible decay of ecclesiastical authority during this period. The disgust which the laity had received from the numerous usurpations both of the court of Rome and of their own clergy had very much weaned the kingdom from superstition; and strong symptoms appeared, from time to time, of a general desire to shake off the bondage of the Romish Church. John Wickliffe, a secular priest educated at Oxford, began, in the latter end of Edward III., to spread the doctrine of reformation by his discourses, sermons, and writings; and he made many disciples among men of all ranks and stations. Wickliffe himself, as well as his disciples, who received the name of Wickliffites, or Lollards, was distinguished by a great austerity of life and manners. His doctrines, being derived from his search into the Scriptures and into ecclesiastical antiquity, were nearly the same with those which were propagated by the reformers in the sixteenth century; he only carried some of them farther than was done by the more sober part of these reformers. The Duke of Lancaster encouraged the principles of Wickliffe; and he made no scruple, as well as Lord Percy, the marshal, to appear openly in court with him, when cited before the tribunal of the Bishop of London, in order to give him countenance upon his trial. The clergy, we may well

believe, were more wanting in power than in inclination to punish this new heresy, which struck at all their credit, possessions, and authority. But, besides this defect of power in the Church, which saved Wickliffe, that reformer himself, notwithstanding his enthusiasm, seems not to have been actuated by the spirit of martyrdom; and, in all subsequent trials before the prelates, he so explained away his doctrine by tortured meanings as to render it quite innocent and inoffensive. Most of his followers imitated his cautious disposition, and saved themselves either by recantations or explanations. He died of a palsy, in the year 1385, at his rectory at Lutterworth, in the county of Leicester. Geoffrey Chaucer, who flourished at this time, and who may be regarded as the father of English poetry, was a follower of Wickliffe.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1327. Accession of Edward III.
1333. Battle of Halidon Hill and defeat of the Scots.
1340. Naval victory over the French at Sluys.
1346. The French defeated at Crécy. The Scots defeated at Neville's Cross.
1347. Calais taken.
1349. A great pestilence.
1356. The French defeated by the Black Prince at Poitiers. The French king captured.
1360. Peace concluded with France at Bretigny.
1361. Another great pestilence.
1367. The Black Prince gains the Battle of Najara in Spain.
1369. A third great pestilence.
1376. Death of the Black Prince.
1377. Death of Edward III., and accession of Richard II.
1381. Rebellion of Jack Straw, Wat Tyler, and others.
1397. Captivity and murder of the Duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle.
1399. Invasion of Henry, Duke of Lancaster. Capture and deposition of Richard II.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. DEATH OF RICHARD II.

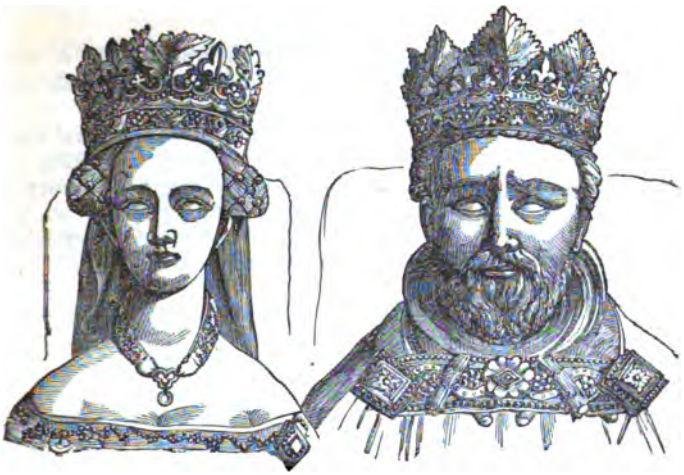
All the contemporary English authorities, to the number of more than a dozen, agree that Richard died of starvation, either forced or voluntary, after a few months' imprisonment. The French chroniclers assert that he was violently murdered, still, however, agreeing in the fact of his death. On the other hand, three or four Scotch writers, of whom the principal are Winton and Bower, assert that he escaped from Pomfret to the Western Isles of Scotland; that he was there recognized and carried to the court of Robert III., and that he lived under that monarch and the Regent Albany till 1419, when he died at Stirling.

The truth of the Scotch account has been maintained at great length by Mr. Tytler (*Hist. of Scotland*, vol. iii., App.), who has been followed by Mr. Williams (Preface to the *Chronicque de la Traison et Mort de Richart II.*, published by the Eng. Historical Soc. 1846) and a few others. That a person pretending to be Richard was maintained in Scotland is sufficiently clear; but an examination of the evidence has failed to convince us that it was the deposed English monarch.

B. STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE.

This statute, passed 16 Ric. II., c. 5 (A.D. 1393), was enacted to check the exorbitant power claimed and exercised by the Pope in England. It was so called from the words of the writ used for the citation of a party who had broken the statute: "*præmunire facias A. B.*," cause A. B. to be forewarned that he appear before us to answer the contempt with which he stands charged. Hence the word *præmunire* denominated, in common speech, not only the writ, but also the offense of maintaining the papal power. "The original meaning," says Blackstone, "of the offense which we call *præmunire*, is introducing a foreign power into this land, and creating *imperium in imperio*, by paying that obedience to papal process which *constitutionally* belonged to the king alone, long before the Reformation in the reign of Henry VIII." Though the statute of 16 Ric. II., c. 5, is usually called *the* statute of Præmunire,

several others of a similar kind had been enacted in preceding reigns. The 35 Edw. I. was the first statute made against papal *provisions*, the name applied to a previous nomination to certain benefices, of which the Pope claimed the patronage, by a kind of anticipation, before they became actually void, though afterward indiscriminately applied to any kind of patronage exerted or usurped by the Pope. In the reign of Edward III. more stringent laws were enacted against papal provisions; and in 40 Edw. III. it was enacted that King John's donation to the Pope was null and void, being without the concurrence of Parliament. The 16 Ric. II., c. 5, enacts that "whoever procures at Rome, or elsewhere, any translations, processes, excommunications, bulls, instruments, or other things, which touch the king, against him, his crown and realm, and all persons aiding and assisting therein, shall be put out of the king's protection, their lands and goods forfeited to the king's use, and they shall be attached by their bodies to answer to the king and his council: or process of *præmunire facias* shall be made out against them, as in any other case of provisors." In the reign of Henry VIII. the penalties of *præmunire* were extended still farther against the authority of the Pope. See the *Student's Blackstone* by Kerr, p. 404, *seq.*



Henry IV. and his queen Joan of Navarre, from their monument at Canterbury.

CHAPTER XI.

THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER. HENRY IV., HENRY V., HENRY VI. A.D. 1399–1461.

§ 1. Accession of HENRY IV. Insurrections. Persecution of the Lollards. § 2. Rebellions of the Earl of Northumberland. Battle of Shrewsbury. § 3. Foreign Transactions. Captivity of James of Scotland. Death and Character of the King. § 4. Accession of HENRY V. His Reformation. § 5. Proceedings against the Lollards. Sir John Oldcastle. § 6. Invasion of France. Battle of Agincourt. § 7. New Invasion of France. Conquest of Normandy. Treaty of Troyes and Marriage of Henry with Catherine of France. § 8. Farther Conquests of Henry V. His Death and Character. § 9. HENRY VI. Settlement of the Government. French Affairs. § 10. Siege of Orleans. Joan d'Arc. § 11. Charles VII. crowned at Rheims. Henry VI. crowned at Paris. § 12. Capture, Trial, and Execution of the Maid of Orleans. § 13. Treaty of Arras. Death of Bedford. § 14. Marriage of Henry VI. Death of the Duke of Gloucester. The English expelled from France. § 15. Claim of the Duke of York to the Crown. His powerful Connections. § 16. Unpopularity of the Government. Suffolk accused and executed. § 17. Insurrection of Jack Cade. Disaffection of the Commons. Rising of the Duke of York. § 18. The Duke of York Protector. First Battle of St. Albans. § 19. Civil War. Decision of the House of Peers. Battle of Wakefield and Death of the Duke of York. § 20. Second Battle of St. Albans. EDWARD IV. saluted King by the Citizens of London.

§ 1. HENRY IV., 1399–1413.—This monarch was born at Bolingbroke, in Lincolnshire, in 1366. He was declared king, as we have already seen, Sept. 30, 1399. The rightful heir to the

crown, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, was a child of only seven years old, and was detained by Henry in an honorable custody at Windsor Castle.

Henry was hardly seated upon the throne before several earls favorable to Richard's cause formed a conspiracy for seizing the king's person. The plot was betrayed to the king by the Earl of Rutland (Jan. 4, 1400), and the conspirators perished on the scaffold. This unsuccessful attempt hastened the death of Richard, who was shortly afterward murdered, as narrated in the preceding chapter.

Henry, finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, resolved, by every expedient, to pay court to the clergy. There were hitherto no penal laws enacted against heresy; but he engaged the Parliament to pass a law that, when any heretic who relapsed or refused to abjure his opinions was delivered over to the secular arm by the bishop or his commissaries, he should be committed to the flames by the civil magistrate before the whole people. This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy; and William Sautré, a clergyman in London, atoned for his erroneous opinions by the penalty of fire (1401).

The revolution in England proved likewise the occasion of an insurrection in Wales. Owen Glendower, who pretended to be descended from the ancient princes of that country, and whose estates had been seized by Lord Grey of Ruthyn, recovered possession by the sword. Henry sent assistance to Grey; the Welsh took part with Glendower; and a troublesome and tedious war was kindled, in which Lord Grey and Sir Edmund Mortimer, uncle of the Earl of March, were taken prisoners. As Henry dreaded and hated all the family of March, he allowed Mortimer to remain in captivity; and, though that nobleman was nearly allied to the Percies, to whose assistance he himself had owed his crown, he refused to the Earl of Northumberland permission to treat of his ransom with Glendower. To this disgust was soon added another. The Percies, in repulsing an inroad of the Scots, in 1402, captured Earl Douglas and several other of the Scotch nobility. Henry sent the Earl of Northumberland orders not to ransom his prisoners, which that nobleman regarded as his right by the laws of war received in that age. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. The Percies were likewise discontented by the withholding from them the sums due to them as wardens of the marches.

§ 2. The factious disposition of the Earl of Worcester, younger brother of Northumberland, and the impatient spirit of his son,

Harry Percy, surnamed Hotspur, inflamed the discontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted him to seek revenge by overturning that throne which he had at first established. He entered into a correspondence with Glendower. He gave liberty to the Earl of Douglas, and made an alliance with that martial chief; he roused up all his partisans to arms; and such unlimited authority at that time belonged to the great families, that the same men, whom a few years before he had conducted against Richard, now followed his standard in opposition to Henry. When war was ready to break out, Northumberland was seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, about 12,000 in number, marched toward Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendower. The king, however, who had an army of about the same force on foot, attacked him before the junction could be effected (July 23, 1403). We shall scarcely find any battle in those ages where the shock was more terrible and more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; his gallant son, whose military achievements were afterward so renowned, and who here performed his novitiate in arms, signalized himself in his father's footsteps, and even a wound which he received in the face with an arrow could not oblige him to quit the field. Percy supported that fame which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amid the horror and confusion of the day. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Percy, by an unknown hand, decided the victory, and the Royalists prevailed. The loss was great on both sides, particularly in Percy's army, of which about a third fell; but on the king's side many persons of distinction were slain. The Earls of Worcester and Douglas were taken prisoners. The former was beheaded at Shrewsbury, the latter was treated with the courtesy due to his rank and merit. The Earl of Northumberland was tried by his peers and condemned in a fine, which, however, the king remitted.

Two years afterward Northumberland again rose in rebellion, and was joined by Thomas Mowbray, Earl of Nottingham, and Richard Scrope, Archbishop of York. But they acted without concert. The archbishop and Nottingham were seized by a stratagem of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, though the latter was at the head of an inferior force, were tried, condemned, and executed. This was the first instance in English history in which an archbishop perished by the hands of the executioner (1405). Northumberland escaped into Scotland; but in 1407, having entered the northern counties in hopes of raising the people, he was

defeated and slain at Bramham by Sir Thomas Rokesby, Sheriff of Yorkshire. The only domestic enemy now remaining was Glendower, over whom the Prince of Wales had obtained some advantages; but the Welsh leader contrived to protract the struggle for some years after the death of Henry IV.

§ 3. The remaining transactions of this reign are not of much interest. In 1407 fortune gave Henry an advantage over that neighbor who, by his situation, was most enabled to disturb his government. Robert III., King of Scots, was a prince, though of slender capacity, extremely innocent and inoffensive in his conduct; but Scotland, at that time, was still less fitted than England for cherishing or even enduring sovereigns of that character. The Duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of more abilities, at least of a more boisterous and violent disposition, had assumed the government of the state; and, not satisfied with present authority, he entertained the criminal purpose of extirpating his brother's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger; James alone, the younger brother of David, stood between that tyrant and the throne; and King Robert, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him to France, and intrusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, the vessel was taken by the English; Prince James, a boy about nine years of age, was carried to London; and, though there subsisted at that time a truce between the kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty. Robert, worn out with cares and infirmities, was unable to bear the shock of this last misfortune; and he soon after died, leaving the government in the hands of the Duke of Albany. But though the king, by detaining James in the English court, had shown himself somewhat deficient in generosity, he made ample amends by giving that prince an excellent education, which afterward qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country. A hostile feeling prevailed throughout this reign between England and France; but the civil disturbances in both nations prevented it from breaking out into any serious hostilities. The cause of the deposed and murdered Richard was warmly espoused by the French court, but their zeal evaporated in menaces. Soon after his accession, Henry, at the demand of Charles, had restored Isabella, the widow of the late king, but retained her dowry on the pretense of setting it off against the unpaid ransom of the French king John.

The king's health declined some months before his death. He was subject to fits, which bereaved him, for the time, of his senses;

and, though he was yet in the flower of his age, his end was visibly approaching. He expired at Westminster (March 20, 1413), in the 46th year of his age, and the 13th of his reign. The great popularity which Henry enjoyed before he attained the crown, and which had so much aided him in the acquisition of it, was entirely lost many years before the end of his reign; and he governed his people more by terror than by affection, more by his own policy than by their sense of duty or allegiance. But it must be owned that his prudence and vigilance, and foresight in maintaining his power, were admirable; his courage, both military and political, without blemish; and he possessed many qualities which fitted him for his high station, and which rendered his usurpation of it rather salutary during his own reign to the English nation. The augmentation of the power of the Commons during this reign deserves notice. It was chiefly shown by the punishment which they awarded to sheriffs for making false returns, by the increased freedom of debate, and by the control which they exercised over the supplies.

Henry was twice married: by his first wife, Mary de Bohun, daughter and co-heir of the Earl of Hereford, he had four sons, Henry his successor to the throne, Thomas Duke of Clarence, John Duke of Bedford, and Humphrey Duke of Gloucester; and two daughters, Blanche and Philippa, the former married to the Duke of Bavaria, the latter to the King of Denmark. His second wife, Jane, whom he married after he was king, and who was the daughter of the King of Navarre, and widow of the Duke of Brittany, brought him no issue.

§ 4. HENRY V., 1413–1422, was born at Monmouth, Aug. 9, 1388. The many jealousies to which Henry IV.'s situation naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and, during the latter years of his life, he had excluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown which he thought might prove dangerous to his own authority.

The active spirit of young Henry had, during his father's life, indulged in pleasure; but the common stories related by the chroniclers of his riots and debaucheries are doubtless gross exaggerations. It is said that on one occasion a riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorders, and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence had not overawed the chief jus-

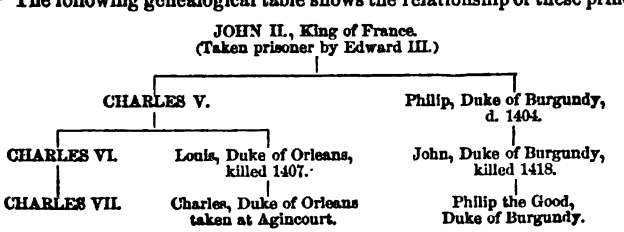
tice, he proceeded to insult the magistrate on his tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behavior. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to the sentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of his extravagant career. The memory of this incident, and of many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. The first steps taken by the young prince confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favor. He dismissed his former companions; and retained in office the wise ministers of his father, including the chief justice. The king seemed ambitious to bury all party distinctions in oblivion; and the defects of his title were forgotten amid the personal regard which was universally paid to him.

§ 5. There remained among the people only one party distinction. The Lollards were every day increasing in the kingdom, and were become a formed party, which appeared extremely dangerous to the Church, and even formidable to the civil authority. The head of this sect was Sir John Oldcastle (Lord Cobham), a nobleman who had distinguished himself by his valor and his military talents, and had on many occasions acquired the esteem both of the late and of the present king. Henry, after vainly endeavoring to reconcile him to the Catholic faith, gave full reins to ecclesiastical severity against the inflexible heresiarch. Arundel, the primate, indicted Cobham; and, with the assistance of his three suffragans, the Bishops of London, Winchester, and St. David's, condemned him to the flames for his erroneous opinions. Cobham, who was confined in the Tower, made his escape before the day appointed for his execution, and, having raised his followers, made two desperate attempts to seize the king. But they were defeated by Henry's vigilance; many of the Lollards were seized, and some executed (1414). Cobham himself, who made his escape by flight, was not brought to justice till four years after, when he was hanged as a traitor, and his body was burned on the gibbet, in execution of the sentence pronounced against him as a heretic. This criminal design brought discredit on the party, and checked the progress of the sect.

§ 6. The disorders into which France was plunged through the lunacy of its monarch, Charles VI., and the consequent struggle for the regency between his brother the Duke of Orleans, and his

cousin the Duke of Burgundy,* which resulted in open warfare, seemed to present a favorable opportunity for attack; and Henry, impelled by the vigor of youth and the ardor of ambition, determined to carry violent war into that distracted kingdom (1415). A conspiracy, which was happily detected in its infancy, to place the Earl of March upon the throne, detained the king awhile. The Earl of Cambridge, Lord Scrope, and Sir Thomas Grey, the chief conspirators, were arrested, and the king, after trying them in an irregular manner, and procuring their execution, granted the Earl of March a general pardon. Then, trusting to the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, who had been secretly soliciting the alliance of England, but without establishing any concert with him, he put to sea, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of 6000 men at arms and 24,000 foot, mostly archers. That town was at last obliged to capitulate (Sept. 22); but the fatigues of this siege and the unusual heat of the season had so wasted the English army, that Henry could enter on no farther enterprise, and was obliged to think of returning into England. He had dismissed his transports, and therefore determined on marching by land to Calais, although a French army of 14,000 men at arms, and 40,000 foot, was by this time assembled in Normandy. That he might not discourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expose them to those hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made slow and deliberate journeys till he reached the Somme, and after encountering many difficulties and hardships he was so dextrous or so fortunate as to seize by surprise a passage near St. Quentin which had not been sufficiently guarded; and he safely carried over his army. Henry then bent his march northward to Calais; but he was still exposed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had also passed the Somme, and threw themselves full in his way, with a purpose of intercepting his retreat. After he had passed the small river of Ternois, at Blangi, he was surprised to observe from the heights the whole French army drawn up in the plains of Agincourt, and so posted that it was impossible for him to proceed on his march without

* The following genealogical table shows the relationship of these princes:



coming to an engagement. The enemy was four times more numerous, as half the English who had landed at Harfleur had perished; was headed by the dauphin and all the princes of the blood; and was plentifully supplied with provisions of every kind. Henry's situation was exactly similar to that of Edward at Crécy, and that of the Black Prince at Poitiers, and he observed the same prudent conduct which had been followed by these great commanders; he drew up his army on a narrow ground between two woods, which guarded each flank, and he patiently expected in that posture the attack of the enemy (Oct. 25, 1415). The French archers on horseback and their men at arms, crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them from behind that defense with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clay soil, moistened by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry: the wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks; the narrow compass in which they were pent hindered them from recovering any order; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay; and Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unencumbered, to advance upon the enemy and seize the moment of victory. They fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who, in their present posture, were incapable either of flying or of making defense; they hewed them in pieces without resistance; and, being seconded by the men at arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. No battle was ever more fatal to France by the number of princes and nobility slain or taken prisoners. Among the prisoners were the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon. The killed are computed, on the whole, to have amounted to 10,000 men; and Henry was master of 14,000 prisoners. The loss of the English was very small; but the common statement that only 40 perished is scarcely credible. Henry, not being in a condition to pursue his victory, interrupted not his march a moment after the battle; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England, and concluded a truce with the enemy.

§ 7. But during this interruption of hostilities from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. In consequence of the capture of the Duke of Orleans at Agincourt, the Count of Armagnac, his father-in-law, became the head of his party (hence called the Armagnacs), and was created Constable of France. The Duke of Burgundy, who had aspired to this dignity, formed an alliance with the English; and his power was strengthened by the accession of Isabella, the queen, who had formerly been

his enemy, but who had now quarreled with the Armagnacs. The dauphin sided with the latter; and open war broke out between the two factions. While the country was so ill-prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry landed in Normandy at the head of 25,000 men (August 1, 1417), and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Falaise; Evreux and Caen submitted to him; and having subdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a re-enforcement of 15,000 men from England, he formed the siege of Rouen, which he took after an obstinate defense (1418). But Henry still continued to negotiate, and had almost arranged some advantageous terms, when the Duke of Burgundy secretly finished a treaty with the dauphin; and these two princes agreed to share the royal authority during King Charles's lifetime, and to unite their arms in order to expel foreign enemies. This alliance seemed at first to cut off from Henry all hopes of farther success, but the treacherous assassination of the Duke of Burgundy soon afterward by the partisans of the dauphin opened the way to a new and still more favorable arrangement. Philip, Count of Charolois, now Duke of Burgundy, thought himself bound by every tie of honor and of duty to revenge the murder of his father, and to prosecute the assassins to the utmost extremity. A league was immediately concluded at Arras between him and Henry, by which the Duke of Burgundy, without stipulating any thing for himself except the prosecution of his father's murderers, and the marriage of the Duke of Bedford with his sister, was willing to sacrifice the kingdom to Henry's ambition; and he agreed to every demand made by that monarch. In order to finish this astonishing treaty, which was to transfer the crown of France to a stranger, Henry went to Troyes, accompanied by his brothers, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester; and was there met by the Duke of Burgundy (1420). The imbecility into which Charles had fallen made him incapable of seeing any thing but through the eyes of those who attended him; as they on their part saw every thing through the medium of their passions. The treaty, being already concerted among the parties, was immediately drawn, and signed, and ratified. The principal articles were, that Henry should espouse the Princess Catherine, the daughter of the king; that King Charles, during his lifetime, should enjoy the title and dignity of King of France; that Henry should be intrusted with the present administration of the government, and should succeed to the throne on the death of Charles, to the exclusion of the dauphin. In a few days after Henry espoused the Princess Catherine; he carried his father-in-law to Paris, and put himself in possession of that capital; he obtained from the Parliament and the three estates a ratification of the

treaty of Troyes; and he immediately turned his arms, with success, against the adherents of the dauphin. Sens, Montereau, and Melun yielded to his arms; but the necessity of providing supplies, both of men and money, obliged him to go over to England (1421), and he left the Duke of Exeter, his uncle, Governor of Paris during his absence.

§ 8. Henry returned with 24,000 archers and 4000 horsemen, and was received at Paris with great expressions of joy. Meanwhile, a body of 7000 Scots, who were afraid to see France fall into the power of their ancient enemy, had proceeded to the assistance of the dauphin, and had defeated the English under the Duke of Clarence at Baugé. But the presence of Henry soon restored all. The dauphin was chased beyond the Loire, and he almost totally abandoned all the northern provinces; he was even pursued into the south by the united arms of the English and Burgundians, and threatened with total destruction. And to crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous, and no less sincere, at Paris than at London. But the glory of Henry, when it had nearly reached the summit, was stopped short by the hand of Nature, and all his mighty projects vanished into smoke. He was seized with a fistula, a malady which the surgeons at that time had not skill enough to cure; and he expired on August 31, 1422, in the 35th year of his age and 10th of his reign. He left the regency of France to his elder brother, the Duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger, the Duke of Gloucester; and the care of his son's person to the Earl of Warwick.

This prince possessed many eminent virtues; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and in the field; the boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable than his personal valor in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. The exterior figure of this great prince, as well as his deportment, was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size, his countenance beautiful, his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigor; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises.

Catherine of France, Henry's widow, married soon after his death a Welsh gentleman, Sir Owen Tudor, said to be descended from the ancient princes of that country; she bore him two sons, Edmund and Jasper, of whom the eldest was created Earl of Richmond, father of Henry VII.—the second, Earl of Pembroke.

§ 9. Henry VI., 1422–1461, was born at Windsor, December 6, 1421, and was consequently scarcely nine months old when he succeeded his father. The Lords and Commons, who had acquired great authority under the Lancastrian princes, without paying much regard to the verbal destination of Henry V., assumed the power of giving a new arrangement to the whole administration. They declined altogether the name of *regent* with regard to England; they appointed the Duke of Bedford *protector* or *guardian* of that kingdom, a title which they supposed to imply less authority; they invested the Duke of Gloucester with the same dignity during the absence of his elder brother; and, in order to limit the power of both these princes, they appointed a council, without whose advice and approbation no measure of importance could be determined. The person and education of the infant prince was committed to Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, his great-uncle, and the legitimated son of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. The interest of the early part of this reign centres in the affairs of France. Charles VI., the unhappy sovereign of that country, expired about two months after the death of his son-in-law Henry. His son, Charles VII., a young prince of a popular character, and rightful heir to the throne, asserted his claim to it against his infant competitor, although the superior power of the English seemed to threaten him with expulsion; and there were thus two rival kings of France. Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age, a skillful politician, as well as a good general, strengthened himself by forming an alliance with the Duke of Brittany, who had received some disgusts from the French court. In order to avert from the northern border the hostility of the Scots, many of whom were serving under Charles VII., Bedford persuaded the English council to form an alliance with James their prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity; and to connect him with England by marrying him to a daughter of the Earl of Somerset and cousin of the young king. The treaty was soon concluded; a ransom of £40,000 was stipulated; and the King of Scots was restored to the throne of his ancestors, and proved, in his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever governed that kingdom.

§ 10. The military operations in France from 1423 to 1426, though they were favorable to the English, and reduced Charles to great straits, were not of sufficient importance to detain us. But in 1428 the Duke of Bedford determined to penetrate into the south of France, which remained in obedience to Charles VII.; and with this view he caused Orleans to be invested, which commanded the passage of the Loire, and was the key of the southern provinces. The command of the besieging forces was intrusted to

the Earl of Salisbury, one of the most distinguished commanders of the age. Upon his death by a cannon ball the siege was continued by the Earl of Suffolk, and had lasted many months, when relief was unexpectedly brought by a female who gave rise to one of the most singular revolutions that is to be met with in history.

In the village of Domremi, near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorraine, there lived a country girl of 27 years of age, called Joan d'Arc, who was servant in a small inn, and who in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests, to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices which, in well-frequented inns, commonly fall to the share of the men-servants. This girl was of an irreproachable life, and had not hitherto been remarked for any singularity; whether that she had met with no occasion to excite her genius, or that the unskillful eyes of those who conversed with her had not been able to discern her uncommon merit. It is easy to imagine that the present situation of France was an interesting object, even to persons of the lowest rank; and Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present distresses. Her inexperienced mind, working day and night on this favorite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the foreign invaders. She went to Vaucouleurs; procured admission to Baudricourt, the governor; informed him of her inspirations and intentions; and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, who spoke through her, but to second those heavenly revelations which impelled her to this glorious enterprise. Baudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but on her frequent returns to him, and importunate solicitations, he began to remark something extraordinary in the maid, and was inclined, at all hazards, to make an easy experiment. He gave her some attendants, who conducted her to the French court, which at that time resided at Chinon. It is pretended that Joan immediately on her admission knew the king, though she had never seen his face before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and had laid aside every thing in his dress and apparel which might distinguish him; that she offered him, in the name of the supreme Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and to conduct him to Rheims to be there crowned and anointed; and on his expressing doubts of her mission, revealed to him, before some sworn confidants, a secret which was unknown to all the world besides himself, and which nothing but a heavenly inspiration could have discovered to her; and that she demanded,

as the instrument of her future victories, a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catherine of Fierbois, and which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and by the place in which it had long lain neglected. This is certain, that all these miraculous stories were spread abroad in order to captivate the vulgar. Joan's requests were at last complied with; she was armed cap-à-pié, mounted on horseback, and shown in that martial habiliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former occupation, was regarded as a fresh proof of her mission; and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators. Her first exploit was to conduct a convoy of provisions into Orleans (April, 1429); and the English, daunted by a kind of supernatural terror at the preparations, did not venture to attack her. The maid entered the city of Orleans arrayed in her military garb, and displaying her consecrated standard; and was received as a celestial deliverer by all the inhabitants.

She now called upon the garrison to remain no longer on the defensive; and she promised her followers the assistance of Heaven in attacking those redoubts of the enemy which had so long kept them in awe, and which they had never hitherto dared to insult. These enterprises succeeded. In one attack Joan was wounded in the neck with an arrow; she retreated a moment behind the assailants, she pulled out the arrow with her own hands, she had the wound quickly dressed, and she hastened back to head the troops, and to plant her victorious banner on the ramparts of the enemy. By all these successes the English were entirely chased from their fortifications on that side; and as it might prove extremely dangerous for Suffolk, with such intimidated troops, to remain any longer in the presence of so courageous and victorious an enemy, he raised the siege, and retreated with all the precaution imaginable (May 8).

§ 11. The raising of the siege of Orleans was one part of the maid's promise to Charles; the crowning of him at Rheims was the other; and she now vehemently insisted that he should forthwith set out on that enterprise. A few weeks before such a proposal would have appeared the most extravagant in the world. But Charles, at the head of only 12,000 men, marched to that town without opposition. The ceremony of his coronation was here performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon had brought to King Clovis from heaven on the first establishment of the French monarchy (July 12). The Maid of Orleans, as she was now called, stood by his side in complete armor, and displayed her sacred banner, which had so often dissipated and confounded his fiercest enemies; and the people shouted with the most unfeigned

joy at viewing such a complication of wonders. Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more respectable in the eyes of all his subjects. Many towns and fortresses in that neighborhood, immediately after Charles's coronation, submitted to him on the first summons; and the whole nation was disposed to give him the most zealous testimonies of their duty and affection.

Nothing can impress us with a higher idea of the wisdom, address, and resolution of the Duke of Bedford than his being able to maintain himself in so perilous a situation, and to preserve some footing in France, after the defection of so many places, and amid the universal inclination of the rest to imitate that contagious example. The small supplies, both of men and money, which he received from England set the talents of this great man in a still stronger light. It happened fortunately, in this emergency, that the Bishop of Winchester, now created a cardinal, landed at Calais with a body of 5000 men, which he was conducting into Bohemia on a crusade against the Hussites. He was persuaded to lend these troops to his nephew during the present difficulties; and the regent was thereby enabled to take the field, and to oppose the French king, who was advancing with his army to the gates of Paris. The regent endeavored to revive the declining state of his affairs by bringing over the young king of England and having him crowned and anointed at Paris (1431). But he expected more effect from an accident which put into his hands the person that had been the author of all his calamities.

§ 12. The Maid of Orleans, in making a sally from Compiègne, was taken prisoner by the Burgundians. A complete victory would not have given more joy to the English and their partisans. The service of *Te Deum*, which has so often been profaned by princes, was publicly celebrated, on this fortunate event, at Paris. The Duke of Bedford fancied that, by the captivity of that extraordinary woman, who had blasted all his successes, he should again recover his former ascendant over France; and to push farther the present advantage, he purchased the captive from John of Luxembourg, and formed a prosecution against her, which, whether it proceeded from vengeance or policy, was equally barbarous and dishonorable. She was tried and condemned by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and she was sentenced to be delivered over to the secular arm. Joan, who had borne her trial with amazing firmness, felt her spirit at last subdued. She publicly declared herself willing to recant; she acknowledged the illusion of those revelations which the Church had rejected; and

she promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated: she was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water. But the barbarous vengeance of Joan's enemies was not satisfied with this victory. They purposely placed in her apartment a suit of men's apparel; and watched for the effects of that temptation upon her. On the sight of a dress in which she had acquired so much renown, and which, she once believed, she wore by the particular appointment of Heaven, all her former ideas and passions revived; and she ventured in her solitude to clothe herself again in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation; her fault was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy; no recantation would now suffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burned in the market-place of Rouen; and the infamous sentence was accordingly executed (June 14, 1431).

§ 13. From this period the affairs of the English in France, the result of which we shall here anticipate, went insensibly to decay. After the death of Bedford's wife, who was sister to the Duke of Burgundy, and the regent's subsequent hasty marriage with Jaqueline of Luxembourg, the last link was severed which had hitherto preserved some appearance of friendship between those princes; an open breach took place between them, and the Duke of Burgundy determined to reconcile himself with the court of France. In 1435 a treaty was concluded at Arras between the Duke of Burgundy and Philip, which was followed almost immediately by the death of the Duke of Bedford at Rouen (Sept. 14, 1435). The English continued to hold a gradually declining footing in France for some years after that event; but the period offers few interesting or memorable occurrences. Shortly after the regent's death, and before his successor, the Duke of York, could arrive, the forces of the French king were admitted into Paris by the citizens; Lord Willoughby, who had retired with the small English garrison into the Bastile, was forced to capitulate on the condition of an honorable retreat (April, 1436). Yet the struggle was protracted feebly on both sides. In 1444 a truce of 22 months, afterward prolonged to April, 1450, was concluded, chiefly through the influence of the Bishop of Winchester, now Cardinal Beaufort; for the Duke of Gloucester still retained the most lofty pretensions with regard to France.

§ 14. We now turn to the affairs of England. The death of the Duke of Bedford was an irreparable loss to the English nation. His ascendency had preserved some show of agreement between the Duke of Gloucester and the Cardinal Beaufort, who had long been enemies; but after his death they openly conspired

each other's ruin. We have already seen that the treaty with France had been concluded through the influence of Cardinal Beaufort in opposition to the Duke of Gloucester; and each party was now ambitious of choosing a queen for Henry, as it was probable that this circumstance would decide forever the victory between them. Henry was now in the 23d year of his age. Of the most harmless, inoffensive, simple manners, but of the most slender capacity, he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper, and the weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. The Duke of Gloucester proposed to marry Henry to a daughter of the Count of Armagnac, but had not credit to effect his purpose. The Cardinal and his friends had cast their eyes on Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular King of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem. This princess herself was the most accomplished of her age, both in body and mind, and seemed to possess those qualities which would equally qualify her to acquire the ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. The Earl of Suffolk, who had previously negotiated the treaty with France, now made proposals of marriage to Margaret, which were accepted (1445); and, in order to ingratiate himself with her and her family, engaged, by a secret article, that the province of Maine, which was at that time in the hands of the English, should be ceded to Charles of Anjou, her uncle (1445). The treaty of marriage was ratified in England; Suffolk obtained first the title of marquis, then that of duke; and even received the thanks of Parliament for his services in concluding it. The princess fell immediately into close connections with the cardinal and his party, the Dukes of Somerset, Suffolk, and Buckingham, who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the Duke of Gloucester. This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues, for which his temper was not suited, but possessing in a high degree the favor of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification, which he had hitherto borne without violating public peace, but which it was impossible that a person of his spirit and humanity could ever forgive. His duchess, the daughter of Reginald, Lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, Sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Margery Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigor waste away by like insensible degrees. The accusation was well calculated to affect the weak and credulous mind of the king, and to

gain belief in an ignorant age; and the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment (1441). In order to effect their purpose against the duke, the Cardinal of Winchester and his party caused a Parliament to be summoned, to meet, not at London, which was supposed to be too well affected to the duke, but at Bury St. Edmund's, where they expected that he would lie entirely at their mercy (1447). As soon as he appeared he was accused of treason, and thrown into prison. He was soon after found dead in his bed; and though it was pretended that his death was natural, and though his body, which was exposed to public view, bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies. The cardinal himself survived only a few weeks the murder of his nephew, for which he is said to have felt great remorse in his last moments. After this event, Suffolk, the declared favorite of the queen, and who had now been made a duke, became prime minister, and the affairs of the nation, owing to the imbecility of the king, were directed by him and Margaret; but the court was divided into parties which were enraged against one another. In this state of things French affairs were neglected. The province of Maine was ceded to Charles of Anjou, the queen's uncle, according to the marriage-treaty. After the conclusion of the truce Charles VII. had employed himself with great judgment in repairing the numberless ills of France; and in 1449 he availed himself of a favorable opportunity to break it. Normandy and Guienne were overrun by powerful French armies almost without resistance; and by the summer of 1451 the English were completely expelled from France, with the exception of Calais. Though no peace or truce was concluded, the war was, in a manner, at an end, and the civil dissensions which ensued in England permitted but one feeble effort more, in 1453, for the recovery of Guienne, in which the veteran Talbot lost his life.

§ 15. Meanwhile, the incapacity of Henry, which appeared every day in a fuller light, had encouraged the appearance of a pretender to the crown. All the males of the house of Mortimer were extinct; but Anne, the sister of the last Earl of March, having espoused the Earl of Cambridge, beheaded in the reign of Henry V., had transmitted her latent, but not yet forgotten, claim to her son, Richard, Duke of York. This prince, thus descended, by his mother, from Philippa, only daughter of the Duke of Clarence, third son of Edward III., stood plainly in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the Duke of Lancaster, fourth son of that monarch;* and that claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands than

* See the genealogical table, p. 134.

those of the Duke of York. Richard was a man of valor and abilities, of a prudent conduct and mild disposition; he possessed an immense fortune from the union of so many successions, those of Cambridge and York on the one hand with those of Mortimer on the other; and his marriage with the daughter of Ralph Nevil, Earl of Westmoreland, had widely extended his interest among the nobility. The Earls of Salisbury and Warwick were of that family, and were of themselves, on many accounts, the greatest noblemen in the kingdom. The personal qualities also of these two earls, especially of Warwick, enhanced the splendor of their nobility, and increased their influence over the people. This latter nobleman, commonly known, from the subsequent events, by the appellation of the *King-maker*, had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the field, by the hospitality of his table, by the magnificence and still more by the generosity of his expense, and by the spirited and bold manner which attended him in all his actions. No less than 30,000 persons are said to have daily lived at his board in the different manors and castles which he possessed in England; the military men, allured by his munificence and hospitality, as well as by his bravery, were zealously attached to his interests, and the people in general bore him an unlimited affection.

§ 16. Though the English were never willing to grant the supplies necessary for keeping possession of the conquered provinces in France, they repined extremely at the loss of these boasted acquisitions. The voluntary cession of Maine to the queen's uncle had made them suspect treachery in the loss of Normandy and Guienne. They still considered Margaret as a Frenchwoman, and a latent enemy of the kingdom. But the most fatal blow given to the popularity of the crown, and to the interests of the house of Lancaster, was by the assassination of the virtuous Duke of Gloucester; and, as the Duke of Suffolk was known to have had an active hand in the crime, he partook deeply of the hatred attending it. The revenues of the crown, which had long been disproportioned to its power and dignity, had been extremely dilapidated during the minority of Henry. The royal demesnes were dissipated; and at the same time the king was loaded with a debt of 372,000 pounds, a sum so great that the Parliament could never think of discharging it. This unhappy situation forced the ministers upon many arbitrary measures; the household itself could not be supported without stretching to the utmost the right of purveyance, and rendering it a kind of universal robbery upon the people. Suffolk, once become odious, bore the blame of the whole; and every grievance, in every part of the administration, was universally imputed to his tyranny and injustice. The

Commons sent up to the Peers an accusation of high treason against him (1450). The king, to save him from present ruin, banished him the kingdom during five years. But a captain of a vessel was employed by his enemies to intercept him in his passage to France: he was seized near Dover; his head struck off on the side of a long-boat; and his body thrown into the sea. No inquiry was made after the actors and accomplices in this atrocious deed of violence.

§ 17. The humors of the people, set afloat by the Parliamentary impeachment and by the fall of so great a favorite as Suffolk, broke out in various commotions. The most dangerous was that excited by a man of low condition, one John Cade, a native of Ireland, who had been obliged to fly into France for crimes, and who took the name of John Mortimer. On the first mention of that popular name the common people of Kent, to the number of 20,000, flocked to Cade's standard; Sir Humphrey Stafford, who had opposed him with a small force, was defeated and slain in an action near Sevenoke; and Cade, advancing with his followers toward London, encamped on Blackheath. Though elated by his victory, he still maintained the appearance of moderation; and sent to the court a plausible list of grievances. The city opened its gates to Cade, who maintained, during some time, great order and discipline among his followers. At last they broke into a rich house, which they plundered; and the citizens, alarmed at this act of violence, shut their gates against them; and, being seconded by a detachment of soldiers sent them by Lord Scales, Governor of the Tower, they repulsed the rebels with great slaughter. The Kentish men were so discouraged by the blow, that, upon receiving a general pardon from the primate, then chancellor, they retreated toward Rochester, and there dispersed. The pardon was soon after annulled, as extorted by violence; a price was set on Cade's head, who was killed by one Iden, a gentleman of Sussex; and many of his followers were capitally punished for their rebellion (1450).

The Duke of Somerset, who had been governor of Normandy, succeeded Suffolk in the administration, but his loss of that province made him very unpopular with the English. The Duke of York, who had recently returned from his government of Ireland, raised an army of 10,000 men, with which he marched toward London (1452), demanding a reformation of the government, and the removal of the Duke of Somerset from all power and authority. Having suffered himself, however, to be entrapped into a conference, he was seized, but dismissed; and he retired to his seat of Wigmore, on the borders of Wales.

§ 18. The queen's delivery of a son (Oct. 13, 1454), who re-

ceived the name of Edward, removed all hopes of the peaceable succession of the Duke of York. Henry, always unfit to exercise the government, fell at this time into a distemper which so far increased his natural imbecility that it rendered him incapable of maintaining even the appearance of royalty. The queen and the council, destitute of this support, found themselves unable to resist the York party, and they were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed the Duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of Parliament. That assembly, also, taking into consideration the state of the kingdom, created him Protector during pleasure (1454). But in the following year the king, having recovered his health, annulled the protectorship of the duke, released Somerset from the Tower, and committed the administration into the hands of that nobleman. The Duke of York levied an army; but still without advancing any pretensions to the crown. He complained only of the king's ministers, and demanded a reformation of the government. A battle was fought at St. Albans (May 23, 1455), in which the Yorkists were superior; among the slain were the Duke of Somerset and many other persons of distinction. The king himself fell into the hands of the Duke of York, who treated him with great respect and tenderness; he was only obliged (which he regarded as no hardship) to commit the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival. This was the first blood spilt in that fatal quarrel which was not finished in less than a course of 30 years, which was signalized by 12 pitched battles, which opened a scene of extraordinary fierceness and cruelty, is computed to have cost the lives of 80 princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility of England. Yet affairs did not immediately proceed to the last extremities. In 1456 the king was restored to the sovereign authority; and for two or three years the parties seemed in outward appearance to be reconciled. But the smallest accident, without any formed design, was sufficient, in the present disposition of men's minds, to dissolve the seeming harmony. One of the king's retinue insulted one of the Earl of Warwick's, the most important partisan of the Duke of York; their companions on both sides took part in the quarrel; a fierce combat ensued; the earl apprehended his life to be aimed at; he fled to his government of Calais; and both parties, in every county of England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by war and arms (1459).

§ 19. A civil war was now fairly kindled. In 1460 the king was defeated and taken prisoner by the Earl of Warwick at Northampton (July 10). The Duke of York displayed great seeming moderation after this success, though he publicly intimated his

expectation that the Parliament should raise him to the throne. The rival claims were, however, submitted to the decision of the House of Peers, whose sentence was calculated, as far as possible, to please both parties. They declared the title of the Duke of York to be certain and indefeasible; but, in consideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without dispute or controversy, during the course of 38 years, they determined that he should continue to possess the title and dignity during the remainder of his life; that the administration of the government, meanwhile, should remain with the Duke of York; and that he should be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquiesced in this decision, and Henry himself, being a prisoner, could not oppose it. But Queen Margaret, who, after the defeat at Northampton, had fled to Durham, and thence to Scotland, had, with the assistance of the northern barons, collected an army 20,000 strong. The Duke of York, informed of her appearance in the north, hastened thither with a body of 5000 men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection; when, on his arrival at Wakefield, he found himself so much outnumbered by the enemy. He nevertheless hazarded a battle, in which the queen gained a complete victory (Dec. 23). The duke himself was killed in the action; and as his body was found among the slain, the head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it in derision of his pretended title. One of his sons, the Earl of Rutland, a youth of 17, was brought to Lord Clifford; and that barbarian, in revenge of his father's death, who had perished in the battle of St. Albans, murdered, in cool blood, and with his own hands, this innocent prince, whose exterior figure, as well as other accomplishments, are represented by historians as extremely amiable. The Earl of Salisbury was wounded and taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction, by martial law, at Pomfret. The Duke of York perished in the 50th year of his age, and left three sons, Edward (afterward Edward IV.), George (afterward Duke of Clarence), Richard (afterward Richard III.), with three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Margaret.

§ 20. The queen, after this important victory, divided her army. She sent the smaller division, under Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, half-brother to the king, against Edward, the new Duke of York. She herself marched with the larger division toward London, where the Earl of Warwick had been left with the command of the Yorkists. Pembroke was defeated by Edward at Mortimer's Cross, in Herefordshire, with the loss of nearly 4000 men (Feb. 2, 1461); his army was dispersed; he himself escaped by

flight; but his father, Sir Owen Tudor, was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded by Edward's orders. This barbarous practice, being once begun, was continued by both parties from a spirit of revenge, which covered itself under the pretense of retaliation. Margaret compensated this defeat by a victory which she obtained over the Earl of Warwick at St. Albans (Feb. 19), when the person of the king fell again into the hands of his own party; but the queen made no great advantage of this victory. Young Edward advanced upon her from the other side, and, collecting the remains of Warwick's army, was soon in a condition to give her battle with superior forces. She was sensible of her danger while she lay between the enemy and the city of London; and she found it necessary to retreat with her army to the north. Edward entered the capital amid the acclamations of the citizens, and was proclaimed king by the title of Edward IV. (March 3, 1461).

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1399. Henry IV. crowned.
1400. Revolt of Owen Glendower and others.
1401. William Santré, a clergyman, burned for Lollardism.
1403. Revolt of the Earl of Northumberland. Battle of Shrewsbury and death of Percy.
1413. Death of Henry IV. and accession of Henry V.
1415. Battle of Agincourt.
1420. Treaty of Troyes. Henry marries Catherine of France and is named heir and regent of that kingdom.
1422. Death of Henry V. and accession of Henry VI.
1429. Siege of Orleans. Joan of Arc.
1431. Henry VI. crowned at Paris. Execution of Joan of Arc.
1445. The king marries Margaret of Anjou.
1450. Jack Cade's insurrection.
1451. The English expelled from France.
1452. Insurrection of the Duke of York.
1455. Commencement of the civil wars. First battle of St. Albans.
1460. Battle of Wakefield and death of Richard, Duke of York.
1461. Second battle of St. Albans. Edward IV. declared king by the citizens of London.



Reverse of Great Seal of Edward IV.

Edwardus : Dei : Gracia. Rex : anglie : et : Francie : et : Dominus : Hibernie.



Reverse of Great Seal of Richard III.

Ricardus . dei . gracia . Rex . anglie . et . francie . et . Dominus . Hibernie.

CHAPTER XII.

THE HOUSE OF YORK. EDWARD IV., EDWARD V., RICHARD III. A.D. 1461-1485.

§ 1. EDWARD IV. assumes the Crown. War of the Roses. Battle of Towton. § 2. Battle of Hexham. Flight of Margaret and Capture of Henry VI. § 3. Edward's Marriage. Discontent of Warwick. § 4. Warwick flies to France and leagues himself with Margaret. § 5. Warwick invades England, expels Edward, and restores Henry. § 6. Return of Edward. Battles of Barnet and Tewkesbury. Death of Henry VI. § 7. Peace of Pecquigni. Execution of Clarence. Death and Character of the King. § 8. Accession of EDWARD V. Violent Proceedings of Richard, Duke of Gloucester. § 9. Execution of Rivers, Hastings, and others. § 10. RICHARD III. Murder of Edward V. and the Duke of York. § 11. Conspiracy in favor of the Earl of Richmond. His Invasion, and Death of Buckingham. § 12. Richmond's second Invasion. Battle of Bosworth and Death of Richard. § 13. State of the Nation under the Plantagenets. Progress of the Constitution. § 14. Civil Rights of Individuals. Villenage. § 15. General Progress of the Nation.

§ 1. EDWARD IV., 1461–1483.—Young Edward, now in his 20th year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation as must conduct him to the full possession of that crown which he claimed from hereditary right, but which he had assumed from the tumultuary election alone of his own party. He was bold, active, enterprising; and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigor in the prosecution of the most bloody revenge upon his enemies. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly stream-

ed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different symbols of party; the partisans of the house of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction; those of York were denominated from the white; and the civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.

Queen Margaret had collected a force of 60,000 men in Yorkshire, while the Earl of Warwick, at the head of 40,000, hastened to check her progress. The hostile armies met at Towton, near Tadcaster (March 29, 1461), and a fierce and bloody battle ensued, which ended in a total victory on the side of the Yorkists. Edward issued orders to give no quarter; and above 36,000 men are computed to have fallen in the battle and pursuit, of whom 28,000 were Lancastrians. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being sensible that no place in England could now afford them shelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland. Edward did not pursue the fugitive king and queen into their retreat, but returned to London, where a Parliament was summoned for settling the government. They recognized the title of Edward, by hereditary descent through the family of Mortimer; and declared that he was king by right, from the death of his father, who had also the same lawful title; and that he was in possession of the crown from the day that he assumed the government, tendered to him by the acclamations of the people. They also passed an act of forfeiture and attainder against Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, and their infant son Prince Edward, besides many other persons of distinction.

§ 2. Queen Margaret sailed over twice to France to solicit assistance. Louis XI. of France, who had succeeded his father Charles, was prevailed upon to grant her a small body of troops, by a promise to surrender Calais if her family should by his means be restored to the throne of England. She invaded England in 1464; but was defeated in two battles by Lord Montacute, brother of the Earl of Warwick, first at Hedgley Moor (April 25), and afterward at Hexham (May 15). The Duke of Somerset, the Lords Roos and Hungerford, were taken in the pursuit, and immediately beheaded. The fate of the unfortunate royal family after this defeat was singular. Margaret, flying with her son into a forest where she endeavored to conceal herself, was beset, during the darkness of the night, by robbers, who, either ignorant or regardless of her quality, despoiled her of her rings and jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. The partition of this rich booty raised a quarrel among them; and, while their atten-

tion was thus engaged, she took the opportunity of making her escape with her son into the thickest of the forest, where she wandered for some time, overspent with hunger and fatigue, and sunk with terror and affliction. While in this wretched condition, she saw a robber approach with his naked sword; and, finding that she had no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the resolution of trusting entirely for protection to his faith and generosity. She advanced toward him; and presenting to him the young prince, called out to him, "Here, my friend, I commit to your care the safety of your king's son." The man, whose humanity and generous spirit had been obscured, not entirely lost, by his vicious course of life, was struck with the singularity of the event, was charmed with the confidence reposed in him; and vowed not only to abstain from all injury against the princess, but to devote himself entirely to her service. By his means she dwelt some time concealed in the forest, and was at last conducted to the sea-coast, whence she made her escape into Flanders. She passed thence into her father's court, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement. Her husband was not so fortunate or so dextrous in finding the means of escape. Some of his friends took him under their protection, and conveyed him into Lancashire, where he remained concealed during a twelvemonth; but he was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower.

§ 3. The cruel and unrelenting spirit of Edward, though inured to the ferocity of civil wars, was, at the same time extremely devoted to the softer passions; and his amorous temper led him into a snare which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne. Jaqueline of Luxembourg, Duchess of Bedford, had, after her husband's death, married Sir Richard Woodville, a private gentleman, to whom she bore several children; and among the rest Elizabeth, who was remarkable for the grace and beauty of her person, as well as for other amiable accomplishments. This young lady had married Sir John Grey, by whom she had children; and her husband being slain in the second battle of St. Albans, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate being for that reason confiscated, his widow retired to live with her father at his seat of Grafton in Northamptonshire. The king came accidentally to the house after a hunting party, and was so charmed with the beauty of the young widow that he offered to share his throne with her. The marriage was privately celebrated at Grafton, but was not avowed by Edward till the autumn of 1464. It gave great offense to the Earl of Warwick, who had intended to strengthen the throne of Edward by some splendid connection. The influence of the queen soon became apparent, who sought to

draw every grace and favor to her own friends and kindred, and to exclude those of Warwick, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy. The earl perceived with disgust that his credit was lost; and the nobility of England, envying the sudden growth of the Woodvilles, were inclined to take part with Warwick's discontent, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed, and who had reconciled them to his superiority by his gracious and popular manners. But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired to his party was George, Duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, by offering him in marriage his eldest daughter, and co-heir of his immense fortunes; a settlement which, as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl. Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry.

§ 4. There is no part of English history since the Conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic or consistent, as that of the wars between the two Roses: and, as they exhibit a mere struggle for power that involves not any great constitutional principle, we shall narrate them as briefly as possible. Warwick proceeded to the court of France, where he was well received by Louis. Margaret was sent for from Anjou; and, in spite of the injuries which Warwick had experienced at her hands, and the inveterate hatred which he bore to the house of Lancaster, an agreement was, from common interest, soon concluded between them. It was stipulated that Warwick should espouse the cause of Henry, and endeavor to re-establish him on the throne; that the administration of the government during the minority of young Edward, Henry's son, should be intrusted conjointly to the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence; that Prince Edward should marry the Lady Anne, second daughter of Warwick; and that the crown, in case of the failure of male issue in that prince, should descend to the Duke of Clarence, to the entire exclusion of King Edward and his posterity.

§ 5. Louis now prepared a fleet to escort the Earl of Warwick, and granted him a supply of men and money. That nobleman landed at Dartmouth (Sept. 13, 1470), with the Duke of Clarence, the Earls of Oxford and Pembroke, and a small body of troops; while the king was in the north, engaged in suppressing an insurrection which had been raised by Lord Fitz-Hugh, brother-in-law to Warwick. The scene which ensues resembles more the fiction of a poem or romance than an event in true history. The prodigious popularity of Warwick drew such multitudes to his standard, that in a very few days his army amounted to 60,000 men, and was continually increasing. Edward hastened southward to

encounter him; but, being deserted by the Marquis of Montacute, Warwick's brother, he hurried with a small retinue to Lynn in Norfolk, where he luckily found some ships ready, on board of which he instantly embarked. Thus the Earl of Warwick, in no longer space than eleven days after his first landing, was left entire master of the kingdom. That nobleman hastened to London, and, taking Henry from his confinement in the Tower, into which he himself had been the chief cause of throwing him, he proclaimed him king with great solemnity. A Parliament was summoned, in the name of that prince, to meet at Westminster; and the treaty with Margaret was here fully executed (1471). Henry was recognized as lawful king; but his incapacity for government being avowed, the regency was intrusted to Warwick and Clarence till the majority of Prince Edward; and in default of that prince's issue, Clarence was declared successor to the crown.

§ 6. The Duke of Burgundy had treated Edward with great coldness on his landing in Holland; but subsequently he secretly hired for him a small squadron of ships and about 2000 men. With these the king landed on the coast of Norfolk (1471); but being there repulsed, he sailed northward, and disembarked at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire. His partisans every moment flocked to his standard; he was admitted into the city of York; and he was soon in such a situation as gave him hopes of succeeding in all his claims and pretensions. Warwick assembled an army at Leicester, with the intention of meeting and of giving battle to the enemy; but Edward, by taking another road, passed him unmolested, and presented himself before the gates of London, where his admittance by the citizens made him master not only of that rich and powerful city, but also of the person of Henry, who, destined to be the perpetual sport of fortune, thus fell again into the hands of his enemies. The king soon found himself in a condition to face the Earl of Warwick, who had taken post at Barnet in the neighborhood of London (April 14). At this juncture his son-in-law the Duke of Clarence, in fulfillment of some secret engagements which he had formerly taken with his brother, and to support the interests of his own family, deserted to the king in the nighttime, and carried over a body of 12,000 men along with him. Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and, as he rejected with disdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement, in which his army was completely routed. Warwick, contrary to his more usual practice, engaged that day on foot, resolving to show his army that he meant to share every fortune with them; and he was slain in the thickest of the engagement; his brother underwent the same fate; and, as Edward had issued orders not to give

any quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit. The same day on which this decisive battle was fought, Queen Margaret and her son, now about 18 years of age, and a young prince of great hopes, landed at Weymouth, supported by a small body of French forces. She advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester, increasing her army on each day's march; but was at last overtaken by the rapid and expeditious Edward at Tewkesbury, on the banks of the Severn. The Lancastrians were here totally defeated (May 4). Queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince, after an insulting manner, how he dared to invade his dominions? The young prince, more mindful of his high birth than of his present fortune, replied, that he came thither to claim his just inheritance. The ungenerous Edward, insensible to pity, struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, Lord Hastings, and Sir Thomas Grey, taking the blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and there dispatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower; King Henry expired in that confinement a few days after the battle of Tewkesbury; but whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain. It is pretended, and was generally believed, that the Duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hands; but the universal odium which that prince has incurred inclined perhaps the nation to aggravate his crimes without any sufficient authority.

§ 7. All the hopes of the house of Lancaster seemed now to be utterly extinguished. Every legitimate prince of that family was dead; and peace being fully restored to the nation, a Parliament was summoned, which ratified, as usual, all the acts of the victor, and recognized his legal authority. But all the glories of Edward's reign terminated with the civil wars; where his laurels too were extremely sullied with blood, violence, and cruelty. His spirit seems afterward to have sunk in indolence and pleasure; or his measures were frustrated by imprudence and want of foresight. Relying on the assistance of the Duke of Burgundy, he invaded France in 1475 with a considerable army; but, being disappointed in that expectation, he readily listened to the advances of the politic Louis, who was willing to conclude a truce on terms more advantageous than honorable. He stipulated to pay Edward immediately 75,000 crowns, on condition that he should withdraw his army from France, and promised to pay him 50,000 crowns a year during their joint lives; it was added that the dauphin, when of age, should marry Edward's eldest daughter. The two monarchs ratified this treaty, which did little honor to

either, in a personal interview at Pecquigni, near Amiens. The most honorable part of it was the stipulation for the liberty of Queen Margaret. Louis paid 50,000 crowns for her ransom; and that princess, who had been so active on the stage of the world, and who had experienced such a variety of fortune, passed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy, till the year 1482, when she died.

The Duke of Clarence, by all his services in deserting Warwick, had never been able to regain the king's friendship, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had also had the misfortune to give displeasure to the queen herself, as well as to his brother, Richard, Duke of Gloucester, a prince of the deepest policy, of the most unrelenting ambition, and the least scrupulous in the means which he employed for the attainment of his ends. A combination between these potent adversaries being secretly formed against Clarence, it was determined to begin by attacking his friends, of whom two or three were tried and executed on frivolous charges. Clarence, instead of securing his own life against the present danger by silence and reserve, was open and loud in justifying the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming against the iniquity of their prosecutors. The king, highly offended with his freedom, or using that pretense against him, committed him to the Tower, summoned a Parliament, and tried him for his life before the House of Peers, by whom he was pronounced guilty. The manner of his death is unknown; according to an absurd rumor, he was drowned in a butt of Malmsey (1478).

Louis, instead of carrying out the treaty of Pecquigni, found his advantage in contracting the dauphin to the Princess Margaret, daughter of Maximilian; and the king, notwithstanding his indolence, prepared to revenge the indignity. But while he was making preparations for that enterprise, he was seized with a distemper, of which he expired (April 9, 1483) in the forty-first year of his age, and twenty-second of his reign: a prince more splendid and showy than either prudent or virtuous; brave, though cruel; addicted to pleasure, though capable of activity in great emergencies; and less fitted to prevent ills by wise precautions, than to remedy them after they had taken place by his vigor and enterprise.

Besides five daughters, this king left two sons; Edward, Prince of Wales, his successor, then in his twelfth year, and Richard, Duke of York, in his ninth.

§ 8. Edward V., 1483.—The young king, at the time of his father's death, resided in the castle of Ludlow, on the borders of Wales, under the care of his uncle, the Earl of Rivers, the most

accomplished nobleman in England.* The queen, anxious to preserve that ascendant over her son which she had long maintained over her husband, wrote to the Earl of Rivers that he should levy a body of forces, in order to escort the king to London, to protect him during his coronation, and to keep him from falling into the hands of their enemies. The Duke of Gloucester, meanwhile, whom the late king, on his death-bed, had nominated as regent, set out from York, attended by a numerous train of the northern gentry. Having fallen in with the king's escort, he caused Lord Rivers and Sir Richard Grey, one of the queen's sons, together with Sir Thomas Vaughan, to be arrested at Stony Stratford; and the prisoners were instantly conducted to Pomfret. Gloucester approached the young prince with the greatest demonstrations of respect; and endeavored to satisfy him with regard to the violence committed on his uncle and brother; but Edward, much attached to these near relations, by whom he had been tenderly educated, was not such a master of dissimulation as to conceal his displeasure.

The people, however, were extremely rejoiced at this revolution; and the duke was received in London with the loudest acclamations; but the queen no sooner received intelligence of her brother's imprisonment than she foresaw that Gloucester's violence would not stop there, and that her own ruin, if not that of all her children, was finally determined. She therefore fled into the sanctuary of Westminster, attended by the Marquis of Dorset; and she carried thither the five princesses, together with the Duke of York. But, being at length persuaded by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to produce her son, she was struck with a kind of presage of his future fate: she tenderly embraced him; she bedewed him with her tears; and bidding him an eternal adieu, delivered him, with many expressions of regret and reluctance, into their custody.

§ 9. Gloucester, who had hitherto concealed his fierce and savage nature with the most profound dissimulation, was chosen protector by the council; and, having so far succeeded in his views, no longer hesitated in removing the obstructions which lay between him and the throne. The death of Earl Rivers, and of the other prisoners detained in Pomfret, was first determined; and he easily obtained the consent of the Duke of Buckingham, as well as of Lord Hastings, the two chief leaders of the party opposed to the queen, to this violent and sanguinary measure. Orders were accordingly issued to Sir Richard Ratcliffe, a proper instrument in the hands of this tyrant, to cut off the heads of the prisoners.

* This nobleman first introduced the noble art of printing into England. Caxton was recommended by him to the patronage of Edward IV.

The protector then assailed the fidelity of Buckingham by all the arguments capable of swaying a vicious mind, which knew no motive of action but interest and ambition; and he easily obtained from him a promise of supporting him in all his enterprises. He then sounded at a distance the sentiments of Hastings by means of Catesby, a lawyer, who lived in great intimacy with that nobleman; but found him impregnable in his allegiance and fidelity to the children of Edward. He saw, therefore, that there were no longer any measures to be kept with him; and he determined to ruin utterly the man whom he despaired of engaging to concur in his usurpation. He accordingly summoned a council in the Tower; whither that nobleman, suspecting no design against him, repaired without hesitation. The Duke of Gloucester appeared in the easiest and most jovial humor imaginable. After some familiar conversation he left the council, as if called away by other business; but soon after returning with an angry and inflamed countenance, he asked them what punishment those deserved that had plotted against *his* life, who was so nearly related to the king, and was intrusted with the administration of government? Hastings replied, that they merited the punishment of traitors. "These traitors," cried the protector, "are the sorceress, my brother's wife, and Jane Shore, his mistress, with others, their associates; see to what a condition they have reduced me by their incantations and witchcraft;" upon which he laid bare his arm, all shriveled and decayed. But the counselors, who knew that this infirmity had attended him from his birth, looked on each other with amazement; and above all, Lord Hastings, who, as he had since Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally anxious concerning the issue of these extraordinary proceedings. "Certainly, my lord," said he, "if they be guilty of these crimes, they deserve the severest punishment." "And do you reply to me," exclaimed the protector, "with your *ifs* and your *ands*? You are the chief abettor of that witch Shore; you are yourself a traitor; and I swear by St. Paul that I will not dine before your head be brought to me." He struck the table with his hand; armed men rushed in at the signal. Hastings was seized, was hurried away, and instantly beheaded on a timber log which lay in the court of the Tower. Lord Stanley, the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of Ely, and other counselors, were committed prisoners in different chambers; and the protector, in order to carry on the farce of his accusations, ordered the goods of Jane Shore to be seized; and he summoned her to answer before the council for sorcery and witchcraft. But as no proofs which could be received, even in that ignorant age, were produced against her, he directed her to be tried in the spiritual

court, for her adulteries and lewdness; and she did penance in a white sheet in St. Paul's, before the whole people.

§ 10. These acts of violence, exercised against all the nearest connections of the late king, prognosticated the severest fate to his defenseless children; and after the murder of Hastings the protector no longer made a secret of his intentions to usurp the crown. Dr. Shaw, in a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, attempted to persuade the people that Edward IV. had been previously married to Lady Butler, and that therefore Edward V. and his other children by Elizabeth Woodville were illegitimate. Various other artifices were in vain employed to entrap the people to salute him king. At length Buckingham and the lord mayor proceeded with a rabble to his residence at Baynard's Castle; he was told that the nation were resolved to have him for their sovereign; and, after some well-acted hesitation, he accepted the crown (June 26). This ridiculous farce was soon after followed by a scene truly tragical: the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, Constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but this gentleman, who had sentiments of honor, refused to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then sent for Sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to Tyrrel the keys and government of the Tower for one night. Tyrrel, choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the nighttime to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself staid without. They found the young princes in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground, under a heap of stones.*

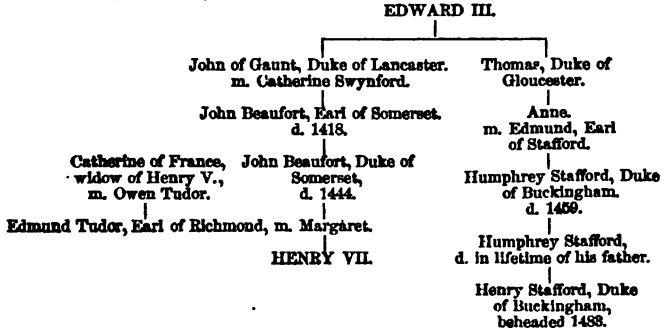
§ 11. RICHARD III., 1483–1485.—The first acts of Richard's administration were to bestow rewards on those who had assisted him in usurping the crown, and to gain, by favors, those who he thought were best able to support his future government; and he loaded the Duke of Buckingham especially, who was allied to the royal family, with grants and honors. But it was impossible that friendship could long remain inviolate between two men of such corrupt minds as Richard and the Duke of Buckingham. The cause of the latter's discontent is not easily ascertained; but it is

* This story has been questioned by Walpole in his *Historic Doubts*, and subsequently by other writers; but, on the whole, the balance of probability greatly preponderates in its favor. In 1674, during some repairs, the bones of two youths were discovered under a staircase in the White Tower, and were interred in Westminster Abbey by order of Charles II. as those of Edward V. and his brother.

certain that the duke, soon after Richard's accession, began to form a conspiracy against the government, and attempted to overthrow that usurpation which he himself had so zealously contributed to establish. Morton, Bishop of Ely, a zealous Lancastrian, whom the king had imprisoned, and had afterward committed to the custody of Buckingham, encouraged these sentiments; and by his exhortations the duke cast his eye toward the young Earl of Richmond, as the only person who could free the nation from the tyranny of the present usurper. He was descended on his mother's side from John of Gaunt by Catherine Swynford, a branch legitimated by Parliament, but excluded from the succession. On his father's side he was grandson of Sir Owen Tudor and Catherine of France, relict of Henry V.*

The universal detestation of Richard's conduct turned the attention of the nation toward Henry; and as all the descendants of the house of York were either women or minors, he seemed to be the only person from whom the nation could expect the expulsion of the odious and bloody tyrant. It was therefore suggested by Morton, and readily assented to by the duke, that the only means of overturning the present usurpation was to unite the opposite factions, by contracting a marriage between the Earl of Richmond and the Princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of King Edward, and thereby blending together the opposite pretensions of their families, which had so long been the source of public disorders and convulsions. Margaret, Richmond's mother, assented to the plan without hesitation; while on the part of the queen dowager the desire of revenge for the murder of her brother and of her three sons, apprehensions for her surviving family, and indignation against her confinement, easily overcame all her prejudices against the house of Lancaster, and procured her approbation of a marriage to which the age and birth, as well as the pres-

* Genealogy of Henry of Richmond and of the Duke of Buckingham:



ent situation of the parties, seemed so naturally to invite them. She secretly borrowed a sum of money in the city, sent it over to the Earl of Richmond, who was at present detained in Brittany in a kind of honorable custody, required his oath to celebrate the marriage as soon as he should arrive in England, advised him to levy as many foreign forces as possible, and promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partisans of her family. The plan was secretly communicated to the principal persons of both parties in all the counties of England; and a wonderful alacrity appeared in every order of men to forward its success and completion. The Duke of Buckingham took arms in Wales, and gave the signal to his accomplices for a general insurrection in all parts of England. But heavy rains having rendered the Severn, with the other rivers in that neighborhood, impassable, the Welshmen, partly moved by superstition at this extraordinary event, partly distressed by famine in their camp, fell off from him; and Buckingham, finding himself deserted by his followers, put on a disguise, and took shelter in the house of Banister, an old servant of his family. But being detected in his retreat, he was brought to the king at Salisbury; and was instantly executed, according to the summary method practiced in that age (Nov. 3, 1483). The other conspirators immediately dispersed themselves. The Earl of Richmond, in concert with his friends, had set sail from St. Malo's, carrying on board a body of 5000 men levied in foreign parts; but his fleet being at first driven back by a storm, he appeared not on the coast of England till after the dispersion of all his friends; and he found himself obliged to return to the court of Brittany.

The king, every where triumphant, ventured at last to summon a Parliament, which had no choice left but to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown; and Richard, in order to reconcile the nation to his government, passed some popular laws, particularly one against the late practice of extorting money on pretense of benevolence. Richard's consort, Anne, the second daughter of the Earl of Warwick, and widow of Edward Prince of Wales, having borne him but one son, who died about this time, he considered her as an invincible obstacle to the settlement of his fortune, and he was believed to have carried her off by poison. He now proposed, by means of a papal dispensation, to espouse himself the Princess Elizabeth, and to unite, in his own family, their contending titles.

§ 12. Being exhorted by his partisans to prevent this marriage by a new invasion, and having received assistance from the court of France, Richmond set sail from Harfleur in Normandy, with a small army of about 2000 men; and after a navigation of six

days he arrived at Milford Haven, in Wales, where he landed without opposition (August 7, 1485). The earl, advancing toward Shrewsbury, received every day some re-enforcement from his partisans.

The two rivals at last approached each other at Bosworth near Leicester; Henry at the head of 6000 men, Richard with an army of above double the number. Soon after the battle began, Lord Stanley, who, without declaring himself, had raised an army of 7000 men, and had so posted himself as to be able to join either party, appeared in the field, and declared for the Earl of Richmond. The intrepid tyrant, sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eyes around the field, and, descrying his rival at no great distance, he drove against him with fury, in hopes that either Henry's death, or his own, would decide the victory between them. He killed with his own hands Sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl; he dismounted Sir John Cheyney; he was now within reach of Richmond himself, who declined not the combat; when Sir William Stanley, breaking in with his troops, surrounded Richard, who, fighting bravely to the last moment, was overwhelmed by numbers, and perished by a fate too mild and honorable for his multiplied and detestable enormities (Aug. 22, 1485). The body of Richard was thrown carelessly across a horse; was carried to Leicester amid the shouts of the insulting spectators; and was interred in the Grey Friars' Church of that place.

The historians who lived in the subsequent reign have probably exaggerated the vices of the monarch whom their master overthrew; and some modern writers have attempted to palliate the crimes by which he obtained possession of the crown. It is certain that he possessed energy, courage, and capacity; but these qualities would never have made compensation to the people for the precedent of his usurpation, and for the contagious example of vice and murder exalted upon a throne. His personal appearance has even been a subject of warm controversy; for while some writers represent him as of a small stature, hump-backed, and with a harsh, disagreeable countenance, others maintain that he had a pleasing expression, and that his only defect was in having one shoulder a little higher than the other.

§ 13. The reign of the house of Plantagenet expired with Richard III. on Bosworth Field. The change of a dynasty forms of itself no historical epoch; but in a limited or constitutional monarchy this change is generally accompanied by some revolution in the state, which gives it the character of a true historical era. The reigns of Henry VII., and his successors of the house of Tudor, bear a distinct character from those of the Plantagenet

princes. The exhaustion of the kingdom through the protracted wars of the roses, and the almost entire annihilation of the greater English nobility, enabled the Tudors to rule with a despotism unknown to their predecessors.

The period of the Plantagenets forms, on the whole, one of the most important and interesting epochs of English history. In it were established all those institutions by which our liberties are secured. The leading political feature which it presents is the gradual development of the English Constitution out of feudalism. The first ostensible act which marks our regenerated nationality is the Great Charter wrung from the pusillanimous and tyrannical John. "From this era," says Mr. Hallam,* "a new soul was infused into the people of England. Her liberties, at the best long in abeyance, became a tangible possession; and those indefinite aspirations for the laws of Edward the Confessor were changed into a steady regard for the Great Charter." In the subsequent struggles for our liberties Magna Charta was repeatedly appealed to as their foundation, and repeatedly confirmed by the acts of different sovereigns. The weak and long reign of John's successor, Henry III., served to foster the infancy of English freedom. It appears from the writings of Bracton, who filled the office of a judge toward the conclusion of that reign, that the royal prerogative was even in those early days defined and limited by law. Not only was the king considered by that writer as subject to the law, but also to his court of earls and barons; who, indeed, before the existence of Parliament, were the law-makers. The establishment of the last-named great council of the nation forms, in a constitutional point of view, the chief glory of the Plantagenet era; the main facts of its origin and progress are indicated at the close of this book.

§ 14. From the Constitution we naturally turn our view to those who were its subjects. As early at least as the reign of Henry III., the legal equality of all freemen below the rank of the peerage appears to have been completely established. The civil rights of individuals were protected by that venerable body of ancient customs, which, under the name of the common law, still obtains in our courts of justice. Its origin is lost in the obscurity of remote antiquity. A very small portion of it may be traced to the Saxon times; but the greater part must have sprung up since the Conquest, since we find the pecuniary penalties which marked the Saxon legislation exchanged in criminal cases for capital punishment. The law was administered under the Plantagenets by three courts, which still exist—the King's Bench, the Common Pleas, and the Exchequer—the origin of which has been narrated in the history of the Anglo-Norman Constitution.

* Middle Ages, ii., p. 329.

It is difficult to trace the steps by which villenage was gradually mitigated under the Plantagenets; but on the whole it is certain that at the termination of that dynasty it had almost entirely disappeared. Tenants in villenage were gradually transformed into copyholders. Villeins bound to personal service escaped to distant parts of the country, where they could not easily be traced and reclaimed, and entered into free and voluntary service under a new master. Others hid themselves in towns, where a residence of a twelvemonth made them free by law. Something must also be attributed to manumissions. The influence of the Church was exerted in behalf of this degraded class: and the repentant lord was exhorted by his spiritual adviser to give freedom to his fellow Christians. As public opinion became more enlightened and humane, the courts of law leaned to the side of the oppressed peasantry in all suits in which their rights were concerned. In the reign of Edward III. regular statutes were framed for the protection of artisans and husbandmen. The popular insurrection in the time of Richard II. betrays an advance in the condition of the lower classes; and though it shows a great amount of villenage, discovers at the same time a vast extension of freedom.

§ 15. With regard to the general progress of the nation, we perceive under the sway of the Plantagenets a notable increase in its wealth and intelligence as well as in its freedom. The woolen manufactures were established in various parts of England, and began to supply foreign nations. In the reign of Edward III. the English were remarkable for their excellence in the arts of peace as well as of war. A rich literature had been produced, adorned with the names of Chaucer and Gower, of Wickliffe and Mandeville; while in matters of religion, the principles of the Reformation were already developed and promulgated. Assisted by the invention of printing, which was introduced into England in the reign of Edward IV., this progress might have gone on to the most happy results, had not certain events occurred to retard it. Henry IV., in order to support his usurpation of the crown, found it expedient to court the established Church, and to crush the Reformation of Wickliffe, which had also compromised itself by the excesses of some of its followers. The wars of Henry V. diverted the attention of the English from domestic to foreign affairs; while the civil disturbances which ensued under Henry IV., being concerned merely about a dynasty, and involving not, like those under the Stuarts, any great public principle, served only to damp the genius and energies of the nation, and disposed it to bend under the tyranny of its subsequent monarchs.

The population at the end of the reign of the Plantagenets probably amounted to about three millions.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1461. Edward IV. assumes the crown. Battle of Towton.
1466. Henry VI. imprisoned in the Tower.
1470. Warwick invades England and releases Henry VI. Edward takes refuge in Flanders.
1471. Edward returns. Warwick defeated and killed at Barnet. Battle of Tewkesbury and capture of Queen Margaret. Death of Henry VI. in the Tower.
1478. The Duke of Clarence put to death.
1483. Death of Edward IV. and accession of Edward V. The young king and his brother Richard are confined and then murdered in the Tower, and their uncle, the Protector Richard III., assumes the crown.
1485. The Earl of Richmond lands, defeats, and slays Richard at Bosworth, and assumes the crown with the title of Henry VII.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. ORIGIN AND PROGRESS OF PARLIAMENT.

This subject has been briefly adverted to in the preceding narrative, but its importance demands a more detailed account. The word *Parliament* (*parlement* or *colloquium* as some of our historians translate it) is derived from the French, and signifies an assembly that meets and confers together. This name is first applied by a contemporary chronicler to a Great Council of the nation summoned in 1246. The constituent parts of a Parliament are now, and were under the later Plantagenet kings, the sovereign and the three estates of the realm, the lords spiritual, the lords temporal (who sit together with their sovereign in one house), and the commons, who sit by themselves in another. The Parliament, as so constituted, is an outgrowth of the Great Council of the realm, held under the Anglo-Norman kings, the constitution of which has been already explained [p. 130]. It will be convenient to trace separately the history of each house.

I. THE HOUSE OF LORDS.—The spiritual peerage consisted originally of archbishops, bishops, and abbots; and the lay peerage only of barons and earls, but every earl was also a baron. For more than two centuries after the Norman conquest the only baronies known were baronies *by tenure*, being incident to the tenure of land held immediately under the crown. Hence the right of peerage was originally territorial, being annexed to certain lands, and, when they were alienated, passing with them as an appendant. Thus in 11 Hen. VI. the possession of the Castle of Arundel was adjudged to confer an earldom "by tenure" on its possessor.

Afterward, when the alienations of land became frequent, and the number of those who held of the king in capite increased, it became the practice, either in the reign of John or Henry III., for the king to summon to the Great Council, *by Writ*, all such persons as he thought fit so to summon. In this way the dignity of the peerage became personal instead of territorial. Proof of a tenure by barony became no longer necessary, and the record of the writ of summons came to be sufficient evidence to constitute a peer.

The third mode of creating peers is by *Letters Patent* from the crown, in which the descent of the dignity is regulated, being usually confined to heirs male. The first peer created by patent was in the reign of Richard II. It is still the practice to call up the eldest son of a peer to the House of Lords by writ of summons in the name of his father's barony; but with this exception, peers are now always created by letters patent.

The first instance in which earls and barons are called peers is in 14 Edw. II. (1321), in the award of exile against the Despensers.

The degrees of nobility are dukes, marquesses, earls, viscounts, and barons. 1. The title of *Duke* or *dux* was used among the Anglo-Saxons as a title of dignity; but as William the Conqueror and his successors were dukes of Normandy, they would not honor any subject with the title till the reign of Edward III., who, claiming to be King of France, created his eldest son Edward, the Black Prince, Duke of Cornwall. Several of the royal family subsequently received the title of duke. 2. The title of *Marquess* or *marchio* was originally applied to a Lord Marcher, or lord of the frontier districts, called the marches, from the Teutonic word *marche*, a limit; but it was first created a parliamentary dignity by Richard II., who made Robert de Vere Marquess of Dublin. 3. An *Earl* corresponded to the Saxon Ealdorman or Alderman, who originally had the administration of a county. Under the administration of the Norman kings the title became merely personal, though the earl continued to receive a third penny of the emoluments arising from the pleas in the county courts. In Latin the earl was called *Comes*, and after the Norman conquest *Count*, whence the name *county* is still applied to the shires; but the title of count never superseded the more ancient designation of earl, and soon fell into disuse. The title of earl continued to be the highest hereditary dignity till the reign of Edward III. 4. The dignity of *Viscount* or *Vice-Comes* was borrowed from France, and was first conferred by Henry VI., who had been crowned King of France. 5. The title of *Baron* has been already explained. [See p. 130.]

II. THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.—The members of the House of Commons consist of the knights of the shires, and the burgesses, or

representatives of the cities and boroughs. The origin of the knights of the shires must be traced to the clause in the charter of John, by which the sheriff was bound to summon to the Great Council all the inferior tenants in chief. How long these inferior tenants continued to sit personally in Parliament can not be determined; but, as their attendance was vexatious to themselves and disagreeable to the king, it became the practice for them to send representatives at an early period, *perhaps* in the reign of John, certainly in the reign of Henry III. But the principle of representation was finally established in the celebrated Parliament summoned by Simon de Montfort in the 49th of Henry III. (1265), when writs were issued to all the sheriffs, commanding them to return two knights from each shire, and two citizens or burgesses for every city and borough contained in each shire. This is the true epoch of the House of Commons. A question arises into which our limits prevent us from entering, whether the knights were still elected by the tenants in chief alone, or by all the freeholders in the county court; but the latter is more probable. That the representation of cities and boroughs can not be traced earlier than the Parliament of Simon de Montfort is now generally admitted. From this time till the 23d of Edward I. (1295) the representatives of the cities and boroughs were occasionally summoned; but they were not permanently ingrafted upon Parliament till the latter date, when the expenses of Edward, arising from his foreign wars, led him to have recourse to this means for obtaining supplies of money. [See p. 161.] The success of the experiment insured its repetition; and the king found that he could more readily obtain larger sums of money by the subsidies of the citizens and burgesses than he had previously obtained by tallages upon their towns. The necessity of summoning the citizens and burgesses became still greater after the Confirmatio Chartarum in 1297, when the king renounced the right of levying tallages upon the towns. [See p. 154.] It must be recollected that the only object of summoning the citizens and burgesses was to obtain money, and that it was not intended to give them the power of consenting to the laws. But gradually the power of the purse gave them a share in the legislation, and the statement of Mr. Hallam can not be denied, that the liberties of England were to a great extent purchased by the money of our forefathers.

It is doubtful at what time Parliament was divided into two houses. At first they seem to have sat in the same chamber; but from the earliest times they voted separately, and imposed separate taxes, each upon its own order. The knights of the shires voted at first with the earls and barons; but in the reign of Edward II. the houses were probably divided as we now find them, and in the first year of Edward III. this was certainly the case.

The Commons soon obtained the right to petition for redress of grievances; and as early as the reign of Edward II. it was enacted that the king should hold a Parliament at least once a year. Under this weak monarch the Commons were not slow in exercising their rights; and the rolls of Parliament show that the Commons granted supplies on condition that the king should redress the grievances of which they complained. Gradually the assent of the Commons came to be considered necessary for the enactment of laws; and in the long and prosperous reign of Edward III. the three essential principles of our government, as Mr. Hallam calls them, were established upon a firm footing: the illegality of raising money without consent of Parliament; the neccessity that the two houses should concur for any alterations in the law; and, lastly, the right of the Commons to inquire into public abuses, and to impeach public counselors. With regard to the second constitutional principle mentioned above, we find that in the reign of Edward III. laws were declared to be made by the king at the request of the Commons, and by the assent of the Lords. The practice was that the petitions of the Commons, with the respective answers made to them in the king's name, were drawn up after the end of the session in the form of laws, and entered upon the statute-roll. But still it must be observed that the statutes do not always express the true sense of the Commons, as their petitions were frequently modified and otherwise altered by the king's answers. The first important instance in which the Commons exercised the third constitutional principle alluded to was toward the end of the reign of Edward III., when, supported by the Black Prince, they impeached Lord Latimer, and the other ministers of the king, the instruments of the Duke of Lancaster and Alice Perrers, who had acquired an ascendency over Edward.

Under the reign of Richard II. the power of the House of Commons made still farther progress, which was continued under the three kings of the house of Lancaster, who owed their throne to a parliamentary title. Among the rights established under these kings the two following were the most important: 1. The introduction, in the reign of Henry VI., of complete statutes under the name of bills, instead of the old petitions, to which the king gave his consent, and which he was not at liberty to alter, as he had done in the case of petitions. We have already seen that all statutes at first orginated by petitions of the House of Commons; but it now became the practice for either house to originate a bill, except in the case of money bills, which continued to be originated exclusively by the Commons. 2. That the king ought not to take notice of matters pending in Parliament, and that the Commons should enjoy liberty of speech.

The persons who had the right of voting for knights of the shire were declared by 8 Hen. VI., c. 7 to be all freeholders of lands and tenements of the annual value of 40s., equivalent at least to £20 of our value; which was a limitation of the number of voters, since it would appear from 7 Hen. IV. c. 15 that all persons whatever, present at the

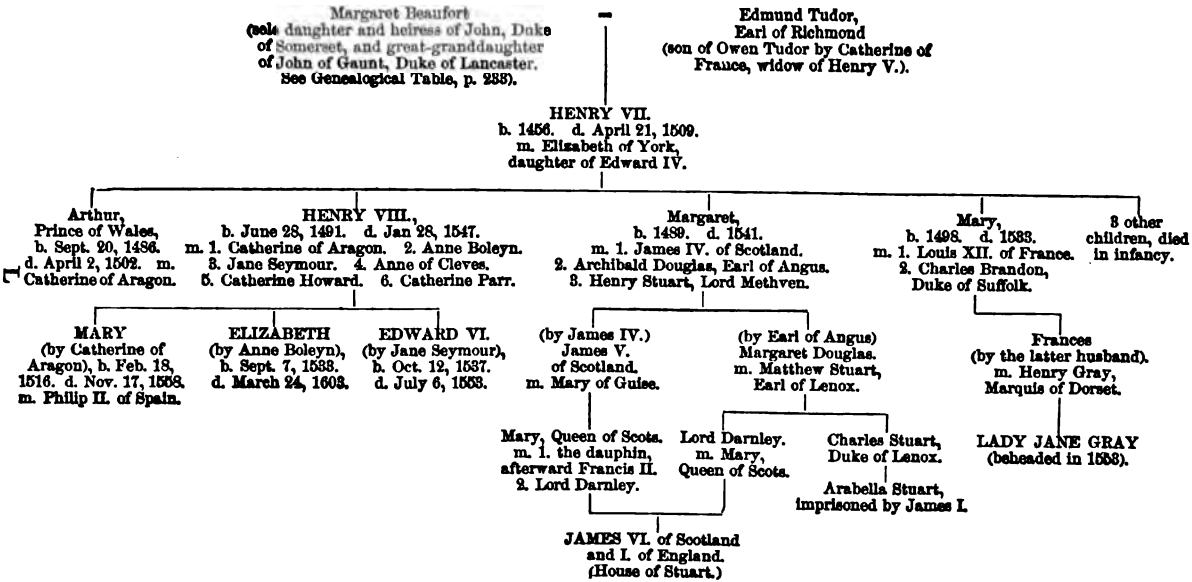
county court, had previously the right of voting for the knights of their shires. For farther particulars the reader may consult as to the House of Lords Sir Harris Nicolas, *The Historic Peerage of England*, the Introduction in the edit. of 1857; as to the House of Commons, Hallam's *Middle Ages*, vol. iii., c. 8; and as to both houses, *The Student's Blackstone*, by Kerr, p. 97, *seq.*, 429, *seq.*

B. AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE PLANTAGENETS FROM JOHN TO RICHARD III.

A reference to note C, appended to chap. vii. [p. 182], will show what histories already mentioned extend into this period. In addition may be named the *Annals of Dunstaple* to 1297; Walter of Hemingford, *Lives of the Edwards;* John Trokelow, *Annales Edwardi II.*, with a continuation by Henry Blaneford; Robert of Avesbury, *Historia de Mirabilibus Gestis Edwardi III.;* the Monk of Evesham, *Hist. Vitæ et Regni Ricardi II.;* Otterbourne's *Chronicle*, from Brute to 1420; Whethamstede's *Chronicle*, 1441 to 1460; Elmham, *Vita et Gesta Henrici V.;* Titus Livius, *idem.;* William of Worcester, *Annales Rerum Anglicarum*, 1324 to 1491; Rous, *Historia Regum Angliæ* (to 1485). The preceding works are published in Hearne's collection. The following are in the collection of Hall: Nicholas Trivet, *Annales sex regum Angliæ*, 1135 to 1318; Adam Murimuth, *Chronicle* (with continuation), 1303 to 1380. The *Chronicle of Lanercost*, published by the Bannatyne Club, extends from 1201 to 1346. The following are in Camden's *Anglica*, etc.: Thos. De la More, *De Vita et Morte Edwardi II.;* Walsingham, *Historia brevis Angliæ*, 1272 to 1422. The same author's *Hypodigma Neustriæ*, containing an account of the affairs of Normandy to Henry V., is also in Camden. Froissart's *Chroniques* is an interesting but not very trustworthy work for the times of Edward III. and Richard II. The *Chroniques* of Monstrelet (1400 to 1467) and the *Mémoires* de Comines (1461 to 1498) may also be consulted for foreign affairs during the later Plantagenets.

The early printed chronicles which treat of this period, with the exception of Fabyan's (to 1509) and Hardyng's (to 1538), are not contemporary. The principal are those of Hall, Grafton, Holinshed, and Stowe. Sir Thos. More's *History of Richard III.* is the best authority for that period: he was old enough to have heard the facts from contemporaries, and especially from Bishop Morton, in whose service he had lived. Indeed, Sir Henry Ellis is of opinion (*Pref. to Hardyng*) that this work was in reality composed by Morton.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.





Henry VII. and Elizabeth of York. From their monument in Westminster Abbey.

BOOK IV.

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR.

A.D. 1485–1603.

CHAPTER XIII.

HENRY VII. A.D. 1485–1509.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession of HENRY VII. His Coronation, Marriage, and Settlement of the Government. § 3. Discontents. Invasion of Lambert Simnel, and Battle of Stoke. Coronation of the Queen. § 4. Foreign Affairs. Peace of Estaples. § 5. Perkin Warbeck. Execution of Lord Stanley. § 6. Farther Attempts of Perkin. Cornish Insurrection, and Battle of Blackheath. § 7. Perkin again invades England, is captured, and executed. Execution of Warwick. § 8. Marriage and Death of Prince Arthur. Marriage of the Princess Margaret. Oppression of Empson and Dudley. § 9. Matrimonial Intrigues of Henry. Death and Character of the King. § 10. Miscellaneous Occurrences.

§ 1. THE accession of the Tudors to the English throne is nearly coincident with the proper era of modern history. The final important change in the European populations had been effected by the settlement of the Turks at Constantinople in 1453. The improvement in navigation was soon to lay open a new world, as well as a new route to that ancient continent of Asia, whose almost fabulous riches had attracted the wonder and cupidity of Europeans since the days of Alexander the Great. Hence was

to arise a new system of relations among the states of Europe. The commerce of the East, previously monopolized by the Venetians and Genoese, began to be diverted to the Western nations; its richest products to be rivaled by those of another hemisphere. The various European states, having consolidated their domestic institutions, were beginning to direct their attention to the affairs of their neighbors. The invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. of France, in the reign of Henry VII., is justly regarded as the commencement of the political system of Europe, or of that series of wars and negotiations among its different kingdoms which has continued to the present day. The house of Tudor, lifted to the throne by the civil wars, and strengthened by the very desolation which they had occasioned, was enabled to play an effective part upon the Continent, and to lay the foundation of that European influence which England still commands.

Besides the advantages derived from commerce, the intercourse of nations is beneficially felt in their mutual influence upon opinion and the progress of society. Europe, first cemented into a whole by the conquest of the Romans, derived a still firmer bond of union from its common Christianity. In the darkness of the middle ages that sacred tie had been abused for the purposes of secular avarice and ambition; and Rome, by the power of superstition, ruled once more over the prostrate nations. The seeds of a reformation, choked in England by political events, were carried to the Continent, whence this country received the fruits which had found their first nurture in her own bosom. The distinguishing historical feature of the reign of the Tudors is the progress and final establishment of the Reformation. That great revolution was accompanied with an astonishing progress in manners, literature, and the arts; but above all it encouraged that spirit of civil freedom, by which, under the house of Stuart, the last seal was affixed to our constitutional liberties.

§ 2. The victory which the Earl of Richmond gained at Bosworth was entirely decisive; Sir William Stanley placed upon his head the crown which Richard wore in battle; and the acclamations of "Long live Henry the Seventh!" by a natural and unpremeditated movement, resounded from all quarters of the field (Aug. 22, 1485). Henry was now in his 30th year. He had, as we have already seen, no real title to the crown; but he determined to put himself in immediate possession of regal authority, and to show all opponents that nothing but force of arms, and a successful war, should be able to expel him. He brought to the throne all the bitter feelings of the Lancastrians. To exalt the Lancastrian party, to depress the adherents of the house of York, were the favorite objects of his pursuit; and through the whole

course of his reign he never forgot these early prepossessions. His first command after the battle of Bosworth was to secure the person of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence, who had been put to death by his brother Edward IV. Henry immediately afterward set out for the capital. His journey bore the appearance of an established monarch making a peaceable progress through his dominions, rather than of a prince who had opened his way to the throne by force of arms. The promise he had made of marrying Elizabeth, the daughter of Edward IV., seemed to insure a union of the contending titles of the two families; but, though bound by honor as well as by interest to complete this alliance, he was resolved to postpone it till the ceremony of his own coronation should be finished, and till his title should be recognized by Parliament. Still anxious to support his personal and hereditary right to the throne, he dreaded lest a preceding marriage with the princess should imply a participation of sovereignty in her, and raise doubts of his own title by the house of Lancaster. On the 30th of October Henry was crowned at Westminster by Cardinal Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. The Parliament, which assembled soon after, seemed entirely devoted to him. It was enacted "That the inheritance of the crown should rest, remain, and abide in the king;" but whether as rightful heir, or only as present possessor, was not determined. In like manner, Henry was contented that the succession should be secured to the heirs of his body; but he pretended not, in case of their failure, to exclude the house of York, or to give the preference to that of Lancaster. In the following year he applied to papal authority for a confirmation of his title. The Parliament, at his instigation, passed an act of attainder against the late king himself and many of the nobility. Henry bestowed favors and honors on some particular persons who were attached to him; but the ministers whom he most trusted and favored were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Fox, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, who had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses, were called to the privy council; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Fox was created Bishop of Exeter. The former, soon after, upon the death of Bourchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury. At the beginning of the following year the king's marriage was celebrated at London (Jan. 18, 1486), and that with greater appearance of universal joy than either his first entry or his coronation. Henry remarked, with much displeasure, this general favor borne to the house of York. The suspicions which arose from it not only disturbed his tranquillity during his whole reign, but bred disgust toward his consort herself, and poisoned all his domestic enjoyments.

§ 3. In the course of this year an abortive attempt at insurrection was made by Lord Lovel and some other noblemen; but though Henry had been able to defeat this hasty rebellion, raised by the relics of Richard's partisans, his government was become in general unpopular, the effects of which soon appeared by incidents of an extraordinary nature. There lived in Oxford one Richard Simon, a priest who possessed some subtlety, and still more enterprise and temerity. This man had entertained the design of disturbing Henry's government by raising a pretender to his crown; and for that purpose he cast his eyes on Lambert Simnel, a youth of 15 years of age, who was son of a baker, and who, being endowed with understanding above his years, and address above his condition, seemed well fitted to personate a prince of royal extraction. A report had been spread among the people, and received with great avidity, that Richard, Duke of York, second son of Edward IV., had escaped from the cruelty of his uncle, and lay somewhere concealed in England. Simon, taking advantage of this rumor, had at first instructed his pupil to assume that name, which he found to be so fondly cherished by the public; but hearing afterward a new report, that the Earl of Warwick had made his escape from the Tower, and observing that this news was attended with no less general satisfaction, he changed the plan of his imposture, and made Simnel personate that unfortunate prince. Simon determined to open the first public scene of it in Ireland, which was zealously attached to the house of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had been their lieutenant. Thomas Fitzgerald, Earl of Kildare, the deputy of the island, and other persons of rank, gave attention to Simnel; and the people in Dublin, with one consent, proclaimed him king by the appellation of Edward VI. (May 2, 1487). The whole island followed the example of the capital, and not a sword was any where drawn in Henry's quarrel. The king's first act on this intelligence was the seizure of the queen-dowager, the forfeiture of all her lands and revenue, and the close confinement of her person in the nunnery of Bermondsey; and he next ordered that Warwick should be taken from the Tower, be led in procession through the streets of London, be conducted to St. Paul's, and there exposed to the view of the whole people. The expedient had its effect in England; but in Ireland the people still persisted in their revolt, and Henry had soon reason to apprehend that the design against him was not laid on such slight foundations as the absurdity of the contrivance seemed to indicate. John, Earl of Lincoln, son of John de la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldest sister of Edward IV., whom Richard III. had declared heir to the throne, was engaged to take part in the

conspiracy; and he induced the Duchess of Burgundy, another sister of Edward IV., to join it. After consulting with Lincoln and Lovel, she hired a body of 2000 veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Schwartz, a brave and experienced officer, and sent them over, together with these two noblemen, to join Simnel in Ireland. An invasion of England was resolved on; and Simnel landed in Lancashire, and advanced as far as Stoke, near Newark. Here they were defeated by Henry in a decisive battle (June 16, 1487). Lincoln and Schwartz perished in the battle, with 4000 of their followers. Lovel escaped from the field, but was never more seen or heard of.* Simnel, with his tutor Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon, being a priest, was not tried at law, and was only committed to close custody. Simnel was too contemptible to be an object either of apprehension or resentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the king's kitchen, whence he was afterward advanced to the rank of a falconer.

After the king had gratified his rigor by the punishment of his enemies, he determined to give contentment to the people in a point which, though a mere ceremony, was passionately desired by them. The queen had been married nearly two years, but had not yet been crowned; and this affectation of delay had given great discontent to the public, and had been one principal source of the disaffection which prevailed. The king, instructed by experience, now finished the ceremony of her coronation (Nov. 25).

§ 4. The foreign transactions of this reign present little of interest or importance. The cautious and parsimonious temper of the king rendered him averse to war, and he could never be induced to take up arms when he saw the least prospect of attaining his ends by negotiation. There happened about this time in France some events which compelled his interference; but it was exercised too late, and without vigor enough to be effective. Charles VIII., who had now succeeded to the crown of France, was extremely desirous of annexing Brittany to his dominions; and, at the invitation of some discontented Breton barons, the French invaded that province with a large army (1488). Henry entered into a league with Maximilian of Germany and Ferdinand of Aragon for the defense of Brittany; but the resources of these princes were distant, and Henry himself only dispatched an army

* "Toward the close of the 17th century, at his seat at Minster Lovel, in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground, in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclining on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect."—*Lingard.*

of 6000 men, which proved entirely useless (1489). An unforeseen event disconcerted the policy of the allies. Anne, who had succeeded to the duchy of Brittany on the death of her father, had contracted a marriage with Maximilian, but Charles invested Rennes, where the duchess resided, with a large army, and extorted a promise of marriage as the condition of her release. The nuptials were accordingly celebrated, and Anne was conducted to Paris, which she entered amid the joyful acclamations of the people. Thus Brittany was finally annexed to the French crown (1491).

As the King of England piqued himself on his extensive foresight and profound judgment, it could not but give him the highest displeasure to find himself overreached by a raw youth like Charles; but he postponed the gratification of his anger and resentment to that of his ruling passion, avarice. On pretense of a French war, he illegally attempted to levy a *benevolence*,* as it was called, on his subjects; and the Parliament, which met soon after, inflamed with the idea of subduing France, voted him a supply. Henry now crossed over to Calais with a large army, and proceeded to invest Boulogne, as if he had been serious in his enterprise; but, notwithstanding this appearance of hostility, there had been secret advances made toward peace above three months before, and commissioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. They met at Estaples. The demands of Henry were wholly pecuniary; and the King of France, who deemed the peaceable possession of Brittany an equivalent for any sum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the proposals made him. A large sum of money was paid down, and a yearly pension promised (1492). Thus the king, as remarked by his historian, made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace; and the people agreed that he had fulfilled his promise when he said to the Parliament that he would make the war maintain itself.

§ 5. The king had now reason to flatter himself with the prospect of durable peace and tranquillity; but his inveterate and indefatigable enemies raised him an adversary who long kept him in alarm, and sometimes even brought him into danger. The report was revived that Richard, Duke of York, had escaped from the Tower when his elder brother was murdered; and, finding this rumor greedily received by the people, the enemies of Henry looked out for some young man proper to personate that unfortunate prince. There was one Perkin Warbeck, born at Tournay

* A *benevolence* was ostensibly a voluntary contribution, but was, in reality, a tax levied arbitrarily on the rich. Such contributions, having become an intolerable burden under Edward IV., had been abolished by the Parliament of Richard III.

of respectable parents, who by the natural versatility and sagacity of his genius seemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or assume any character. He was comely in his person, graceful in his air, courtly in his address, full of docility and good sense in his behavior and conversation. The war which was then ready to break out between France and England seemed to afford a proper opportunity for the discovery of this new phenomenon; and Ireland, which still retained its attachments to the house of York, was chosen as the proper place for his first appearance. He landed at Cork; and immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him partisans among that credulous people (1492). The news soon reached France, and Charles sent Perkin an invitation to repair to him at Paris. He received him with all the marks of regard due to the Duke of York; settled on him a handsome pension; assigned him magnificent lodgings; and, in order to provide at once for his dignity and security, gave him a guard for his person. When peace was concluded between France and England at Estaples, Henry applied to have Perkin put into his hands; but Charles, resolute not to betray a young man, of whatever birth, whom he had invited into his kingdom, would agree only to dismiss him. The pretended Richard retired to the Duchess of Burgundy, who is thought by many to have been the original instigator of the plot. This princess, after feigning a long and severe scrutiny, burst out into joy and admiration at his wonderful deliverance, embraced him as her nephew, the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She immediately assigned him an equipage suited to his pretended birth, and on all occasions honored him with the appellation of the *White Rose of England* (1493). The English, from their great communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favor of the impostor. The whole nation was held in suspense, a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England. The king was informed of all these particulars; but agreeably to his character, which was both cautious and resolute, he proceeded deliberately, though steadily, in counterworking the projects of his enemies. His first object was to ascertain the death of the real Duke of York, and to confirm the opinion that had always prevailed with regard to that event. Of the persons employed in the murder of Richard's nephews, Tyrrel and Dighton alone were alive, and they agreed in the same story; but, as the bodies were supposed to have been removed by Richard's orders from the place where they were first interred, and could not now be found, it was not in Henry's power to put the

fact, so much as he wished, beyond all doubt and controversy.* He dispersed his spies all over Flanders and England; and he induced Sir Robert Clifford, one of the chief partisans of the impostor, to betray the secrets intrusted to him. Several of Warbeck's partisans in England were arraigned, convicted, and executed for high treason. Among the other victims was Sir William Stanley, the lord chamberlain, a man of great wealth and influence, who had said in confidence to Clifford, that, if he were sure the young man who appeared in Flanders was really son to King Edward, he never would bear arms against him (1495).

§ 6. The fate of Stanley made great impression on the kingdom, and struck all the partisans of Perkin with the deepest dismay. And as Perkin found that the king's authority daily gained ground among the people, and that his own pretensions were becoming obsolete, he resolved to attempt something which might revive the hopes and expectations of his partisans. After a vain attempt upon the coast of Kent he retired into Flanders (1495), and in the following year crossed over into Ireland, which had always appeared forward to join every invader of Henry's authority. But Poynings, who had been appointed deputy of Ireland in 1494,† had put the affairs of that island into so good a posture, that Perkin met with little success; and he therefore bent his course toward Scotland, and presented himself to James IV., who then governed that kingdom. James gave him in marriage the Lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and made an inroad into England (1496), carrying Perkin along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties; but instead of joining the invaders, the English prepared to repel them; and James retreated into his own country. The king discovered little anxiety to procure either reparation or vengeance for this insult committed on him by the Scottish nation; his chief concern was to draw advantage from it, by the pretense which it afforded him to levy impositions on his own subjects. But the people, who were acquainted with the immense treasures which he had amassed, could ill brook the new impositions raised on every slight occasion. When the subsidy began to be levied in Cornwall, the inhabitants, numerous and poor, robust and courageous, murmured against a tax

* Respecting the subsequent discovery of the place of their burial, see note, p. 232.

† The statute of Drogheda, enacted in 1495, and known by the name of Poynings' law, formed the basis for the government of Ireland till the time of the Union. Its most important provision was that no bill could be introduced into the Irish Parliament unless it had previously received the approval of the English council. For details, see Hallam, Constitutional History, iii., 361, 362.

occasioned by a sudden inroad of the Scots, from which they esteemed themselves entirely secure, and which had usually been repelled by the force of the northern counties. They took up arms, and determined to march to London, but they were defeated at Blackheath (June 22, 1497). The leaders were taken and executed. The rest were almost all made prisoners, but were dismissed without farther punishment.

§ 7. James now privately desired Perkin to depart the kingdom; and shortly afterward a truce was concluded with Scotland. Perkin hid himself, during some time, in the wilds and fastnesses of Ireland, till he resolved to try the affections of the Cornish, whose mutinous disposition, notwithstanding the king's lenity, still subsisted after the suppression of their rebellion. No sooner did he appear at Bodmin in Cornwall, than the populace, to the number of 3000, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him, for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV., King of England. He attempted to get possession of Exeter, but, on learning the approach of the king's forces, retired to Taunton. Though his followers now amounted to the number of nearly 7000, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in the New Forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy; a few persons of desperate fortunes were executed, some others were severely fined, and all the rest were dismissed with impunity. Perkin himself was persuaded, under promise of pardon, to deliver himself into the king's hands. The king conducted him, in a species of mock triumph, to London. Perkin, having attempted to escape, was then confined to the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprise followed him. He insinuated himself into the intimacy of four servants of Sir John Digby, Lieutenant of the Tower, and by their means opened a correspondence with the Earl of Warwick, who was confined in the same prison. Perkin engaged him to embrace a project for his escape by the murder of the lieutenant, and offered to conduct the whole enterprise. The conspiracy escaped not the king's vigilance; and as Perkin, by this new attempt, had rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy, he was arraigned, condemned, and soon after hanged at Tyburn. The Earl of Warwick was beheaded on Tower Hill a few days afterward (1499). This violent act of tyranny, the great blemish of Henry's reign, by which he destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people, which he vainly endeavored to alleviate by alleging that his ally, Ferdinand of Aragon, scrupled to give his daughter Catherine in marriage to his son Prince Arthur while any male descendant of

the house of York remained. Men, on the contrary, felt higher indignation at seeing a young prince sacrificed, not to law and justice, but to the jealous politics of two subtle and crafty tyrants.

§ 8. Two years later (Nov. 14, 1501) the king had the satisfaction of completing a marriage which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years; Arthur being now near 16 years of age, Catherine 18. But this marriage proved in the issue unprosperous. The young prince a few months after sickened and died, much regretted by the nation (April 2, 1502). Henry, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, which was 200,000 ducats, obliged his second son Henry, a boy of 11 years of age, whom he created Prince of Wales, to be contracted to the infanta; an event which was afterward attended with the most important consequences. The same year another marriage was celebrated, which was also, in the next age, productive of great events; the marriage of Margaret, the king's eldest daughter, with James, King of Scotland. But amid these prosperous incidents the king met with a domestic calamity which made not such impression on him as it merited: his queen died in childbed (1503), and the infant did not long survive her.

The situation of the king's affairs, both at home and abroad, being now in every respect very fortunate, he gave full scope to his natural propensity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling passion, being increased by age and encouraged by absolute authority, broke all restraints of shame or justice. He had found two ministers, Empson and Dudley, perfectly qualified to second his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenseless people. These instruments of oppression were both lawyers; the first of mean birth, of brutal manners, of an unrelenting temper; the second better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjust, severe, and inflexible. By their knowledge of law these men, whom the king made barons of the Exchequer, were qualified to pervert the forms of justice, to the oppression of the innocent; and the most iniquitous extortions were practiced under legal pretenses. The chief means of oppression employed by these ministers were the penal statutes, which, without consideration of rank, quality, or services, were rigidly put in execution against all men; spies, informers, and inquisitors were rewarded and encouraged in every quarter of the kingdom; and no difference was made whether the statute were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the king and his ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority. The Parliament was so overawed, that at this very time, during the great-

est rage of Henry's oppressions, the Commons chose Dudley their speaker, the very man who was the chief instrument of his iniquities (1504). By these arts of accumulation, joined to a rigid frugality in his expense, the king so filled his coffers, that he is said to have possessed in ready money the sum of 1,800,000 pounds; a treasure almost incredible, if we consider the scarcity of money in those times.

§ 9. The remaining years of Henry's reign present little that is memorable. The Archduke Philip, on the death of his mother-in-law, Isabella, proceeded by sea, with his wife Joanna, to take possession of Castile, but was driven by a violent tempest into Weymouth (1506). The king availed himself of this event to detain Philip in a species of captivity, and to extort from him a promise of the hand of his sister Margaret, with a large dowry. Nor was this the only concession which Henry wrung from Philip as the price of his liberty. He made him promise that his son Charles should espouse his daughter Mary, though that prince was already affianced to a daughter of the King of France. He also negotiated a new treaty of commerce with the Flemings, much to the advantage of the English. But perhaps the most ungenerous part of the king's conduct on this occasion was his obliging Philip to surrender Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, nephew of Edward IV., and younger brother of the Earl of Lincoln, who had perished at the battle of Stoke. The Earl of Suffolk, having incurred the king's resentment, had taken refuge in the Low Countries. Philip stipulated indeed that Suffolk's life should be spared; but Henry committed him to the Tower, and, regarding his promise as only personal, recommended his successor to put him to death.* Shortly afterward Henry's health declined; and he began to cast his eye toward that future existence which the iniquities and severities of his reign rendered a very dismal prospect to him. To allay the terrors under which he labored, he endeavored, by distributing alms and founding religious houses, to make atonement for his crimes, and to purchase, by the sacrifice of part of his ill-gotten treasures, a reconciliation with his offended Maker. He ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favorite palace of Richmond (April 25, 1509), after a reign of 23 years and 8 months, and in the 52d year of his age. He was buried in the chapel he had built for himself at Westminster. The reign of Henry VII. was, in the main, fortunate for his people at home, and honorable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars with

* Henry VIII. put him to death after the lapse of a few years (1513), without alleging any new offense against him.

which the nation had long been harassed, he maintained peace and order in the state, he depressed the former exorbitant power of the nobility, and, together with the friendship of some foreign princes, he acquired the consideration and regard of all. The services which he rendered the people were derived, indeed, from his views of private advantage, rather than the motives of public spirit. Bacon compares him with Louis XI. of France and Ferdinand of Spain, and describes the three as "the *tres magi* of kings of those ages"—the great masters of kingcraft. Avarice was, on the whole, Henry's ruling passion; and he remains an instance, almost singular, of a man placed in a high station, and possessed of high talents for great affairs, in whom that passion predominated above ambition.

§ 10. The Star Chamber, so called from the room in which it met, is usually said to have been founded in the reign of Henry VII.; but this is not strictly correct.* In 1495 the Parliament enacted that no person who should by arms or otherwise assist the king for the time being should ever after be attainted for such an instance of obedience. Such a statute could not of course bind future Parliaments; but, as Mr. Hallam observes (*Constitutional Hist.*, chap. i.), it remains an unquestionable authority for the constitutional maxim, "that possession of the throne gives a sufficient title to the subject's allegiance, and justifies his resistance of those who may pretend to a better right." It was by accident only that the king had not a considerable share in those great naval discoveries by which the present age was so much distinguished. Columbus, after meeting with many repulses from the courts of Portugal and Spain, sent his brother Bartholomew to London, in order to explain his projects to Henry, and crave his protection for the execution of them. The king invited him over to England; but his brother, being taken by pirates, was detained in his voyage; and Columbus meanwhile, having obtained the countenance of Isabella, was supplied with a small fleet, and happily executed his enterprise. Henry was not discouraged by this disappointment; he fitted out Sebastian Cabot, a Venetian, settled in Bristol, and sent him westward (in 1498) in search of new countries. Cabot discovered the main land of America, Newfoundland, and other countries; but returned to England without making any conquest or settlement.

* See Notes and Illustrations at the end of this book.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1486. Henry VII. marries Elizabeth of York, and unites the claims of York and Lancaster.
1487. Lambert Simnel personates Edward, Earl of Warwick, and pretends to the throne.
1492. Perkin Warbeck appears in Ireland as Richard Duke of York, younger son of Edward IV.
1496. The impostor, Perkin, accompanies James IV. of Scotland in an invasion of England.
1497. Perkin makes a descent on Cornwall, but is captured.
1499. Perkin and the Earl of Warwick executed.
1501. Marriage of Prince Arthur and Catherine of Aragon. Arthur dies the following year, and Catherine is contracted to Henry, Prince of Wales.
1509. Death of Henry VII. and accession of Henry VIII.



Silver Medal of Henry VIII.

HENRICVS . VIII . DEI . GRA REX ANGL . FRANC . DOM . HYB ✝

CHAPTER XIV.

HENRY VIII. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF WOLSEY. A.D. 1509–1530.

§ 1. Accession of Henry VIII. Empson and Dudley punished. § 2. The King's Marriage. War with France. Wolsey Minister. § 3. Battle of Guinegate. Battle of Flodden. § 4. Peace with France. Louis XII. marries the Princess Mary. § 5. Greatness of Wolsey. He induces Henry to cede Tournay to France. Wolsey Legate. § 6. Election of the Emperor Charles V. Interview between Henry and Francis. Charles visits England. Field of the Cloth of Gold. § 7. Henry mediates between Charles and Francis. Execution of Buckingham. § 8. Henry styled "Defender of the Faith." Charles again in England. War with France. Scotch Affairs. Defeat of Albany. § 9. Supplies illegally levied. League of Henry, the Emperor, and the Duke of Bourbon. § 10. Battle of Pavia. Treaty between England and France. § 11. Discontent of the English. Francis recovers his Freedom. Sack of Rome. League with France. § 12. Henry's Scruples about his Marriage with Catherine. Anne Boleyn. Proceedings for a Divorce. § 13. Wolsey's Fall. § 14. Rise of Cranmer. Death of Wolsey.

§ 1. The death of Henry VII. had been attended with as open and visible a joy among the people as decency would permit; and the accession of his son, Henry VIII., spread universally a declared and unfeigned satisfaction. Henry was now in his 19th year. The beauty and vigor of his person, accompanied with dexterity in every manly exercise, was farther adorned with a blooming and ruddy countenance, with a lively air, with the appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanor. Even the vices of vehemence, ardor, and impatience, to which he was subject, and which afterward degenerated into tyranny, were considered only as faults, incident to unguarded youth, which would be corrected when time had brought him to greater moderation and maturity; and, as the contending titles of York and Lancaster were now at last fully united in his person, men justly expected from a prince obnoxious

to no party that impartiality of administration which had long been unknown in England. The chief competitors for favor and authority under the new king were the Earl of Surrey,* treasurer, and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, secretary and privy seal. Surrey knew how to conform himself to the humor of his new master; and no one was so forward in promoting that liberality, pleasure, and magnificence which began to prevail under the young monarch. One party of pleasure succeeded to another; tilts, tournaments, and carousals were exhibited with all the magnificence of the age; and as the present tranquillity of the public permitted the court to indulge itself in every amusement, serious business was but little attended to. The frank and careless humor of the king, as it led him to dissipate the treasures amassed by his father, rendered him negligent in protecting the instruments whom that prince had employed in his extortions. The informers, who had so long exercised an unbounded tyranny over the nation, were thrown into prison, condemned to the pillory, and most of them lost their lives by the violence of the populace. Empson and Dudley, who were most exposed to public hatred, were committed to the Tower; and in order to gratify the people with the punishment of these obnoxious ministers, crimes very improbable, or indeed absolutely impossible, were charged upon them: that they had entered into a conspiracy against the sovereign, and had intended on the death of the late king to have seized by force the administration of government. Their conviction by a jury was confirmed by a bill of attainder, and they were executed on Tower Hill.

§ 2. Soon after his accession, Henry, by the advice of his council, though contrary to the opinion of the primate, celebrated his marriage with the Infanta Catherine (June 7); and the king and queen were crowned at Westminster on the 24th of June.

The first two or three years of Henry's reign were spent in profound peace; but, impatient of acquiring that distinction in Europe to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amid the noise of arms; and the natural enmity of the English against France, as well as their ancient claims upon that kingdom, led Henry to join the alliance which, after the league of Cambray, the Pope, Spain, and Venice had formed against the French monarch, and into which he was in a considerable degree enticed by the hopes held out to him by the pontiff, Julius II., that the title of *Most Christian King*, hitherto annexed to the crown of France, should be transferred to that of England. War

* The Earl of Surrey had been attainted on the accession of Henry VII. (1485), but was restored to the earldom in 1489. He was created duke of Norfolk in 1514.

was declared against France (1511); and a Parliament, being summoned, readily granted supplies for a purpose so much favored by the English nation. But Henry suffered himself to be completely deceived by the artifices of his father-in-law, Ferdinand. That selfish and treacherous prince advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him; he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which, it was imagined, the English had still some adherents. He promised to assist this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army; and so forward did he seem to promote the interests of his son-in-law, that he even sent vessels to England in order to transport over the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. But he made use of their presence merely to overrun and annex the kingdom of Navarre; and the Marquis of Dorset, the English commander, observing that his farther stay served not to promote the main undertaking, and that his men were daily perishing by want and sickness, returned to England with his army. Notwithstanding his disappointments in this campaign, Henry was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Louis, especially as Leo X., who had succeeded Julius on the papal throne, had detached the Emperor Maximilian from the French interest. He determined to invade France; and, all on fire for military fame, was little discouraged by the prospect of a war with the Scots, who had formed an alliance with France. And he had now got a minister who complied with all his inclinations, and flattered him in every scheme to which his sanguine and impetuous temper was inclined.

Thomas Wolsey, Dean of Lincoln and almoner to the king, surpassed in favor all his ministers, and was fast advancing toward that unrivaled grandeur which he afterward attained. This man was reputed to be the son of a butcher at Ipswich; but having got a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the Marquis of Dorset's family as tutor to that nobleman's children, and soon gained the friendship and countenance of his patron. He was afterward employed by Henry VII. in a secret negotiation which regarded his intended marriage with Margaret of Savoy, Maximilian's daughter, and acquitted himself to the king's satisfaction. Being introduced to Henry VIII., by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, he was admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and entertainment which he found suitable to the age and inclination of the young monarch. Henry soon advanced his favorite from being the companion of his pleasures to be a member of his council, and from being a member

of his council to be his sole and absolute minister. By this rapid advancement and uncontrolled authority the character and genius of Wolsey had full opportunity to display itself. Insatiable in his acquisitions, but still more magnificent in his expense; of extensive capacity, but still more unbounded enterprise; ambitious of power, but still more desirous of glory; insinuating, engaging, persuasive, and, by turns, lofty, elevated, commanding; haughty to his equals, but affable to his dependents; oppressive to the people, but liberal to his friends; more generous than grateful; less moved by injuries than by contempt; he was framed to take the ascendant in every intercourse with others, but exerted this superiority of *nature* with such ostentation as exposed him to envy, and made every one willing to recall the original inferiority, or rather meanness, of his *fortune*.

§ 3. The war commenced in 1513 with a desperate naval action. Sir Edward Howard, the English admiral, was slain in attempting to cut six French galleys out of the port of Conquet with only two vessels; and the whole fleet was so discouraged by the loss of their commander that they retired from before Brest. The French navy came out of harbor, and even ventured to invade the coast of Sussex, but were repulsed. On the 30th of June the king landed at Calais with a considerable army, and was joined by Maximilian with some German and Flemish soldiers. Observing the disposition of the English monarch to be more bent on glory than on interest, Maximilian enlisted himself in his service, wore the cross of St. George, and received 100 crowns a day as one of his subjects and captains. But while he exhibited this extraordinary spectacle, of an emperor of Germany serving under a king of England, he was treated with the highest respect by Henry, and really directed all the operations of the English army. Henry, having received intelligence of the approach of the French horse, ordered some troops to pass the Lis in order to oppose them. The cavalry of France, though they consisted chiefly of gentlemen who had behaved with great gallantry in many desperate actions in Italy, were, on sight of the enemy, seized with so unaccountable a panic that they immediately took to flight and were pursued by the English, and many officers of distinction were made prisoners. The action, or rather rout, is sometimes called the battle of Guinegate, from the place where it was fought; but more commonly the *Battle of Spurs*, because the French that day made more use of their spurs than of their swords or military weapons (Aug. 16). But Henry, though at the head of 50,000 men, derived little advantage from his victory. Instead of marching to Paris, he engaged in the siege of the inconsiderable town of Terouenne, which had been already invested by the Earl of Shrewsbury (Aug. 22).

After the fall of that place the king laid siege to Tournay, which soon surrendered (Sept. 9.) The Bishop of Tournay was lately dead, and the king bestowed the administration of the see on his favorite Wolsey, and put him in immediate possession of the revenues, which were considerable. Then, observing the season to be far advanced, he thought proper to return to England, and he carried the greater part of his army with him.

The success which during this summer had attended Henry's arms in the north was much more decisive. James, King of Scotland, had assembled the whole force of his kingdom; and having passed the Tweed with a brave though a tumultuary army of above 50,000 men, he ravaged those parts of Northumberland which lay nearest that river. Meanwhile, the Earl of Surrey, having collected a force of 26,000 men, marched to the defense of the country. The two armies met at Flodden, near the Cheviot Hills. The action was desperate, and protracted till night separated the combatants. The victory seemed yet undecided, and the numbers that fell on each side were nearly equal, amounting to above 5000 men; but the morning discovered where the advantage lay. The English had lost only persons of small note: but the flower of the Scottish nobility had fallen in battle, and their king himself, after the most diligent inquiry, could nowhere be found. In searching the field the English met with a dead body which resembled him, and was arrayed in a similar habit; and they put it in a leaden coffin and sent it to London. But the fond conceit was long entertained among the Scots that he was still alive, and, having secretly gone in pilgrimage to the Holy Land, would soon return and take possession of the throne. When the Queen of Scotland, Margaret, who was created regent during the infancy of her son, applied for peace, Henry readily granted it, and took compassion upon the helpless condition of his sister and nephew.

§ 4. In the following year (1514) Henry discovered that both the emperor and the King of Spain had deserted his alliance for that of Louis; and that they had listened to a proposition for the marriage of their common grandson, the Archduke Charles, to a daughter of the French king's, although that young prince was already affianced to Henry's sister Mary. Under these circumstances, Henry readily listened to the suggestion of his prisoner, the Duke of Longueville, for a peace with France, to be confirmed by Mary's marriage with Louis, who was now a widower. The articles were easily adjusted between the monarchs; but Louis died in less than three months after the marriage (Jan. 1, 1515), to the extreme regret of the French nation. Francis, Duke of Angoulême, a youth of 21, who had married Louis's eldest daughter,

succeeded him on the throne. Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, was at that time in the court of France, the most comely personage of his time, and the most accomplished in all the exercises which were then thought to befit a courtier and soldier. He was Henry's chief favorite, and that monarch had even once entertained thoughts of marrying him to his sister, and had given indulgence to the mutual passion which took place between them. The queen asked Suffolk whether he had now the courage, without farther reflection, to espouse her? And she told him that her brother would more easily forgive him for not asking his consent than for acting contrary to his orders. Suffolk declined not so inviting an offer, and their nuptials were secretly celebrated at Paris. Wolsey, as well as Francis, was active in reconciling the king to his sister and brother-in-law; and he obtained them permission to return to England.

§ 5. The numerous enemies whom Wolsey's sudden elevation, his aspiring character, and his haughty deportment had raised him, served only to rivet him faster in Henry's confidence, who valued himself on supporting the choice which he had made, and who was incapable of yielding either to the murmurs of the people or the discontents of the court. That artful prelate, well acquainted with the king's imperious temper, concealed from him the absolute ascendant which he had acquired; and while he secretly directed all public councils, he ever pretended a blind submission to the will and authority of his master. He had now been promoted to the see of York, with which he was allowed to unite, first that of Durham, next that of Winchester, and there seemed to be no end of his acquisitions. The Pope created him a cardinal (1515). No churchman, under color of exacting respect to religion, ever carried to a greater height the state and dignity of that character. His train consisted of 800 servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen; some even of the nobility put their children into his family as a place of education; and in order to gain them favor with their patron, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal, and none paid court in vain. Literature, which was then in its infancy, found in him a generous patron; and both by his public institutions and private bounty he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the splendor of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, the lustre of his apparel. On the resignation of Warham, Chancellor and Archbishop of Canterbury, the great seal was immediately delivered to Wolsey. If this new accumulation of

dignity increased his enemies, it also served to exalt his personal character, and prove the extent of his capacity. A strict administration of justice took place during his enjoyment of this high office; and no chancellor ever discovered greater impartiality in his decisions, deeper penetration of judgment, or more enlarged knowledge of law and equity.

In 1518 Francis, being desirous of recovering Tournay, succeeded, by means of flatteries and attentions, in gaining Wolsey's favor. By the cardinal's advice a treaty was entered into for the ceding of that town; and in order to give the measure a more graceful appearance, it was agreed that the dauphin and the Princess Mary, the king's daughter, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the princess. Francis also agreed to pay 600,000 crowns in twelve annual payments; and lest the cardinal should think himself neglected in these stipulations, he promised him a yearly pension of 12,000 livres, as an equivalent for his administration of the bishopric of Tournay.

The pride of Wolsey was about this time farther increased by his being invested with the legatine power, together with the right of visiting all the clergy and monasteries in England, and even of suspending all the laws of the Church during a twelvemonth. Wolsey, having obtained this new dignity, made a new display of that state and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days, he was not content without saying mass after the manner of the Pope himself; not only had he bishops and abbots to serve him; he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. But he carried the matter much farther than vain pomp and ostentation. He erected an office which he called the legatine court, and conferred on it a kind of inquisitorial and censorial powers, even over the laity. He even pretended, by virtue of his commission, to assume the jurisdiction of all the bishops' courts, particularly that of judging of wills and testaments, and the right of disposing of every ecclesiastical preferment.

§ 6. While Henry, indulging himself in pleasure and amusement, intrusted the government of his kingdom to this imperious minister, the death of the Emperor Maximilian left vacant the first station among Christian princes, and proved a kind of era in the general system of Europe (1519). The Kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the imperial crown, and employed every expedient of money or intrigue which promised them success in so great a point of ambition. Henry also was encouraged to advance his pretensions; but his minister, Pace, who was dispatched to the electors, found that he began to

solicit too late, and that the votes of all these princes were already pre-engaged, either on one side or the other. Charles ultimately prevailed; and thus fortune alone, without the concurrence of prudence or valor, never reared up of a sudden so great a power as that which centred in him. He reaped the succession of Castile, of Aragon, of Austria, of the Netherlands; he inherited the conquest of Naples, of Grenada; election entitled him to the empire; even the bounds of the globe seemed to be enlarged a little before his time, that he might possess the whole treasure, as yet entire and unrifled, of the New World. Francis, disgusted with his ill success, now applied himself, by way of counterpoise to the power of Charles, to cultivate the friendship of Henry, who possessed the felicity of being able, both by the native force of his kingdom and its situation, to hold the balance between those two powers. He solicited an interview near Calais, in expectation of being able, by familiar conversation, to gain upon his friendship and confidence; and as Henry himself loved show and magnificence, and had entertained a curiosity of being personally acquainted with the French king, he cheerfully adjusted all the preliminaries. Meanwhile, the emperor, politic though young, being informed of the intended interview between Francis and Henry, was apprehensive of the consequences, and took the opportunity, in his passage from Spain to the Low Countries, to make the English king a still higher compliment by paying him a visit in his own dominions. Henry and the queen hastened to meet him at Hythe. Besides the marks of regard and attachment which Charles gave to Henry, he gained the cardinal to his interests by holding out to him the hope of attaining the papacy. The views of Henry himself, indeed, after being disappointed of the imperial crown, were directed toward France as his ancient inheritance; and no power was more fitted than the emperor to assist him in such a design.

The day of Charles's departure (May 30, 1520), Henry went over to Calais with the queen and his whole court; and thence proceeded to Guisnes, a small town near the frontiers. Francis, attended in like manner, came to Ardres, a few miles distant; and the two monarchs met for the first time in the fields at a place situated between these two towns, but still within the English pale; for Francis agreed to pay this compliment to Henry, in consideration of that prince's passing the sea that he might be present at the interview. Wolsey, to whom both kings had intrusted the regulation of the ceremonial, contrived this circumstance in order to do honor to his master. The nobility both of France and England here displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expense as procured to the place of interview the name of

the field of the cloth of gold. The two monarchs, who were the most comely personages of the age, as well as the most expert in every military exercise, passed their time till their departure in tournaments and other entertainments, more than in any serious business. Henry paid then a visit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy, at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais, and pass some days in that fortress. The artful and politic Charles here completed the impression which he had begun to make on Henry and his favorite, and secured the cardinal still farther in his interests by very important services and still higher promises. He renewed assurances of assisting him in obtaining the papacy, and he put him in present possession of the revenues belonging to the sees of Badajoz and Valentia in Castile.

§ 7. The violent personal emulation and political jealousy which had taken place between the emperor and the French king soon broke out in hostilities (1521); but while these ambitious and warlike princes were acting against each other in almost every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace, and both of them incessantly carried their complaints to Henry, as to the umpire between them. The king, who pretended to be neutral, engaged them to send their embassadors to Calais, there to negotiate a peace, under the mediation of Wolsey and the Pope's nuncio. The emperor was well apprised of the partiality of these mediators, and his demands in the conference were so unreasonable as plainly proved him conscious of the advantage. Francis rejected the terms; the congress of Calais broke up; and Wolsey soon after took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the emperor, and concluded, in his master's name, an offensive alliance with him and the Pope against France. He stipulated that England should next summer invade that kingdom with 40,000 men; and he betrothed to Charles the Princess Mary, the king's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the crown. The Duke of Buckingham was soon after tried and executed for high treason, having unguardedly let fall some expressions as if he thought himself entitled to succeed, in case the king should die without issue. His death has been attributed to the resentment of Wolsey, and at all events the grounds alleged for his condemnation seem frivolous and inadequate (1521).*

§ 8. Europe was now in a ferment with the progress of Luther

* This Duke of Buckingham was the son of the Duke of Buckingham executed by Richard III., and was descended by a female from the Duke of Gloucester, youngest son of Edward III. (See genealogical table, p. 233.) The office of constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, was forfeited, and was never after revived in England.

and the Reformation. Henry, who had been educated in a strict attachment to the Church of Rome, wrote a book in Latin against the principles of Luther, and sent a copy of it to Leo, who received so magnificent a present with great testimony of regard, and conferred on him the title of Defender of the Faith (1521). This was one of the last acts of Leo X., who died before the close of the year, in the flower of his age. He was succeeded in the papal chair by Adrian VI., a Fleming, who had been tutor to the Emperor Charles. The emperor, who knew that Wolsey had received a disappointment in his ambitious hopes by the election of Adrian, and who dreaded the resentment of that haughty minister, was solicitous to repair the breach made in their friendship by this incident. He paid another visit to England (1522); and, besides flattering the vanity of the king and the cardinal, he renewed to Wolsey all the promises which he had made him of seconding his pretensions to the papal throne. The more to ingratiate himself with Henry and the English nation, he gave to Surrey, Admiral of England, commission for being admiral of his dominions; and he himself was installed knight of the garter at London. The king declared war against France while the emperor was in England. The English army, which landed at Calais, under the command of Surrey, did not accomplish any thing of importance; but in Scotland the regent Albany, though at the head of 45,000 men, was frightened into a disgraceful truce with Lord Dacre; and in the following year he retreated still more disgracefully before the English army under Surrey. Soon after he went over to France, and never again returned to Scotland. The Scottish nation, agitated by their domestic factions, were not during several years in a condition to give any more disturbance to England; and Henry had full leisure to prosecute his designs on the Continent.

§ 9. The reason why the war against France proceeded so slowly on the part of England was the want of money. In 1522 Henry had illegally raised a large sum of money under the name of a loan or "benevolence;" and in the Parliament held in the following year he issued privy seals to wealthy persons, demanding loans of particular sums, and published an edict for a general tax upon his subjects, under the name of a loan. Wolsey, attended by several of the nobility and prelates, came to the House of Commons, and demanded a grant of £800,000. So large a grant was unusual from the Commons; and, though the cardinal's demand was seconded by Sir Thomas More, the speaker, and several other members attached to the court, the House could not be prevailed with to vote more than the moiety of the sum demanded. The cardinal, much mortified with the disappointment, came

again to the House, and desired to reason with such as refused to comply with the king's request. He was told that it was a rule of the House never to reason but among themselves; and his desire was rejected, though they enlarged a little their former grant. The king was so dissatisfied with this saving disposition of the Commons, that, as he had not called a Parliament during seven years before, he allowed seven more to elapse before he summoned another; and, on pretense of necessity, he levied in one year, from all who were worth £40, what the Parliament had granted him payable in four years: a new invasion of national privileges.

Wolsey received this year (1523) a new disappointment in his aspiring views. The Pope, Adrian VI., died; and Clement VII., of the family of Medicis, was elected in his place, by the concurrence of the imperial party. Wolsey could now perceive the insincerity of the emperor, and he concluded that that prince would never second his pretensions to the papal chair. As he highly resented this injury, he began thenceforth to estrange himself from the imperial court, and to pave the way for a union between his master and the French king. Yet the confederacy against France seemed more formidable than ever on the opening of the campaign; and the country was exposed to still greater peril by a domestic conspiracy which had been formed by Charles, Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, who, entering into the emperor's service, employed all the force of his enterprising spirit, and his great talents for war, to the prejudice of his native country. A league was formed among Henry, Charles, and Bourbon, for the conquest and partition of France. Provence, Dauphiné, Auvergne, and the Bourbonnais, were to be erected into a kingdom for Bourbon; Burgundy, Languedoc, Champagne, and Picardy, were to be given to the emperor; and the King of England was to have the rest of France (1525). The Duke of Suffolk led an English army into France, and, though he advanced within sight of Paris, he returned to Calais without effecting any thing of more importance than the Earl of Surrey in the preceding year.

§ 10. The year 1525 was marked by a memorable event in the war. Francis had been expelled from Italy in the preceding year; and the imperialists had invaded the south of France and laid siege to Marseilles. But upon the approach of the French king with a numerous army they found themselves under a necessity of raising the siege; and they led their forces, weakened, baffled, and disheartened, into Italy. Francis, notwithstanding the advanced season, pursued them into that country, and penetrated to Pavia, to which he laid siege; but after it had been invested several months the imperial generals came to its relief. Francis's forces were put to the rout, and he himself, surrounded by his en-

emies, after fighting with heroic valor, was at last obliged to surrender himself prisoner (Feb. 24, 1525). Almost the whole army, full of nobility and brave officers, either perished by the sword, or were drowned in the river.

Henry was at first inclined to take advantage of the French monarch's misfortune. He pressed the emperor to invade France next summer from the south, while he himself entered it on the north; he anticipated that they might meet at Paris, when, after being crowned King of France, he would assist Charles to recover Burgundy, and accompany him to Rome for his coronation. And if the emperor fulfilled his contract to marry the Princess Mary, he held out the prospect that he or his posterity might eventually succeed to the crown of France, and even of England itself. But Charles was in no humor to let Henry reap the chief benefit from his success, or to seek, by an invasion of France, advantages which the captivity of Francis afforded an opportunity to extort. He therefore refused to invade France, or to put Francis in Henry's hands in return for Mary; and Henry consequently determined to abandon his alliance for that of France. He therefore concluded a treaty with the mother of Francis, the Regent of France, and engaged to procure her son his liberty on reasonable conditions; the regent acknowledged the kingdom Henry's debtor for 1,800,000 crowns, to be discharged in half-yearly payments of 50,000 crowns; after which Henry was to receive, during life, a yearly pension of 100,000. A large present of 100,000 crowns was also made to Wolsey for his good offices, but covered under the pretense of arrears due on the pension granted him for relinquishing the administration of Tournay.

§ 11. Meanwhile, Henry, foreseeing that this treaty with France might involve him in a war with the emperor, was determined to fill his treasury by impositions upon his own subjects, and resolved to make use of his prerogative alone for that purpose. The people, displeased with the amount of the exaction, and farther disgusted with the illegal method of imposing it, broke out in murmurs and complaints; and their refractory disposition threatened a general insurrection. But as they were not headed by any considerable person, it was easy for the Duke of Suffolk, and the Earl of Surrey, now Duke of Norfolk, by employing persuasion and authority, to induce the ringleaders to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. The king, finding it dangerous to punish criminals engaged in so popular a cause, was determined, notwithstanding his violent, imperious temper, to grant them a general pardon; and he prudently imputed their guilt, not to their want of loyalty or affection, but to their poverty.

Early in 1526 the French king recovered his liberty in accord-

ance with a treaty concluded at Madrid; the principal condition of which was the restoring of Francis's liberty, and the delivery of his two eldest sons as hostages to the emperor for the cession of Burgundy. If any difficulty should afterward occur in the execution of this last article, from the opposition of the states, either of France or of that province, Francis stipulated that in six weeks' time he should return to his prison, and remain there till the full performance of the treaty. But at the very moment of signing the treaty Francis entered a secret protest against it, and declared that he would not observe it; and when he returned to France he openly showed his resolution to evade its performance, in which he was encouraged by the English court. War was therefore renewed between Francis and Charles. In the following year (1527), Bourbon, who commanded the Imperialists in Italy, finding it difficult to support his army, determined to lead it to Rome, which was taken by storm; but the duke himself was slain in the assault. Pope Clement was taken captive, and the city was exposed to all the violence and brutality of a licentious soldiery.

The sack of Rome and the captivity of the Pope caused general indignation among all the Catholics of Europe. A new treaty was concluded between Henry and Francis, with a view of expelling the Imperialists from Italy, and restoring the Pope to liberty. Henry agreed finally to renounce all claims to the crown of France; claims which might now indeed be deemed chimerical, but which often served as a pretense for exciting the unwary English to wage war upon the French nation. As a return for this concession, Francis bound himself and his successors to pay forever 50,000 crowns a year to Henry and his successors; and that greater solemnity might be given to this treaty, it was agreed that the Parliaments and great nobility of both kingdoms should give their assent to it.

§ 12. About this time Henry began to entertain some doubts respecting the lawfulness of his marriage with Catherine of Aragon, his brother's widow, though he had been united to her 17 years. There were several causes which tended to render his conscience more scrupulous. The queen was older than the king by no less than six years; and the decay of her beauty, together with particular infirmities and diseases, had contributed, notwithstanding her blameless character and deportment, to render her person unacceptable to him. Though she had borne him several children, they all died in early infancy except one daughter; and he was the more struck with this misfortune, because the curse of being childless is the very threatening contained in the Mosaical law against those who espouse their brother's widow. The succession, too, of the crown was a consideration that occurred

to every one whenever the lawfulness of Henry's marriage was called in question; and it was apprehended that, if doubts of Mary's legitimacy concurred with the weakness of her sex, the King of Scots, the next heir, would advance his pretensions, and might throw the kingdom into confusion. The king was thus impelled, both by his private passions and by motives of public interest, to seek the dissolution of his inauspicious, and, as it was esteemed, unlawful marriage with Catherine. Wolsey also fortified the king's scruples, with a view to marry him to a French princess. But Henry was carried forward, though perhaps not at first excited, by a motive more forcible than even the suggestions of that powerful favorite. Anne Boleyn, who lately appeared at court, had been appointed maid of honor to the queen; and having had frequent opportunities of being seen by Henry, and of conversing with him, she had acquired an entire ascendant over his affections. This young lady, whose grandeur and misfortunes have rendered her so celebrated, was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, and, through her mother, granddaughter of the Duke of Norfolk. Anne herself, though then in very early youth, had been carried over to Paris by the king's sister, when the princess espoused Louis XII. of France; and she remained several years at the French court. Henry, finding the accomplishments of her mind nowise inferior to her exterior graces, even entertained the design of raising her to the throne. As every motive, therefore, of inclination and policy seemed thus to concur in making the king desirous of a divorce from Catherine, he resolved to make applications to Clement, and he sent Knight, his secretary, to Rome for that purpose. The Pope, who was then a prisoner in the hands of the emperor, and had no hopes of recovering his liberty on any reasonable terms, except by the efforts of the league which Henry had formed with Francis and the Italian powers, in order to oppose the ambition of Charles, had the strongest motives to embrace every opportunity of gratifying the English monarch. When the English secretary, therefore, solicited him in private, he received a very favorable answer, and a dispensation was forthwith promised to be granted to his master. Soon after, the march of a French army into Italy obliged the Imperialists to restore Clement to his liberty, and he retired to Orvieto.

Clement, having now recovered his liberty, and unwilling to offend either the emperor or the English king, adopted a temporizing policy. At length, after much negotiation, he granted a commission in 1528 to Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio to try the validity of the marriage. Charles, meanwhile, promised Catherine, his aunt, his utmost protection; and in all his negotiations with the Pope he made the recall of the commission which

Campeggio and Wolsey exercised in England a fundamental article.

The two legates opened their court at London, May 31, 1529, and cited the king and queen to appear before it. They both presented themselves, and the king answered to his name when called; but the queen, instead of answering to hers, rose from her seat and, throwing herself at the king's feet, made a very pathetic harangue, which her virtue, her dignity, and her misfortunes rendered the more affecting. And she concluded by declaring that she would not submit her cause to be tried by a court whose dependence on her enemies was too visible ever to allow her any hopes of obtaining from them an equitable or impartial decision. Having spoken these words, she rose, and making the king a low reverence, she departed from the court, and never would again appear in it. The trial was spun out till the 23d of July, and Campeggio chiefly took on him the part of conducting it. The king was every day in expectation of a sentence in his favor; when, to his great surprise, Campeggio, on a sudden, without any warning, and upon very frivolous pretenses, prorogued the court till the 1st of October. A few days afterward the king and queen received a citation from the Pope to appear either in person or by proxy at Rome. This measure, which the emperor had extorted from the timidity of Clement, put an end to all the hopes of success which the king had so long and so anxiously cherished.

§ 13. Wolsey had long foreseen this measure as the sure forerunner of his ruin. He had employed himself with the utmost assiduity and earnestness to bring the affair to a happy issue; he was not, therefore, to be blamed for the unprosperous event which Clement's partiality had produced. Anne Boleyn, also, who was prepossessed against him, had imputed to him the failure of her hopes. The high opinion itself which Henry entertained of the cardinal's capacity tended to hasten his downfall; while he imputed the bad success of that minister's undertakings, not to ill fortune or to mistake, but to the malignity or infidelity of his intentions. On the 18th of October the great seal was taken from him, and delivered by the king to Sir Thomas More, a man who, besides the ornaments of an elegant literature, possessed the highest virtue, integrity, and capacity. Wolsey was ordered to depart from York Place, a palace which he had built in London, and which, though it really belonged to the See of York, was seized by Henry, and became afterward the residence of the kings of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were also seized: their riches and splendor befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The cardinal was ordered to retire to Esher, a country seat which he possessed near Hampton Court. The world, that

had paid him such abject court during his prosperity, now entirely deserted him on this fatal reverse of all his fortunes.

Upon the meeting of Parliament, which had not been summoned for seven years, the House of Lords voted a long charge against Wolsey, consisting of 44 articles, and accompanied it with an application to the king for his punishment and his removal from all authority. The articles were sent down to the House of Commons, where Thomas Cromwell, formerly a servant of the cardinal's, and who had been raised by him from a very low station, defended his unfortunate patron with such spirit, generosity, and courage as acquired him great honor, and laid the foundation of that favor which he afterward enjoyed with the king. Wolsey's enemies, finding that either his innocence or his caution prevented them from having any just ground of accusing him, had recourse to a very extraordinary expedient. An indictment was laid against him, that, contrary to a statute of Richard II., commonly called the statute of provisors, or præmunire,* he had procured bulls from Rome, particularly one investing him with the legatine power. Sentence was pronounced against him, "That he was out of the king's protection; his lands and goods forfeited; and that his person might be committed to custody." But this prosecution of Wolsey was carried no farther. Henry even granted him a pardon for all offenses, left him in possession of the sees of York and Winchester, restored him part of his plate and furniture, and still continued from time to time to drop expressions of favor and compassion toward him.

§ 14. The general peace established this summer in Europe by the treaty of Cambray (Aug. 5, 1529) left Henry full leisure to prosecute his divorce. Amid the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connections with the court of Rome. He found his prerogative firmly established at home; and he observed that his people were in general much disgusted with clerical usurpations, and disposed to reduce the powers and privileges of the ecclesiastical order. But, notwithstanding these inducements, Henry had strong motives still to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. He apprehended the danger of such great innovations; he dreaded the reproach of heresy; he abhorred all connections with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power; and having once exerted himself with such applause, as he imagined, in defense of the Romish communion, he was ashamed to retract his former opinions, and betray from passion such a palpable inconsistency. While he was agitated by these contrary motives, an expedient was proposed, which, as it promised a solution of all difficulties, was embraced by him with the greatest joy and satisfaction.

* See p. 199.

Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College in Cambridge, fell one evening by accident into company with Gardiner, now secretary of state, and Fox, the king's almoner; and as the business of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed that the readiest way, either to quiet Henry's conscience, or extort the Pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities of Europe with regard to this controverted point; if they agreed to approve of the king's marriage with Catherine, his remorse would naturally cease; if they condemned it, the Pope would find it difficult to resist the solicitations of so great a monarch, seconded by the opinion of all the learned men in Christendom. When the king was informed of the proposal, he was delighted with it, and swore, with more alacrity than delicacy that Cranmer had got the right sow by the ear; he sent for that divine, engaged him to write in defense of the divorce, and immediately, in prosecution of the scheme proposed, employed his agents to collect the judgments of all the universities in Europe. Several of these gave verdict in the king's favor; not only those of France, Paris, Orleans, Bourges, Toulouse, Angers, which might be supposed to lie under the influence of their prince, ally to Henry; but also those of Italy, Venice, Ferrara, Padua, even Bologna itself, though under the immediate jurisdiction of Clement. Oxford alone, and Cambridge, alarmed at the progress of Lutheranism, made some difficulty. Their opinion, however, conformable to that of the other universities of Europe, was at last obtained, though not without the use of threats.

Meanwhile the enemies of Wolsey, and Anne Boleyn in particular, had persuaded Henry to renew the prosecution against his ancient favorite. The cardinal had, by the king's command, removed to his see of York, and had taken up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighborhood by his affability and hospitality. Here he was arrested on a charge of high treason by the Earl of Northumberland, who had received orders to conduct him to London in order to his trial. The cardinal, partly from the fatigues of his journey, partly from the agitation of his anxious mind, was seized with a disorder which turned into a dysentery; and he was able, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester Abbey. When the abbot and the monks advanced to receive him with much respect and reverence, he told them that he was come to lay his bones among them; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired he said, among other things, to Sir William Kingston, Constable of the Tower, who had him in custody, "Had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my

gray hairs. Let me advise you," he added, "if you be one of the privy-council, as by your wisdom you are fit, take care what you put into the king's head; for you can never put it out again." Thus died this famous cardinal (Nov. 29, 1530), whose character seems to have contained as singular a variety as the fortune to which he was exposed. "Haughty beyond comparison," says Mr. Hallam (*Constitutional History*, i., 22), "negligent of the duties and decorums of his station, profuse as well as rapacious, obnoxious alike to his own order and to the laity, his fall had long been secretly desired by the nation and contrived by his adversaries. His generosity and magnificence seem rather to have dazzled succeeding ages than his own. But, in fact, his best apology is the disposition of his master. The latter years of Henry's reign were far more tyrannical than those during which he listened to the counsel of Wolsey; and though this was principally owing to the peculiar circumstances of the latter period, it is but equitable to allow some praise to a minister for the mischief which he may be presumed to have averted."



Gold Medal of Henry VIII.

Obverse: HENRICVS . OCTA . ANGLIÆ . FRANCI . ET . HIB . REX . FIDEI . DEFENSOR . ET . IN . TERR . ECCLE . ANGLI . ET . HIBE . SVB . CHRIST . CAPVT . SVPREMVM. For Reverse, see next page.

CHAPTER XV.

HENRY VIII. CONTINUED. FROM THE DEATH OF WOLSEY TO THE DEATH OF THE KING. A.D. 1530–1547.

§ 1. Proceedings against the Clergy and the Court of Rome. Henry's Marriage with Anne Boleyn. Catherine divorced. § 2. The Reformation. Establishment of the Succession and Committal of Fisher and More. The King declared supreme Head of the Church. § 3. State of Parties. Tyndale's Bible. Persecutions. The Holy Maid of Kent. § 4. Execution of Fisher and More. Henry excommunicated. Death of Queen Catherine. § 5. Suppression of the lesser Monasteries. Trial and Execution of Queen Anne. Henry marries Jane Seymour. Settlement of the Succession. § 6. Discontents and Insurrections. Pilgrimage of Grace. Birth of Prince Edward and Death of Queen Jane. Suppression of the greater Monasteries. § 7. The Pope publishes his Bull of Excommunication. Cardinal Pole. § 8. Law of the Six Articles. Servility of the Parliament and Tyranny of the King. § 9. Henry marries Anne of Cleves. § 10. Fall and Execution of Cromwell. Henry's Divorce from Anne of Cleves and Marriage with Catherine Howard. Religious Persecutions. Execution of the Countess of Salisbury. § 11. Marriage, Trial, and Execution of Queen Catherine Howard. § 12. War with Scotland and Death of James V. Henry's Marriage with Catherine Parr. War with France. Peace concluded. § 13. Scotch Affairs. Theological Dogmatism of Henry. His Queen in Danger. § 14. Attainder of the Duke of Norfolk and Execution of the Earl of Surrey. Death and Character of the King.

§ 1. In 1531 a new session of Parliament was held, together with a convocation; and the king here gave strong proofs of his



Reverse of gold medal of Henry VIII. Inscription in Hebrew and Greek of the same purport as on the obverse.

extensive authority, as well as of his intention to turn it to the depression of the clergy. The same law under which Wolsey had been prosecuted was now turned against the ecclesiastics. It was pretended that every one who had submitted to the legatine court, that is, the whole Church, had violated the statute of provisors, and been guilty of the offense of præmunire, and the attorney general accordingly brought an indictment against them. The convocation knew that it would be in vain to oppose reason or equity to the king's arbitrary will. They therefore threw themselves on the mercy of their sovereign, and they agreed to pay £118,840 for a pardon. A confession was likewise extorted from them that *the king was the protector and the supreme head of the Church and clergy of England*, though some of them had the dexterity to get a clause inserted which invalidated the whole submission, and which ran in these terms: *in so far as is permitted by the law of Christ.* By this strict execution of the statute of provisors, a great part of the profit, and still more of the power, of the court of Rome was cut off, and the connections between the Pope and the English clergy were in some measure dissolved. The next session found both king and Parliament in the same dispositions. An act was passed against levying the annates or first-fruits.* The better to keep the Pope in awe, the king was intrusted with a power of regulating these payments, and of confirming or infringing this act at his pleasure; and it was voted that any censures which should be

* These were a year's annual income of their sees, given by all bishops and archbishops to the Pope, upon presentation to their preferments. They were one of the main sources of the papal revenue.

passed by the court of Rome on account of that law should be entirely disregarded, and that mass should be said, and the sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued. After the prorogation, Sir Thomas More, the chancellor, foreseeing that all the measures of the king and Parliament led to a breach with the Church of Rome, and to an alteration of religion, with which his principles would not permit him to concur, desired leave to resign the great seal; and he descended from his high station with more joy and alacrity than he had mounted up to it. The king, who had entertained a high opinion of his virtue, recieved his resignation with some difficulty; and he delivered the great seal soon after to Sir Thomas Audley (1532).

During these transactions in England the court of Rome was not without solicitude; and she entertained just apprehensions of losing entirely her authority in England. Yet the queen's appeal was received at Rome; the king was cited to appear; and several consistories were held to examine the validity of their marriage. Henry declined to plead his cause before this court, and, in order to add greater security to his intended defection from Rome, he procured an interview with Francis at Boulogne and Calais, where he renewed his personal friendship as well as public alliance with that monarch, and concerted all measures for their mutual defense. And being now fully determined in his own mind, as well as resolute to stand all consequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn (Jan. 25, 1533), whom he had previously created Marchioness of Pembroke. In the next Parliament an act was made against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizant in ecclesiastical courts. Cranmer, now created Archbishop of Canterbury on the death of Warham, opened his court at Dunstable for examining the validity of Catherine's marriage. Catherine, who resided at Ampthill, six miles distant, refused to appear either in person or by proxy. Cranmer pronounced sentence, by which he annulled the king's marriage with Catherine as unlawful and invalid from the beginning (May 23). By a subsequent sentence he ratified the marriage with Anne Boleyn, who soon afterward was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity suited to that ceremony. To complete the king's satisfaction on the conclusion of this intricate and vexatious affair, she was safely delivered of a daughter (Sept. 7, 1533), who received the name of Elizabeth, and who afterward swayed the sceptre with such renown and felicity. The Pope, on the other hand, formally pronounced the judgment of Cranmer to be illegal, and declared Henry to be excommunicated if he adhered to it.

§ 2. The quarrel between Henry and the Pope was now irreconcilable, and the year 1534 may be considered as the era of the

separation of the English Church from Rome. By several acts of Parliament passed in this year the papal authority in England was annulled; and persons paying any regard to it incurred the penalties of *præmunire*. Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the king alone; bishops were to be appointed by a *congé d'élire* from the crown, or, in case of the dean and chapter's refusal, by letters patent; and no recourse was to be had to Rome for palls, bulls, or provisions; the law which had been formerly made against paying annates or first-fruits, but which had been left in the king's power to suspend or enforce, was finally established; and a submission was exacted from the clergy, by which they acknowledged that convocations ought to be assembled by the king's authority only. The ecclesiastical courts, however, were allowed to subsist. Another act regulated the succession to the crown; the marriage of the king with Catherine was declared invalid; the primate's sentence annulling it was ratified; the marriage with Queen Anne was established and confirmed; and the crown was appointed to descend to the issue of this marriage. All persons were liable, at the king's pleasure, to be called upon to swear to this act; and whosoever refused to do so was held to be guilty of misprision of treason.*

The oath regarding the succession was generally taken throughout the kingdom. Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More, were the only persons of note that entertained scruples with regard to its legality, and both were committed prisoners to the Tower. The Parliament, being again assembled at the close of the year, declared the king "the only supreme *head* in earth of the Church of England," which title had been conferred on him by convocation three years previously. In this memorable act the Parliament granted him power, or rather acknowledged his inherent power, "to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all errors, heresies, contempts, and enormities which fell under any spiritual authority or jurisdiction." This act was followed by another declaring all persons to be guilty of treason who refused to give this title to the king.

§ 3. Though Henry had disowned the authority of the Pope, he still valued himself on maintaining the Catholic doctrines, and on guarding, by fire and sword, the imagined purity of his tenets. His ministers and courtiers were of as motley a character as his con-

* "Misprisions (a term derived from the old French *mespris*, a neglect or contempt) are, in the acceptation of our law, generally understood to be all such high offenses as are under the degree of capital, but nearly bordering thereon. . . . The punishment of misprision of treason is loss of the profits of land during life, forfeiture of goods, and imprisonment during life."—Kerr's Blackstone, iv., 121, 122.

duct, and seemed to waver, during his whole reign, between the ancient and the new religion. The queen, engaged by interest as well as inclination, favored the cause of the reformers; Cromwell, who was created secretary of state, had embraced the same views; and Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, had secretly adopted the Protestant tenets. On the other hand, the Duke of Norfolk adhered to the ancient faith; and by his high rank, as well as by his talents both for peace and war, he had great authority in the king's council; Gardiner, lately created Bishop of Winchester, had enlisted himself in the same party. All these ministers, while they stood in the most irreconcilable opposition of principles to one another, were obliged to disguise their particular opinions, and to pretend an entire agreement with the sentiments of their master. Cromwell and Cranmer still carried the appearance of a conformity to the ancient speculative tenets, but they artfully made use of Henry's resentment to widen the breach with the see of Rome. The Duke of Norfolk and Gardiner feigned an assent to the king's supremacy and to his renunciation of the sovereign pontiff, but they encouraged his passion for the Catholic faith, and instigated him to punish those daring heretics who had presumed to reject his theological principles. The ambiguity of the king's conduct, though it kept the courtiers in awe, served, in the main, to encourage the Protestant doctrine among his subjects. The books composed by Tyndale and other reformers, who had fled to Antwerp, having been secretly brought over to England, began to make converts every where; but it was a translation of the New Testament published by Tyndale at Antwerp in 1526 that was esteemed the most dangerous to the established faith. The bishops gave private orders for buying up all the copies that could be found at Antwerp, and burned them publicly in Cheapside. By this silly measure they supplied Tyndale with money, and enabled him to print a new and correct edition of his work.

Though Henry neglected not to punish the Protestant doctrine, which he deemed heresy, his most formidable enemies, he knew, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, chiefly the monks, who, having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. Several were detected in a dangerous conspiracy. Elizabeth Barton, of Aldington, in Kent, commonly called the *holy Maid of Kent*, had been subject to hysterical fits, which threw her body into unusual convulsions; and having produced an equal disorder in her mind, made her utter strange sayings, which silly people in the neighborhood imagined to be supernatural. Richard Masters, vicar of the parish, having associated with him Dr. Bocking, a canon of Canterbury,

resolved to take advantage of this delusion. They taught their penitent to declaim against the new doctrines, which she denominated heresy; against innovations in ecclesiastical government; and against the king's intended divorce from Catherine. Many monks throughout England entered into the scheme; and even Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, though a man of sense and learning, was carried away by an opinion so favorable to the party which he had espoused. The Maid of Kent had been allowed for some years to continue her course; but, after the king's marriage with Anne Boleyn, she predicted his death, and pronounced him to be in the condition of Saul after his rejection. Henry at last began to think the matter worthy of his attention; and Elizabeth herself, Masters, Bocking, and others, suffered for their crime (1534).

§ 4. Fisher had lain in prison above a twelvemonth, when Paul III., who had now succeeded to the papal throne, willing to recompense the sufferings of so faithful an adherent, created him a cardinal. This promotion of a man merely for his opposition to royal authority roused the indignation of the king. Fisher was indicted for high treason because he refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy; was tried, condemned, and beheaded (June 22, 1535). More was condemned for the same offense, and was executed on July 6. He had long expected this fate, and needed no preparation to fortify him against the terrors of death. Not only his constancy, but even his cheerfulness, nay, his usual facetiousness, never forsook him; and he made a sacrifice of his life to his integrity, with the same indifference that he maintained in any ordinary occurrence. When he was mounting the scaffold, he said to one, "Friend, help me up; when I come down again, I can shift for myself." The executioner asked him forgiveness; he granted the request, but told him, "You will never get credit by beheading me, my neck is so short." Then laying his head on the block, he bade the executioner stay till he put aside his beard; "for," said he, "it never committed treason." Nothing was wanting to the glory of this end except a better cause.

The execution of Fisher, a cardinal, was regarded by the Pope as so capital an injury, that he immediately drew up his celebrated bull of interdict and deposition. The bull was suspended for a time through the interference of the French king, and was not issued till three years afterward. Meantime an incident happened in England which promised a more amicable conclusion of those disputes, and seemed even to open the way for a reconciliation between Henry and Charles. Queen Catherine was seized with a lingering illness, which at last brought her to her grave. She died at Kimbolton, in the county of Huntingdon, in the 50th year of her age (Jan. 7, 1536). A little before she expired, she wrote a

very tender letter to the king. She told him that, as the hour of her death was now approaching, she laid hold of this last opportunity to inculcate on him the importance of his religious duty, and the comparative emptiness of all human grandeur and enjoyment; that she forgave him all past injuries, and hoped that his pardon would be ratified in heaven; and that she had no other request to make, than to recommend to him his daughter, the sole pledge of their loves; and to crave his protection for her maids and servants. She concluded with these words: "I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things." The king was touched, even to the shedding of tears, by this last tender proof of Catherine's affection; but Queen Anne is said to have expressed her joy for the death of a rival beyond what decency or humanity could permit. After this event the emperor did indeed send proposals to Henry for a return to their ancient amity. Charles was now engaged in a desperate war with France; but an invasion which he made in person into Provence, and another on the side of the Netherlands, were repulsed; and Henry, finding that his own tranquillity was fully insured by these violent wars and animosities on the Continent, was the more indifferent to the advances of the emperor.

§ 5. Immediately after the execution of More the king proceeded to execute a design he had formed to suppress the monasteries, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues, a practice of which Wolsey had first set the example, by suppressing some religious houses, in order to found with the money so obtained Cardinal College, Oxford, now Christ Church. Cromwell, secretary of state, had been appointed vicar general, or vicegerent; a new office, by which the king's supremacy, or the absolute uncontrollable power assumed over the Church, was delegated to him; and he employed commissioners, who carried on, every where, a rigorous inquiry with regard to the conduct and deportment of the friars and nuns. They made a report, charging the religious houses with all kinds of immorality, and this report, commonly called the *Black Book*, was laid upon the table of the House of Commons in 1536. The larger monasteries, which had not been guilty of such gross immorality, were allowed to remain; but the Parliament passed an act suppressing the lesser monasteries, which possessed revenues below £200 a year. By this act 376 monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, amounting to £32,000 a year, were granted to the king, besides their goods, chattels, and plate, computed at £100,000 more.

This Parliament completed the union of Wales with England; the separate jurisdiction of several great lords, or marchers, as they were called, which obstructed the course of justice in Wales, and

encouraged robbery and pillaging, was abolished; and the authority of the king's courts was extended every where (1536). This Parliament, which had sat from 1529—the first Parliament of the Reformation—was now dissolved.

The same year was marked by the tragic fate of the new queen. She had been delivered of a dead son; and Henry's extreme fondness for male issue being thus, for the present, disappointed, his temper, equally violent and superstitious, was disposed to make the innocent mother answerable for the misfortune. But the chief means which Anne's enemies employed to inflame the king against her was his jealousy; and the Viscountess of Rochfort, in particular, who was married to the queen's brother, but who lived on bad terms with her sister-in-law, insinuated the most cruel suspicions in the king's mind. Henry's love, too, was transferred to another object. Jane, daughter of Sir John Seymour, and maid of honor to the queen, a young lady of singular beauty and merit, had obtained an entire ascendant over him, and he was determined to sacrifice every thing to the gratification of this new appetite. The queen was sent to the Tower on May 2, and four of her alleged paramours, Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, gentlemen about the court, were tried and executed, though no legal evidence was produced against them. Smeton was prevailed on, by the vain hopes of life, to confess a criminal correspondence with the queen; but even her enemies expected little advantage from this confession, for they never dared to confront him with her. Her own brother, the Viscount Rochfort, was accused of a criminal connection with her. The queen and her brother were tried by a jury of peers, over which their uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, presided as high steward. Upon what proof or pretense the crime of incest was imputed to them is unknown, but judgment was given against both. Henry, not satisfied with this cruel vengeance, was resolved entirely to annul his marriage with Anne Boleyn, and to declare her issue illegitimate. And on the ground that before the marriage of the king she had been contracted to Lord Percy, then the Earl of Northumberland, Cranmer pronounced the marriage null and invalid. The queen now prepared for suffering the death to which she was sentenced. She sent her last message to the king, and acknowledged the obligations which she owed him in his uniformly continuing his endeavors for her advancement; from a private gentlewoman, she said, he had first made her a marchioness, then a queen, and now, since he could raise her no higher in this world, he was sending her to be a saint in heaven. She then renewed the protestations of her innocence, and recommended her daughter to his care. Before the Lieutenant of the Tower, and all who approached her, she made the like declarations; and con-

tinued to behave herself with her usual serenity, and even with cheerfulness. "The executioner," she said to the lieutenant, "is, I hear, very expert, and my neck is very slender;" upon which she grasped it in her hand, and smiled. She was executed May 17. The innocence of this unfortunate queen can not reasonably be called in question.* But the king made the most effectual apology for her by marrying Jane Seymour on the third day after her execution. The trial and conviction of Queen Anne, and the subsequent events, rendered it necessary for the king to summon a new Parliament, by which his divorce from Anne Boleyn was ratified; the issue of both his former marriages were declared illegitimate; the crown was settled on the king's issue by Jane Seymour, or any subsequent wife; and, in case he should die without children, he was empowered, by his will or letters patent, to dispose of the crown: an enormous authority, especially when intrusted to a prince so violent and capricious in his humor.

In the same year (1536) the first complete copy of the ENGLISH BIBLE was printed, dedicated to Henry VIII., by whom it was ordered to be placed in every parish church in England. It was based upon Tyndale's translation, and was executed by Miles Coverdale.

§ 6. The late innovations, particularly the dissolution of the smaller monasteries, and the imminent danger to which the rest were exposed, had bred discontent among the people, and had disposed them to revolt. The first rising was in Lincolnshire, and was put down without much difficulty. A subsequent insurrection in the northern counties was more formidable, and was joined by about 40,000 men. One Aske, a gentleman of Doncaster, had taken the command of them, and he possessed the art of governing the populace. Their enterprise they called the *Pilgrimage of Grace;* some priests marched before in the habits of their order, carrying crosses in their hands; in their banners was woven a crucifix, with the representation of a chalice, and of the five wounds of Christ. They all took an oath that they had entered into the pilgrimage of grace from no other motive than their love to God, their desire of driving base-born persons from about the king, of restoring the Church, and of suppressing heresy. The rebels prevailed in taking both Hull and York, as well as Pomfret Castle, into which the Archbishop of York and Lord Darcy had thrown

* Lingard, Sharon Turner, and, more recently, Mr. Froude, have maintained the guilt of Anne Boleyn; but Mr. Hallam's authority (*Constit. Hist.*, i., 31) may be quoted on the other side. Mr. Froude seems to think that the verdicts of the juries and the decision of the peers settle the question; but we have too much evidence of their subserviency to the court during the reigns of the Tudors to attach much weight to their authority.

themselves; and the prelate and the nobleman, who secretly wished success to the insurrection, seemed to yield to the force imposed on them, and joined the rebels. They were, however, at length dispersed, partly by the negotiations of the Duke of Norfolk, who had been sent against them, and partly by the swelling of a small river, which prevented them from attacking the king's forces. Norfolk, by command from his master, spread the royal banner, and, wherever he thought proper, executed martial law in the punishment of offenders. Besides Aske, several noblemen and gentlemen were thrown into prison, and most of them condemned and executed. Lord Darcy, though he pleaded compulsion, and appealed for his justification to a long life spent in the service of the crown, was beheaded on Tower Hill (1537). Soon after this prosperous success, an event happened which crowned Henry's joy—the birth of a son, who was baptized by the name of Edward (Oct. 12). Yet was not his happiness without alloy: the queen died a few days after (Oct. 24).

Henry's success in putting down the great rebellion in the north strengthened him in his determination of suppressing the larger monasteries. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed, and having learned, by the example of the lesser monasteries, that nothing could withstand the king's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and, on the whole, the design was conducted with such success that in less than two years the king had got possession of all the monastic revenues. The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents. The relics also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. Of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. Henry not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St. Thomas; he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown into the air. On the whole, the king at different times suppressed 645 monasteries, of which 28 had abbots that enjoyed a seat in Parliament; 90 colleges were demolished in several counties, 2374 chantries and free chapels, 110 hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to £161,100. Henry settled pensions on the abbots

and priors proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; he erected six new bishoprics—Westminster, Oxford, Peterborough, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester—of which five subsist at this day; and he made a gift of the revenues of some of the convents to his courtiers and favorites, or sold them at low prices. Besides the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen.

§ 7. It is easy to imagine the indignation with which the intelligence of all these acts of violence was received at Rome. The Pope was at last incited to publish the bull which had been passed against the king; and in a public manner he delivered over his soul to the devil, and his dominions to the first invader (1538). Henry's kinsman, Cardinal Reginald Pole,* published a treatise of *the Unity of the Church*, in which he inveighed against the king's supremacy, his divorce, his second marriage; and he even exhorted the emperor to revenge on him the injury done to the imperial family and to the Catholic cause. Henry seized all the members of Pole's family in England, together with other persons of high rank. They were accused of treason; and several were executed, among whom was Lord Montague, the cardinal's brother, and the Marquis of Exeter, the grandson of Edward IV.† (1539). Others were attainted without trial, which was the fate of the Countess of Salisbury, the aged mother of the cardinal.

§ 8. Although Henry had gradually been changing the tenets of that theological system in which he had been educated, he was no less positive and dogmatical in the few articles which remained to him than if the whole fabric had continued entire and unshaken. He attached particular importance to the doctrine of the real presence; and he informed the Parliament, summoned in 1539, that he was anxious to extirpate from his kingdom all diversity of opinion on matters of religion. The Parliament, subservient as usual to the wishes of the king, passed an act for this purpose, usually called *The Statute of the Six Articles*, or the bloody bill, as the Protestants justly termed it. In this law the doctrine of the

* Reginald Pole was the second son of the Countess of Salisbury, daughter of the Duke of Clarence executed by Edward IV. Her only brother, the Earl of Warwick, was put to death by Henry VII. (See p. 250.) She was made Countess of Salisbury in her own right, a title which descended to her from her grandfather, the Earl of Warwick and Salisbury, the celebrated king-maker. After her brother's death she married Sir Richard Pole, a relation of Henry VII.

† He was the son of the Earl of Devon, and of Catherine, a daughter of Edward IV.

real presence was established, the communion in one kind, the perpetual obligation of vows of chastity, the utility of private masses, the celibacy of the clergy, and the necessity of auricular confession. Whoever denied these articles of faith was subject to be burned, or to other severe and cruel punishments. This law was a great blow to Cranmer and the Protestant party. Cranmer had had the courage to oppose the bill in the House; and though the king desired him to absent himself, he could not be prevailed on to give this proof of compliance. He was, however, now obliged, in obedience to the statute, to dismiss his wife; and Henry, satisfied with this proof of submission, showed him his former countenance and favor. The Parliament, having thus resigned all their religious liberties, proceeded to an entire surrender of their civil; and, without scruple or deliberation, they made by one act a total subversion of the English Constitution. They gave to the king's proclamation the same force as to a statute enacted by Parliament; and to render the matter worse, if possible, they framed this law as if it were only declaratory, and were intended to explain the natural extent of royal authority.

As soon as the act of the Six Articles had passed, the Catholics were extremely vigilant in informing against offenders, and no less than 500 persons were in a little time thrown into prison. Latimer and Shaxton, the Protestant bishops, were also imprisoned, and compelled to resign their bishoprics; but Cromwell, who had not had interest to prevent that act, was able for the present to elude its execution. Seconded by the Duke of Suffolk and Chancellor Audley, as well as by Cranmer, he remonstrated against the cruelty of punishing so many delinquents, and he obtained permission to set them at liberty. The uncertainty of the king's humor gave each party an opportunity of triumphing in its turn. No sooner had Henry passed this law, which seemed to inflict so deep a wound on the Reformers, than he granted a general permission for every one to have the new translation of the Bible in his family—a concession regarded by that party as an important victory.

§ 9. Immediately after the death of Jane Seymour, the most beloved of all his wives, Henry began to think of a new marriage. Cromwell, who was anxious to connect Henry with the Protestant princes on the Continent, proposed to him Anne of Cleves, whose father, the duke of that name, had great interest among the Lutherans, and whose sister Sibylla was married to the Elector of Saxony, the head of the Protestant league. A flattering picture of the princess by Hans Holbein determined Henry to apply to her father; and, after some negotiation, the marriage was concluded, and Anne was sent over to England. The king, impatient

to be satisfied with regard to the person of his bride, came privately to Rochester and got a sight at her. He found her utterly destitute both of beauty and grace, very unlike the pictures and representations which he had received, and he swore he never could possibly bear her any affection. The matter was worse when he found that she could speak no language but Dutch, of which he was entirely ignorant, and that the charms of her conversation were not likely to compensate for the homeliness of her person. It was the subject of debate among the king's counselors whether the marriage could not yet be dissolved, and the princess be sent back to her own country; but, as a cordial union had taken place between the emperor and the King of France, and as their religious zeal might prompt them to fall with combined arms upon England, an alliance with the German princes seemed now more than ever requisite for Henry's interest and safety; and he knew that, if he sent back the Princess of Cleves, such an affront would be highly resented by her friends and family. He was therefore resolved, notwithstanding his aversion to her, to complete the marriage, and he told Cromwell that, since matters had gone so far, he must put his neck into the yoke (Jan. 6, 1540). He continued, however, to be civil to Anne; he even seemed to repose his usual confidence in Cromwell, who received soon after the title of Earl of Essex, and was installed Knight of the Garter, but, though he exerted this command over himself, a discontent lay lurking in his breast, and was ready to burst out at the first opportunity.

§ 10. The fall of Cromwell was hastened by other causes. All the nobility hated a man who, being of such low extraction, had not only mounted above them by his station of vicar general, but had engrossed many of the other considerable offices of the crown. The people were averse to him as the supposed author of the violence on the monasteries, establishments which were still revered and beloved by the commonalty. The Catholics regarded him as the concealed enemy of their religion; the Protestants, observing his exterior concurrence with all the persecutions exercised against them, were inclined to bear him as little favor, and reproached him with the timidity, if not treachery, of his conduct. The Duke of Norfolk, who had long been at enmity with Cromwell, obtained a commission from the king to arrest him at the council-table, on an accusation of high treason, and to commit him to the Tower. Immediately after a bill of attainder was framed against him, and passed by both houses. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason; but the proofs of his treasonable practices are utterly improbable, and even absolutely ridiculous. He endeavored to soften the king by the most humble supplications, but all to

no purpose; and he was executed on July 28, 1540. He was a man of prudence, industry, and abilities worthy of a better master and of a better fate.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried on at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. The convocation soon afterward solemnly annulled the marriage between the king and queen, chiefly on the futile ground of a pre-contract between Anne and the Marquis of Lorraine, when both were children; the Parliament ratified the decision of the clergy; and the sentence was soon after notified to the princess. Anne was blessed with a happy insensibility of temper, and willingly hearkened to terms of accommodation. When the king offered to adopt her as his sister, to give her place next the queen and his own daughter, and to make a settlement of £3000 a year upon her, she accepted of the conditions, and gave her consent to the divorce.*

§ 11. Henry's marriage with Catherine Howard, the niece of the Duke of Norfolk, followed soon afterward (July 28, 1540), and was regarded by the Catholics as a favorable incident to their party. The king's councils being now directed by Norfolk and Gardiner, a furious persecution commenced against the Protestants, and the law of the Six Articles was executed with rigor. While Henry was exerting his violence against the Protestants, he spared not the Catholics who denied his supremacy; and a foreigner at that time in England had reason to say that those who were against the Pope were burned, and those who were for him were hanged. The king even displayed in an ostentatious manner this tyrannical impartiality, which reduced both parties to subjection; and Catholics and Protestants were carried on the same hurdles to execution. In the following year an inconsiderable rebellion broke out in Yorkshire, but was soon suppressed. The rebels were supposed to have been instigated by the intrigues of Cardinal Pole; and the king instantly determined to make the Countess of Salisbury, who had been attainted two years previously, suffer for her son's offenses. This venerable matron, the descendant of a long race of monarchs, was executed on the green within the Tower on May 27, 1541.

The king thought himself very happy in his new marriage: the agreeable person and disposition of Catherine had entirely captivated his affections, and he made no secret of his devoted attachment to her; but he discovered shortly afterward that she had led a dissolute life before her marriage, and he strongly suspected that she had been guilty of incontinence since. Two of her par-

* Anne of Cleves continued to live in England, and died at Chelsea in 1557.

amours were tried and executed; and a bill of attainder for treason was forthwith passed against the queen and the Viscountess of Rochfort, who had conducted her secret amours. They were both beheaded on Tower Hill, Feb. 12, 1542. As Lady Rochfort was known to be the chief instrument in bringing Anne Boleyn to her end, she died unpitied. The guilt of Queen Catherine both before and after her marriage can not admit of doubt.

§ 12. Toward the close of this year (1542) a war broke out between England and Scotland. James V., King of Scots, was under the influence of the Catholic party, and encouraged his subjects to make depredations upon the English border. Henry proclaimed war against James, and appointed the Duke of Norfolk, whom he called the scourge of the Scots, to the command. It was too late in the season to make more than a foray; and the Duke of Norfolk, after laying waste to the Scottish border, returned to Berwick. James sent an army of 10,000 men into Cumberland to revenge this insult; but they were without organization, and being suddenly attacked by a small body of English, not exceeding 500 men, near the Solway (Nov. 25, 1542), a panic seized them, and they immediately took to flight. Few were killed in this rout, for it was no action, but a great many were taken prisoners, and some of the principal nobility. The King of Scots, hearing of this disaster, was astonished; and being naturally of a melancholic disposition, he abandoned himself wholly to despair. His body was wasted by sympathy with his anxious mind; he had no male issue living; and hearing that his queen was safely delivered, he asked whether she had brought him a male or a female child. Being told the latter, he turned himself in his bed: "The crown came with a woman," said he, "and it will go with one." A few days after he expired (Dec. 14, 1542), in the flower of his age.

Henry was no sooner informed of the death of his nephew than he projected the scheme of uniting Scotland to his own dominions by marrying his son Edward to James's infant daughter, the heiress of that kingdom, afterward celebrated as Mary, Queen of Scots. A treaty was nearly concluded with the regent, the Earl of Arran, to this effect; but shortly afterward the Cardinal Beaton, the head of the Catholic party in Scotland, caused Henry's offer to be rejected, and entered into a close alliance with France. This confirmed Henry in the resolution which he had already taken of breaking with France, and of uniting his arms with those of the emperor. A league was formed by which the two monarchs agreed to enter Francis's dominions with an army each of 25,000 men (Feb. 11, 1543). This league seemed favorable to the Roman Catholic party; but, on the other hand, Henry soon after-

ward (July 12) married Catherine Parr, widow of Lord Latimer, a woman of virtue, and somewhat inclined to the new doctrine; and thus matters remained still nearly balanced between the factions. But this confederacy between Henry and Charles led to no important results. The share taken by the English in the campaign of 1543 was quite inconsiderable. In the following year the two princes agreed to invade France with large armaments, and to join their forces at Paris. Accordingly, Henry landed at Calais with 30,000 men, who were joined by 14,000 Flemings, while the emperor invaded the northeastern frontiers of France with an army of 60,000 men; but nothing important was effected. Henry, instead of marching to Paris, wasted his time in besieging Boulogne and Montreuil, while Charles, who had employed himself in capturing some towns on the Meuse and the Marne, subsequently advanced toward Paris. The season was thus wasted; both princes reproached each other with a breach of engagement; the emperor concluded a separate peace with Francis at Crépy, in which the name of his ally was not even mentioned; and Henry was obliged to retire into England, with the small success of having captured Boulogne. The war was prolonged two years between England and France. In 1545 the French made great preparations for the invasion of England. A French fleet appeared off St. Helen's, in the Isle of Wight, but returned to their own coasts without effecting any thing of importance. In 1546 Henry sent over a body of troops to Calais, and some skirmishes of small moment ensued. But both parties were now weary of a war from which neither could entertain much hope of advantage, and on the 7th of June a peace was concluded. The chief conditions were that Henry should retain Boulogne during eight years, or till the debt due by Francis should be paid: thus all that he obtained was a bad and chargeable security for a debt that did not amount to a third part of the expenses of the war.

§ 13. Francis took care to comprehend Scotland in the treaty. In that country the indolent and unambitious Arran had gone over to Beaton's party, and even reconciled himself to the Romish communion. The cardinal had thus acquired a complete ascendant; the opposition was now led by the Earl of Lenox, who was regarded by the Protestants as the head of their party, and who, after an ineffectual attempt to employ force, was obliged to lay down his arms and await the arrival of English succors. In 1543 Henry dispatched a fleet and army to Scotland. Edinburgh was taken and burned, and the eastern parts of the country devastated. The Earl of Arran collected some forces; but, finding that the English were already departed, he turned them against Lenox, who, after making some resistance, was obliged to fly into En-

gland. In 1544 and 1545 the war with Scotland was conducted feebly and with various success, and was signalized on both sides rather by the ills inflicted on the enemy than by any considerable advantage gained by either party. Thus Henry was by no means indisposed to conclude a peace with that country also.

The king, now freed from all foreign wars, had leisure to give his attention to domestic affairs, particularly to the establishment of uniformity in opinion, on which he was so intent. Though he allowed an English translation of the Bible, he had hitherto been very careful to keep the mass in Latin; but in 1544 he ordered that the Litany, a considerable part of the service, should be celebrated in the vulgar tongue; and in the following year he added a collection of English prayers for morning and evening service, to be used in the place of the Breviary. By these innovations he excited anew the hopes of the Reformers; but the pride and peevishness of the king, irritated by his declining state of health, impelled him to punish with fresh severity all who presumed to entertain a different opinion from himself, particularly in the capital point of the real presence. Anne Ascue, a young woman of merit as well as beauty, accused of dogmatizing on that delicate article, was condemned to be burned alive; and others were sentenced for the same crime to the same punishment. The queen herself, being secretly inclined to the principles of the Reformers, and having unwarily betrayed too much of her mind in her conversations with Henry, fell into great danger. At the instigation of Bishop Gardiner, seconded by the religious bigotry of the Chancellor Wriothesley, articles of impeachment were actually drawn up against her; but Catherine, having by some means learned this proceeding, averted the peril by her address. Henry having renewed his theological arguments, the queen gently declined the conversation, and remarked that such profound speculations were ill suited to the imbecility of her sex; that the wife's duty was in all cases to adopt implicitly the sentiments of her husband; and as to herself, it was doubly her duty, being blessed with a husband who was qualified, by his judgment and learning, not only to choose principles for his own family, but for the most wise and knowing of every nation. "Not so! by St. Mary," replied the king; "you are now become a doctor, Kate, and better fitted to give than receive instruction." She meekly replied that she was sensible how little she was entitled to these praises, and declared that she had ventured sometimes to feign a contrariety of sentiments merely in order to give him the pleasure of refuting her. "And is it so, sweetheart?" replied the king; "then are we perfect friends again." He embraced her with great affection, and sent her away with assurances of his protection and kindness.

When the chancellor came the next day to convey her to the Tower, the king dismissed him with the appellations of *knave, fool,* and *beast.**

§ 14. Henry's tyrannical disposition, soured by ill health, vented itself soon afterward on the Duke of Norfolk, and his son, the Earl of Surrey, chiefly through the prejudices which he entertained against the latter, on the pretext that they were meditating tc seize the crown. Surrey was a young man of the most promising hopes, and had distinguished himself by every accomplishment which became a scholar, a courtier, and a soldier. His spirit and ambition were equal to his talents and his quality, and he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required. The king, somewhat displeased with his conduct as Governor of Boulogne, had sent the Earl of Hertford† to command in his place, and Surrey was so imprudent as to drop some menacing expressions against the ministers on account of this affront which was put upon him. And as he had refused to marry Hertford's daughter, and even waived every other proposal of marriage, Henry imagined that he had entertained views of espousing the Lady Mary; and he was instantly determined to repress, by the most severe expedients, so dangerous an ambition. Private orders were given to arrest Norfolk and Surrey, and they were on the same day confined in the Tower. Surrey being a commoner, his trial was the more expeditious; he was condemned for high treason, and the sentence was soon after executed upon him (Jan. 19, 1547). The innocence of the Duke of Norfolk was still, if possible, more apparent than that of his son, and his services to the crown had been greater; yet the House of Peers, without examining the prisoner, without trial or evidence, passed a bill of attainder against him, and sent it down to the Commons. The king was now approaching fast toward his end; and fearing lest Norfolk should escape him, he sent a message to the Commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill; and having affixed the royal assent by commission, issued orders for the execution of Norfolk on the morning of January 28, 1547. But news being carried to the Tower that the king himself had expired that night, the lieutenant deferred obeying the warrant, and it was not thought advisable by the council to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest nobleman in the kingdom, who had been condemned by a sentence so unjust and tyrannical.

Shortly before his death the king desired that Cranmer might

* It should be observed, however, that this well-known tale rests on the authority of Fox, and is not mentioned by any contemporary authority.

† Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, was the brother of Jane Seymour, Henry's third wife.

be sent for; but before the prelate arrived he was speechless, though he still seemed to retain his senses. Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ: he squeezed the prelate's hand, and immediately expired, after a reign of 37 years and 9 months, and in the 56th year of his age. In January, 1544, the king had caused the Parliament to pass a law declaring the Prince of Wales, or any of his male issue, first and immediate heirs of the crown, and restoring the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth, to their right of succession; and he left a will confirming this destination. The act of Parliament had made no arrangement in case of the failure of issue by Henry's children; but the king, by his will, provided that the next heirs to the crown were the descendants of his sister Mary, the late Duchess of Suffolk, passing over entirely the Scottish line.

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: he was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by Lord Herbert, his history is his best character and description. He possessed great vigor of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men; courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility; and, though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and every one dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who, in every controversy, was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice; but neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtue: he was sincere, open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. It may seem a little extraordinary that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred; he seems even, in some degree, to have possessed to the last their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude, while his magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes.

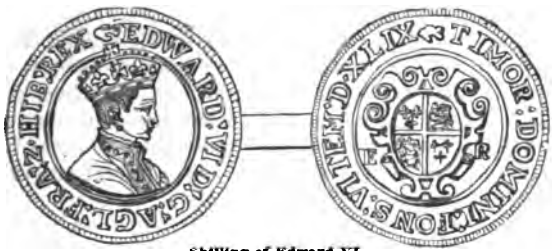
Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College; but upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues, which, how-

ever, he afterward restored, and only changed the name of the college. The cardinal founded in Oxford the first chair for teaching Greek. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England. Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1513. Battle of Flodden Field.
1515. Wolsey cardinal and chancellor.
1520. Interview between Henry and Francis I. at the Field of the Cloth of Gold.
1521. The king receives the title of "Defender of the Faith."
1529. Trial of Henry's suit for a divorce from Catherine of Aragon.
1530. Death of Cardinal Wolsey.
1533. Henry marries Anne Boleyn. Cranmer pronounces the king's divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Birth of Queen Elizabeth.
1534. The papal power abrogated in England.
1535. Execution of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More.

A.D.
1536. Wales incorporated with England and subjected to the English laws. Anne Boleyn executed. Henry marries Jane Seymour.
1537. Birth of Edward VI.
1539. Law of the Six Articles passed.
1540. Henry marries Anne of Cleves. Attainder and execution of Cromwell. Divorce of Anne of Cleves. Henry marries Catherine Howard.
1542. Catherine Howard executed.
1543. The king marries Catherine Parr.
1544. Capture of Boulogne.
1547. Execution of Surrey. Death of the king.



Shilling of Edward VI.

Obv.: EDWARD . VI. D. G. AGL. FRA. Z. HIB. REX. Bust to right.
Rev.: TIMOR: DOMINI: FONS: VITE [sic] M: D. XLIX. Arms of England. In field E R.

CHAPTER XVI.

EDWARD VI. A.D. 1547–1553.

§ 1. State of the Regency. Hertford Protector. § 2. Reformation established. Gardiner's Opposition. § 3. War with Scotland. Battle of Pinkie. § 4. Proceedings in Parliament. Progress of the Reformation. Affairs of Scotland. § 5. Cabals of Lord Seymour. His Execution. § 6. Ecclesiastical Affairs. Protestant Persecutions. Joan Bocher. § 7. Discontents of the People. Insurrections in Devonshire and Norfolk. War with Scotland and France. § 8. Factions in the Council. Somerset resigns the Protectorship. § 9. Peace with France and Scotland. Ecclesiastical Affairs. § 10. Ambition of Northumberland. Trial and Execution of Somerset. § 11. Northumberland changes the Succession. Death of the King.

§ 1. THE late king had fixed the majority of the prince at the completion of his 18th year; and as Edward was then only in his 10th year, he appointed 16 executors, to whom, during the minority, he intrusted the government of the king and kingdom. Among them were Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Lord Wriothesley, chancellor, and the Earl of Hertford, chamberlain. With these executors, to whom was intrusted the whole regal authority, were appointed 12 counselors, who possessed no immediate power, and could only assist with their advice when any affair was laid before them. But the first act of the executors and counselors was to depart from the destination of the late king by appointing a Protector. The choice fell of course on the Earl of Hertford, who, as he was the king's maternal uncle, was strongly interested in his safety; and, possessing no claims to inherit the crown, could never have any separate interest which might lead him to endanger Edward's person or his authority. All those who were possessed of any office resigned their former commissions, and accepted new ones in the name of the young king. The bishops themselves were constrained to make a like submission. Care was taken to insert in their new commissions that

they held their offices during pleasure; and it is there expressly affirmed that all manner of authority and jurisdiction, as well ecclesiastical as civil, is originally derived from the crown.

The late king had intended, before his death, to make a new creation of nobility, in order to supply the place of those peerages which had fallen by former attainders or the failure of issue; and accordingly, among other promotions, Hertford was now created Duke of Somerset, marshal, and lord treasurer; and Wriothesley Earl of Southampton. The latter was the head of the Catholic party, and had always been opposed to Somerset. One of the first acts of the Protector was to procure the removal of Southampton, on the ground that he had, on his own private authority, put the great seal in commission; a fine was also imposed upon him, and he was confined to his own house during pleasure. Somerset was not content with this advantage. On pretense that the vote of the executors, choosing him Protector, was not a sufficient foundation for his authority, he procured a patent from the young king, by which he entirely overturned the will of Henry VIII., named himself Protector with full regal power, and appointed a council consisting of all the former counselors, and all the executors except Southampton. He reserved a power of naming any other counselors at pleasure, and he was bound to consult with such only as he thought proper. This was a plain usurpation, which it is impossible by any arguments to justify; but no objections were made to his power and title.

§ 2. The Protector had long been regarded as a secret partisan of the Reformers; and being now freed from restraint, he scrupled not to discover his intention of correcting all abuses in the ancient religion, and of adopting still more of the Protestant innovations. He took care that all persons intrusted with the king's education should be attached to the same principles. After Southampton's fall few members of the council seemed to retain any attachment to the Romish communion, and most of the counselors appeared even sanguine in forwarding the progress of the Reformation. The riches which most of them had acquired from the spoils of the clergy induced them to widen the breach between England and Rome; and by establishing a contrariety of speculative tenets, as well as of discipline and worship, to render a coalition with the mother church altogether impracticable. The Protector, in his schemes for advancing the Reformation, had always recourse to the counsels of Cranmer, who, being a man of moderation and prudence, was averse to all violent changes, and determined to bring over the people, by insensible innovations, to that system of doctrine and discipline which he deemed the most pure and perfect.

The Protector, having suspended, during the interval, the jurisdiction of the bishops, appointed a general visitation to be made in all the dioceses of England. The visitors consisted of a mixture of clergy and laity, and had six circuits assigned them. The chief purport of their instructions was, besides correcting immoralities and irregularities in the clergy, to abolish the ancient superstitions, and to bring the discipline and worship somewhat nearer the practice of the Reformed churches. In order to check the abuse of preaching, orders were given to the clergy, and especially to the monks, to restrain the topics of their sermons: twelve homilies were published, which they were enjoined to read to the people; and all of them were prohibited, without express permission, from preaching any where but in their parish churches. The person who opposed, with greatest authority, any farther advances toward reformation, was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who, though he had not obtained a place in the Council of Regency on account of late disgusts which he had given to Henry, was entitled, by his age, experience, and capacity, to the highest trust and confidence of his party. But this opposition drew on him the indignation of the council, and he was sent to the Fleet, where he was used with some severity.

§ 3. The Protector of England, as soon as the state was brought to some composure, made preparations for war with Scotland; and he was determined to execute, if possible, that project, of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been so intent, and which he had recommended with his dying breath to his executors. The Reformation had now made considerable progress in Scotland. Cardinal Beaton had been assassinated (May 28, 1546) in revenge for the burning of Wishart, a zealous Protestant preacher; and Henry had promised to take the perpetrators under his protection. Somerset levied an army of 18,000 men, and equipped a fleet of 60 sail, with which he invaded Scotland. A well-contested battle was fought at Pinkie, near Musselburgh (Sept. 10, 1547), in which the Scots were defeated with immense slaughter. Had Somerset prosecuted his advantages, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation; but he was impatient to return to England, where he heard that some counselors, and even his own brother, Lord Seymour, the admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority. Shortly after his return the infant queen of Scotland was sent to France and betrothed to the dauphin.

§ 4. The Protector deserves great praise on account of the laws passed this session, by which the rigor of former statutes was much mitigated, and some security given to the freedom of the Constitution. All laws were repealed which extended the crime of trea-

son beyond the statute of the 25th of Edward III.; all laws enacted during the late reign extending the crime of felony; all the former laws against Lollardy or heresy, together with the statute of the Six Articles. A repeal also passed of that law, the destruction of all laws, by which the king's proclamation was made of equal force with a statute. Acts were also passed to secure the king's supremacy. In the following year (1548) farther reformations were made in religion. Orders were issued by council that candles should no longer be carried about on Candlemas-day, ashes on Ash-Wednesday, palms on Palm-Sunday; and that all images should be removed from the churches. As private masses were abolished by law, it became necessary to compose a new communion service; and the council went so far, in the preface which they prefixed to this work, as to leave the practice of auricular confession wholly indifferent.

§ 5. The Protector's attention was now wholly engrossed by the cabals of his brother, Lord Seymour, the Admiral of England. By his flattery and address he had so insinuated himself into the good graces of the queen-dowager, that, forgetting her usual prudence and decency, she married him immediately upon the demise of the late king. Upon her death in childbirth he made his addresses to the Lady Elizabeth, then in the 16th year of her age. He openly decried his brother's administration, and by promises and persuasion he brought over to his party many of the principal nobility. The Earl of Warwick* was an ill instrument between the brothers, and had formed the design, by inflaming the quarrel, to raise his own fortune on the ruins of both. The Duke of Somerset, finding his own power in serious peril, committed his brother to the Tower; the Parliament passed a bill of attainder against him, and he was executed on Tower Hill (March 20, 1549).

§ 6. All the considerable business transacted this session, besides the attainder of Lord Seymour, regarded ecclesiastical affairs. The mass, which had always been celebrated in Latin, was translated into English; and this innovation, with the retrenching of prayers to saints, and of some superstitious ceremonies, was the chief difference between the old mass and the new Liturgy. The doctrine of the real presence was tacitly condemned by the new communion service, but still retained some hold in the minds of men. The Parliament established this form of worship in all the churches, and ordained a uniformity to be observed in all the rites

* The Earl of Warwick was the son of Dudley, the minister of Henry VII., who had been attainted and beheaded in the reign of Henry VIII. He was restored to his honors, and created Lord Lisle by Henry VIII., and had been made Earl of Warwick at the beginning of the reign of Edward VI.

and ceremonies. They also enacted a law permitting the marriage of priests. Thus the principal tenets and practices of the Catholic religion were now abolished, and the Reformation, such as it is enjoyed at present, was almost entirely completed in England.

But, though the Protestant divines had ventured to renounce opinions deemed certain during many ages, they regarded, in their turn, the new system as so certain, that they were ready to burn, in the same flames from which they themselves had so narrowly escaped, every one that had the assurance to differ from them. A commission, by act of council, was granted to the primate and some others, to examine and search after all Anabaptists, heretics, or contemners of the Book of Common Prayer. Some tradesmen in London were brought before the commissioners, were prevailed on to abjure their opinions, and were dismissed. But there was a woman accused of heretical pravity, called Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, who was so pertinacious that the commissioners could make no impression upon her, and it was resolved to commit her to the flames.* Some time after, a Dutchman, called Van Paris, accused of the heresy which has received the name of Arianism, was condemned to the same punishment.

§ 7. These reforms excited considerable discontent, which was aggravated by other causes. The new proprietors of the confiscated abbey-lands demanded exorbitant rents, and often spent the money in London. The cottagers were reduced to misery by the inclosure of the commons on which they formerly fed their cattle. The general increase of gold and silver in Europe after the discovery of the West Indies had raised the price of commodities: and the debasement of the coin by Henry VIII., and afterward by the Protector, had occasioned a universal distrust and stagnation of commerce. A rising began at once in several parts of England as if a universal conspiracy had been formed by the commonalty. In most parts the rioters were put down, but the disorders in Devonshire and Norfolk threatened more dangerous consequences (1549). In Devonshire the rioters were brought into the form of a regular army, which amounted to the number of 10,000. Their demands were, that the mass should be restored, half of the abbey-lands resumed, the law of the Six Articles executed, holy water and holy bread respected, and all other particular grievances redressed. Lord Russell,† who had been dispatched against them, drove them

* The common story that the young king long refused to sign the warrant for the execution of Joan Bocher, and was only prevailed upon to do so by Cranmer's importunity, is shown by Mr. Bruce, in the Preface to Roger Hutchinson's works (Parker Society, 1842), to be apocryphal. Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.*, i., 96) is also of opinion that the tale ought to vanish from history.

† Lord Russell had been created a peer in 1539, and received large grants

from all their posts, and took many prisoners. The leaders were sent to London, tried, and executed, and many of the inferior sort were put to death by martial law.

The insurrection in Norfolk rose to a still greater height, and was attended with greater acts of violence. One Ket, a tanner, had assumed the government of the insurgents, and he exercised his authority with the utmost arrogance and outrage. The Earl of Warwick, at the head of 6000 men, levied for the wars against Scotland, at last made a general attack upon the rebels, and put them to flight. Two thousand fell in the action and pursuit; Ket was hanged at Norwich Castle, and the insurrection was entirely suppressed. To guard against such disturbances in future, lords lieutenant were appointed in all the counties. These insurrections were attended with bad consequences to the foreign interests of the nation. The forces of the Earl of Warwick, which might have made a great impression on Scotland, were diverted from that enterprise, and the French general had leisure to reduce that country to some settlement and composure. The King of France also took advantage of the distractions among the English, and made an attempt to recover Boulogne; but nothing decisive took place. As soon as the French war broke out the Protector endeavored to fortify himself with the alliance of the emperor, who, however, eluded the applications of the embassadors. Somerset, despairing of his assistance, was inclined to conclude a peace with France and Scotland; but he met with strong opposition from his enemies in the council, who, seeing him unable to support the war, were determined, for that very reason, to oppose all proposals for a pacification.

§ 8. The factions ran high in the court of England, and matters were drawing to an issue fatal to the authority of the Protector. After obtaining the patent investing him with regal authority, he no longer paid any attention to the opinion of the other executors and counselors; and, while he showed a resolution to govern every thing, his capacity appeared not in any respect proportioned to his ambition. He had disgusted the nobility by courting the people, yet the interest which he had formed with the latter was in no degree answerable to his expectations. The Catholic party, who retained influence with the lower ranks, were his declared enemies; the attainder and execution of his brother bore an odious aspect; and the palace which he was building in the Strand served, by its magnificence, to expose him to the censure of the public, especially as he had desecrated several churches in order to complete it. All

of Church lands. He was made Earl of Bedford in 1550, and was the ancestor of the present Duke of Bedford. The title of duke was first created in 1694, in the reign of William III.

these imprudences were remarked by Somerset's enemies, who resolved to take advantage of them. Lord St. John, president of the council, the Earls of Warwick, Southampton, and Arundel, with five members more, assuming to themselves the whole power of the council, began to act independently of the Protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance and misfortune. Somerset, finding that no man of rank, except Cranmer and Paget, adhered to him, that the people did not rise at his summons, that the city and Tower had declared against him, that even his best friends had deserted him, lost all hopes of success, and began to apply to his enemies for pardon and forgiveness. He was, however, sent to the Tower, with some of his friends and partisans, among whom was Cecil, afterward so much distinguished. Somerset was prevailed on to confess, on his knees before the council, all the articles of charge against him; and the Parliament passed a vote by which they deprived him of all his offices, and fined him £2000 a year in land. Lord St. John was created treasurer in his place, and Warwick earl marshal. The prosecution against him was carried no farther. His fine was remitted by the king; he recovered his liberty; and Warwick, thinking that he was now sufficiently humbled, readmitted him into the council, and even agreed to an alliance between their families by the marriage of his own son, Lord Lisle, with the Lady Jane Seymour, daughter of Somerset. The Roman Catholics were extremely elated with this revolution; and as they had ascribed all the late innovations to Somerset's authority, they hoped that his fall would prepare the way for the return of the ancient religion. But Warwick, who now bore chief sway in the council, took care very early to express his intentions of supporting the Reformation; and in the following year (1550), Bishop Gardiner, who had already lain two years in prison, was deprived of his bishopric on the most arbitrary charges.

§ 9. When Warwick and the Council of Regency began to exercise their power, they found themselves involved in the same difficulties that had embarrassed the Protector. The wars with France and Scotland could not be supported by an exhausted exchequer; seemed dangerous to a divided nation; and were now acknowledged not to have any object which even the greatest and most uninterrupted success could attain. Although the project of peace entertained by Somerset had served them as a pretense for clamor against his administration, yet they found themselves obliged to negotiate a treaty with the King of France. Henry offered a sum for the immediate restitution of Boulogne, and 400,000 crowns were at last agreed on, one half to be paid immediately, the other in August following. Six hostages were

given for the performance of this article, and Scotland was comprehended in the treaty.

The theological zeal of the council, though seemingly fervent, went not so far as to make them neglect their own temporal concerns, which seem to have ever been uppermost in their thoughts. Several Catholic bishops were deprived, and some were obliged to seek protection by sacrificing the most considerable revenues of their see to the rapacious courtiers. Though every one besides yielded to the authority of the council, the Lady Mary could never be brought to compliance; and she still continued to adhere to the mass, and to reject the new Liturgy. It was with difficulty that the young king, who had deeply imbibed the principles of the Reformation, could be prevailed on to connive at his sister's obstinacy. The Book of Common Prayer suffered in England a new revisal, and some rites and ceremonies, which had given offense, were omitted. The doctrines of religion were also reduced to 42 articles. These were intended to obviate farther divisions and variations.

§ 10. Warwick, not contented with the station which he had attained, carried farther his pretensions, and had gained partisans who were disposed to second him in every enterprise. The last Earl of Northumberland died without issue; and as Sir Thomas Percy, his brother, had been attainted, the title was at present extinct, and the estate was vested in the crown. Warwick now procured to himself a grant of those ample possessions, and he was dignified with the title of Duke of Northumberland (1551). But these new possessions and titles he regarded as steps only to farther acquisitions. Finding that Somerset still enjoyed a considerable share of popularity, he determined to ruin the man whom he regarded as the chief obstacle to his ambition. Somerset was therefore accused of high treason and felony: he was acquitted on the former charge, but condemned on the latter. He was brought to the scaffold on Tower Hill (Jan. 22, 1552) amid great crowds of spectators, who bore him such sincere kindness that they entertained, till the last moment, the fond hopes of his pardon. His virtues were better calculated for private than for public life; and by his want of penetration and firmness he was ill fitted to extricate himself from those cabals and violences to which that age was so much addicted.* Several of Somerset's friends were also brought to trial, condemned, and executed; great injustice seems to have been used in their prosecution.

§ 11. The declining state of the young king's health opened out

* He was the ancestor of the present duke. The title, forfeited by his attainder, was restored to his great-grandson on the accession of Charles II. (1660).

to Northumberland a vaster prospect of ambition. He endeavored to persuade Edward to deprive his two sisters of the succession on the ground of illegitimacy. He represented that the certain consequences of his sister Mary's succession, or that of the Queen of Scots, was the re-establishment of the usurpation and idolatry of the Church of Rome; that, though the Lady Elizabeth was liable to no such objection, her exclusion must follow that of her elder sister; that, when these princesses were excluded by such solid reasons, the succession devolved on the Marchioness of Dorset, elder daughter of the French queen and the Duke of Suffolk; that the next heir of the marchioness was the Lady Jane Gray; a lady every way worthy of a crown; and that, even if her title by blood were doubtful, which there was no just reason to pretend, the king was possessed of the same power that his father enjoyed, and might leave her the crown by letters patent. Northumberland, finding that his arguments were likely to operate on the king, began to prepare the other parts of his scheme. The dukedom of Suffolk being extinct, the Marquis of Dorset was raised to this title; and the new Duke of Suffolk and the duchess were persuaded by Northumberland to give their daughter, the Lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, the Lord Guilford Dudley. The languishing state of Edward's health, who was now in a confirmed consumption, made Northumberland the more intent on the execution of his project. He removed all except his own emissaries from about the king, and prevailed on the young prince to give his final consent to the settlement projected. The judges hesitated to draw up the necessary deed, but were at length brought to do so by the menaces of Northumberland, and the promise that a pardon should immediately after be granted them for any offense which they might have incurred by their compliance.

After this settlement was made Edward visibly declined every day. To make matters worse, his physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice and by an order of council, and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook in a little time to restore him to his former state of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms increased to the most violent degree; and he expired at Greenwich (July 6, 1553), in the 16th year of his age, and the 7th of his reign. All the English historians dwell with pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of tender affection to the public.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1547. Hertford (afterward Duke of Somerset) Protector. Battle of Pinkie.
1548. Proclamation for the removal of images, etc.
1549. The Liturgy reformed. Lord Seymour, the Protector's brother, beheaded. The Protector deposed.
1550. Earl of Warwick (afterward Duke of Northumberland) Protector.
1552. Somerset beheaded.
1553. Death of Edward VI.



Medal of Philip and Mary.

Obv.: PHILIP . D . G . HISP . REX . Z. Bust of Philip to right. Rev.: MARIA I REG . ANGL . FRANC . ET . HIB . Z. Bust of Mary to left.

CHAPTER XVII.

MARY. A.D. 1553–1558.

§ 1. Lady Jane Gray proclaimed. Mary acknowledged Queen. § 2. Northumberland executed. Roman Catholic Religion restored. § 3. The Spanish Match. Wyatt's Insurrection. § 4. Imprisonment of the Princess Elizabeth. Execution of Lady Jane Gray. § 5. Mary's Marriage with Philip of Spain. England reconciled with the See of Rome. § 6. Persecutions. Execution of Cranmer. § 7. War with France. Loss of Calais. § 8. Death and Character of the Queen.

§ I. NORTHUMBERLAND, sensible of the opposition which he must expect, had carefully concealed the destination made by the king; and in order to bring the Princess Mary into his power, desired her to attend on her dying brother. Mary had already reached Hoddesden, within half a day's journey of the court, when the Earl of Arundel sent her private intelligence both of her brother's death and of the conspiracy formed against her. She immediately retired to Suffolk, and dispatched a message to the council, requiring them immediately to give orders for proclaiming her in London. Northumberland found that farther dissimulation was fruitless: he went to Sion House, accompanied by the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Pembroke, and others of the nobility; and he approached the Lady Jane, who resided there, with all the respect usually paid to the sovereign. Jane was, in a great measure, ignorant of these transactions; and it was with equal grief and surprise that she received intelligence of them. She was a lady of an amiable person, an engaging disposition, and accomplished parts. She had attained a familiar knowledge of the Roman and Greek languages, besides modern tongues; had passed most of her time in an application to learning; and expressed a great indifference for other occupations and amusements usual with her

sex and station. Roger Ascham, tutor to the Lady Elizabeth, having one day paid her a visit, found her employed in reading Plato, while the rest of the family were engaged in a party of hunting in the park. The intelligence of her elevation to the throne was nowise agreeable to her. She even refused to accept of the present; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; but, overcome at last by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her father and father-in-law, and above all of her husband, she submitted to their will, and was prevailed on to relinquish her own judgment. Orders were given by the council to proclaim Jane throughout the kingdom; but these orders were executed only in London and the neighborhood. No applause ensued; the people heard the proclamation with silence and concern, and some even expressed their scorn and contempt. The people of Suffolk, meanwhile, paid their attendance on Mary, and the nobility and gentry daily flocked to her and brought her re-enforcement. Northumberland, hitherto blinded by ambition, saw at last the danger gather round him, and knew not to what hand to turn himself. At length he determined to march into Suffolk; but he found his army too weak to encounter the queen's. He wrote to the council, desiring them to send him a re-enforcement; but the counselors agreed upon a speedy return to the duty which they owed to their lawful sovereign. The mayor and aldermen of London were immediately sent for, who discovered great alacrity in obeying the orders they received to proclaim Mary. The people expressed their approbation by shouts of applause. Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates and declared for the queen; and even Northumberland, being deserted by all his followers, was obliged to proclaim Mary. The people every where, on the queen's approach to London, gave sensible expressions of their loyalty and attachment. And the Lady Elizabeth met her at the head of a thousand horse, which that princess had levied in order to support their joint title against the usurper.

§ 2. The Duke of Northumberland was taken into custody; at the same time were committed the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane Gray, Lord Guilford Dudley, and several of the nobility. As the counselors pleaded constraint as an excuse for their treason, Mary extended her pardon to most of them. But the guilt of Northumberland was too great, as well as his ambition and courage too dangerous, to permit him to entertain any reasonable hopes of life. When brought to his trial he attempted no defense, but pleaded guilty. At his execution he made a profession of the Catholic religion, and told the people that they never would enjoy tranquillity till they returned to the faith of their ancestors; whether such were his real sentiments, which he had formerly disguised from

interest and ambition, or that he hoped by this declaration to render the queen more favorable to his family. Sir Thomas Palmer and Sir John Gates suffered with him (Aug. 23, 1553); and this was all the blood spilled on account of so dangerous and criminal an enterprise against the rights of the sovereign. Sentence was pronounced against the Lady Jane and Lord Guilford, but without any present intention of putting it in execution.

All Mary's acts showed that she was determined to restore the Roman Catholic religion. Gardiner, Bonner, Tonstal, and others, who had been deprived in the preceding reign, were reinstated in their sees. On pretense of discouraging controversy, she silenced, by an act of prerogative, all the preachers throughout England, except such as should obtain a particular license. Holgate, Archbishop of York, Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter, Ridley of London, and Hooper of Gloucester, were thrown into prison, whither old Latimer also was sent soon after. The zealous bishops and priests were encouraged in their forwardness to revive the mass, though contrary to the present laws. The primate had reason to expect little favor during the present reign, but it was by his own indiscreet zeal that he brought on himself the first violence and persecution. A report being spread that, in order to pay court to the queen, he had promised to officiate in the Latin service, Cranmer, to wipe off this aspersion, published a manifesto in his own defense, in which he attributed some of the popish rites to the invention of the devil, and characterized the mass as replete with horrid blasphemies. On the publication of this inflammatory paper Cranmer was thrown into prison, and was tried for the part which he had acted in concurring with the Lady Jane, and opposing the queen's accession. Sentence of high treason was pronounced against him, but the execution of it did not follow; and the primate was reserved for a more cruel punishment. In opening the Parliament the court showed a contempt of the laws by celebrating, before the two houses, a mass of the Holy Ghost, in the Latin tongue, attended with all the ancient rites and ceremonies. The first bill passed by the Parliament was of a popular nature, and abolished every species of treason not contained in the statute of Edward III., and every species of felony that did not subsist before the first of Henry VIII. The Parliament next declared the queen to be legitimate, ratified the marriage of Henry with Catherine of Aragon, and annulled the divorce pronounced by Cranmer. All the statutes of King Edward with regard to religion were repealed by one vote. The attainder of the Duke of Norfolk, who had been previously liberated from the Tower, and admitted to Mary's confidence and favor, was reversed. The queen also sent assurances to the Pope, then Julius III., of her earnest desire to reconcile herself and her kingdoms to the Holy See.

§ 3. No sooner did the Emperor Charles hear of the death of Edward and the accession of his kinswoman Mary to the crown of England, than he sent over an agent to propose his son Philip to her as a husband. Philip was a widower; and, though he was only 27 years of age, 11 years younger than the queen, this objection, it was thought, would be overlooked, and there was no reason to despair of her still having issue. Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget gave their advice for the match; but Gardiner, who was become prime minister, and who had been promoted to the office of chancellor, opposed it. The Commons, alarmed to hear that she was resolved to contract a foreign alliance, sent a committee to remonstrate in strong terms against that dangerous measure; and to prevent farther applications of the same kind, the queen thought proper to dissolve the Parliament. A Convocation had been summoned at the same time with the Parliament; and the majority here also appeared to be of the court religion. After the Parliament and Convocation were dismissed, the new laws with regard to religion were still more openly put in execution; the mass was every where re-established; marriage was declared to be incompatible with any spiritual office; and a large proportion of the clergy were deprived of their livings. This violent and sudden change of religion inspired the Protestants with great discontent, while the Spanish match diffused universal apprehensions for the liberty and independence of the nation. To obviate all clamor, the articles of marriage were drawn as favorable as possible for the interest and security, and even grandeur of England; and, in particular, it was agreed that, though Philip should have the title of king, the administration should be entirely in the queen; and that no foreigner should be capable of enjoying any office in the kingdom. But these articles gave no satisfaction to the nation, and some persons determined to resist the marriage by arms. Sir Thomas Wyatt purposed to raise Kent; Sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and they engaged the Duke of Suffolk, by the hopes of recovering the crown for the Lady Jane, to attempt raising the midland counties. The attempts of the last two were speedily disconcerted, but Wyatt was at first more successful. Having published a declaration at Maidstone, in Kent, against the queen's evil counselors, and against the Spanish match, without any mention of religion, the people began to flock to his standard. He forced his way into London; but his followers, finding that no person of note joined him, insensibly fell off, and he was at last seized near Temple-bar by Sir Maurice Berkeley. Sixty or seventy persons suffered for this rebellion; four hundred more were conducted before the queen with ropes about their necks, and, falling on their knees, received a pardon and were dismissed. Wyatt was condemned and executed.

§ 4. The Lady Elizabeth had been, during some time, treated with great harshness by her sister, though she had found it prudent to conform, outwardly at least, to the Roman Catholic worship. Mary, seizing the opportunity of this rebellion, and hoping to involve her sister in some appearance of guilt, sent for her under a strong guard, committed her to the Tower, and ordered her to be strictly examined by the council. But the princess made so good a defense that the queen found herself under a necessity of releasing her. In order to send her out of the kingdom, a marriage was offered her with the Duke of Savoy; and when she declined the proposal, she was committed to custody under a strong guard at Woodstock. But this rebellion proved fatal to the Lady Jane Gray, as well as to her husband; the Duke of Suffolk's guilt was imputed to her, and both she and her husband were beheaded (Feb. 12, 1554). On the scaffold she made a speech to the bystanders, in which the mildness of her disposition led her to take the blame wholly on herself, without uttering one complaint against the severity with which she had been treated. She then caused herself to be disrobed by her women, and with a steady, serene countenance submitted herself to the executioner. The Duke of Suffolk was tried, condemned, and executed soon after. The queen filled the Tower and all the prisons with nobility and gentry, whom their interest with the nation, rather than any appearance of guilt, had made the objects of her suspicion.

§ 5. Philip of Spain arrived at Southampton on July 20, 1554, and a few days after he was married to Mary at Winchester (July 25). Having made a pompous entry into London, where Philip displayed his wealth with great ostentation, they proceeded to Windsor, the palace in which they afterward resided. The prince's behavior was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the English nation had entertained against him. He was distant and reserved in his address; took no notice of the salutes even of the most considerable noblemen; and so intrenched himself in form and ceremony that he was in a manner inaccessible. The zeal of the Catholics, the influence of Spanish gold, the powers of prerogative, the discouragement of the gentry, particularly of the Protestants—all these causes, seconding the intrigues of Gardiner, had at length procured a House of Commons which was in a great measure to the queen's satisfaction. Cardinal Pole, whose attainder had been reversed, came over to England as legate (Nov. 14); and, after being introduced to the king and queen, he invited the Parliament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the apostolic see, from which they had been so long and so unhappily divided. This message was taken in good part; and both houses voted an address to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that

they had been guilty of a most horrible defection from the true Church, and declaring their resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Church of Rome. The legate, in the name of his holiness, then gave the Parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all censures, and received them again into the bosom of the Church. But, though the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastics was for the present restored, their property, on which their power much depended, was irretrievably lost, and no hopes remained of recovering it.

The Parliament revived the old sanguinary laws against heretics; they also enacted several statutes against seditious words and rumors; and they made it treason to imagine or attempt the death of Philip during his marriage with the queen. But their hatred against the Spaniards, as well as their suspicion of Philip's pretensions, still prevailed; and, though the queen attempted to get her husband declared presumptive heir to the crown, and to have the administration put into his hands, she failed in all her endeavors, and could not so much as procure the Parliament's consent to his coronation. Philip, sensible of the prepossessions entertained against him, endeavored to acquire popularity by procuring the release of several prisoners of distinction; but nothing was more agreeable to the nation than his protecting the Lady Elizabeth from the spite and malice of the queen, and restoring her to liberty. This measure was not the effect of any generosity in Philip, a sentiment of which he was wholly destitute, but of a refined policy, which made him foresee that, if that princess were put to death, the next lawful heir was the Queen of Scots, whose succession would forever annex England to the crown of France.

§ 6. The benevolent disposition of Pole led him to advise a toleration of the heretical tenets which he highly blamed, while the severe manners of Gardiner inclined him to support by persecution that religion which, at the bottom, he regarded with great indifference. The advice of Gardiner was in accordance with the cruel bigotry of Philip and Mary, and it was determined to let loose the laws in their full vigor against the Reformed religion. England was soon filled with scenes of horror, which have ever since rendered the Roman Catholic religion the object of general detestation, and which prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty covered with the mantle of religion. Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester; Taylor, parson of Hadleigh; and others, were condemned to the flames (1555). The crime for which almost all the Protestants were condemned was their refusal to acknowledge the real presence. Gardiner, who had vainly expected that a few examples would strike a terror into the Reformers, and whose religious principles

were too easy to render him a violent bigot, finding the work daily multiply upon him, devolved the invidious office on others, chiefly on Bonner, Bishop of London, a man of a brutal character, who seemed to rejoice in the torments of the unhappy sufferers. It is needless to be particular in enumerating the cruelties practiced in England during the course of three years that these persecutions lasted; the savage barbarity on the one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar in all those martyrdoms, that the narrative, little agreeable in itself, would never be relieved by any variety. It is computed that in that time 277 persons were brought to the stake, besides those who were punished by imprisonments, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire were 5 bishops, 21 clergymen, 8 lay gentlemen, 84 tradesmen, 100 husbandmen, servants, and laborers, 55 women, and 4 children. Ridley, Bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly Bishop of Worcester, two prelates celebrated for learning and virtue, perished together in the same flames at Oxford, and supported each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, brother; we shall this day kindle such a torch in England as, I trust in God, shall never be extinguished." The persons condemned to these punishments were not convicted of teaching or dogmatizing contrary to the established religion; they were seized merely on suspicion, and, articles being offered them to subscribe, they were immediately, upon their refusal, condemned to the flames. These instances of barbarity, so unusual in the nation, excited horror; the constancy of the martyrs was the object of admiration; and as men have a principle of equity engraven in their minds, which even false religion is not able totally to obliterate, they were shocked to see persons of probity, of honor, of pious dispositions, exposed to punishments more severe than were inflicted on the greatest ruffians for crimes subversive of civil society. Each martyrdom, therefore, was equivalent to a hundred sermons against popery; and men either avoided such horrid spectacles, or returned from them full of a violent, though secret indignation against the persecutors.

The court, finding that Bonner, however shameless and savage, would not bear alone the whole infamy, soon threw off the mask; and the unrelenting temper of the queen, as well as of the king, appeared without control. A bold step was even taken toward introducing the Inquisition into England. As the bishops' courts, though extremely arbitrary, and not confined by any ordinary forms of law, appeared not to be invested with sufficient power, a commission of 21 persons was appointed, by authority of the queen's prerogative, more effectually to extirpate heresy. The

commissioners were armed with extraordinary powers, and were enjoined to torture such obstinate persons as would not confess. Secret spies also and informers were employed, according to the practice of the Inquisition. These persecutions were now become extremely odious to the nation, and the execution of Cranmer rendered the government still more unpopular. The primate had long been detained in prison. The queen bore a personal hatred to him on account of the part he had taken in dissolving her mother's marriage; and in order the more fully to satiate her vengeance, she now resolved to punish him for heresy rather than for treason, and also to seek the ruin of his honor and the infamy of his name. Persons were employed to tamper with him in his prison at Oxford by representing the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation. Overcome by the fond love of life, terrified by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, he allowed, in an unguarded hour, the sentiments of nature to prevail over his resolution, and he agreed to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and of the real presence. The court, equally perfidious and cruel, were determined that this recantation should avail him nothing; and they sent orders that he should be required to acknowledge his errors in church before the whole people, and that he should thence be immediately carried to execution. Cranmer, whether that he had received a secret intimation of their design, or had repented of his weakness, surprised the audience by a contrary declaration. He said that there was one miscarriage in his life, of which, above all others, he severely repented—the insincere declaration of faith to which he had the weakness to consent, and which the fear of death alone had extorted from him; and that, as his hand had erred by betraying his heart, it should first be punished by a severe but just doom, and should first pay the forfeit of its offenses. He was thence led to the stake, amid the insults of the Roman Catholics; and, having now summoned up all the force of his mind, he bore their scorn, as well as the torture of his punishment, with singular fortitude. He stretched out his hand, and without betraying, either by his countenance or motions, the least sign of weakness, or even of feeling, he held it in the flames till it was entirely consumed. His thoughts seemed wholly occupied with reflections on his former fault, and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended." Satisfied with that atonement, he then discovered a serenity in his countenance; and when the fire attacked his body, he seemed to be quite insensible of his outward sufferings, and by the force of hope and resolution to have collected his mind altogether within itself, and to repel the fury of the flames. His martyrdom took place at Oxford,

March 18, 1556. After Cranmer's death, Cardinal Pole, who had now taken priest's orders, was installed in the see of Canterbury, and was thus, by this office, as well as by his commission of legate, placed at the head of the Church of England.

§ 7. The temper of Mary was soured by ill health, by disappointment in not having offspring, and by the absence of her husband, who, tired of her importunate love and jealousy, and finding his authority extremely limited in England, had laid hold of the first opportunity to leave her, and had gone over to the emperor in Flanders. But her affection for Philip was not cooled by his indifference, and she showed the greatest anxiety to consult his wishes and promote his views. Philip, who had become master of the wealth of the New World, and of the richest and most extensive dominions in Europe, by the abdication of the Emperor Charles V., was anxious to engage England in the war which was kindled between Spain and France. His views were warmly seconded by Mary; but Cardinal Pole, with many other counselors, openly and zealously opposed this measure. Mary's importunities and artifices at length succeeded; forced loans and subsidies were extorted; and by these expedients, assisted by the power of pressing, she levied an army of 10,000 men, which she sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the Earl of Pembroke (1557). The King of Spain had assembled an army which, after the junction of the English, amounted to above 60,000 men, conducted by Philibert, Duke of Savoy, one of the greatest captains of the age. Little interest would attend the narration of a campaign in which the English played only a subordinate part, and which resulted in their loss and disgrace. By Philibert's victory at St. Quentin the whole kingdom of France was thrown into consternation; and had the Spaniards marched to the capital, it could not have failed to fall into their hands. But Philip's caution was unequal to so bold a step, and the opportunity was neglected. In the following winter the Duke of Guise succeeded in surprising and taking Calais, deemed in that age an impregnable fortress (Jan. 7, 1558). Calais was surrounded with marshes, which, during the winter, were impassable, except over a dike guarded by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnam Bridge; and the English were of late accustomed, on account of the lowness of their finances, to dismiss a great part of the garrison at the end of autumn, and to recall them in the spring, at which time alone they judged their attendance necessary. It was this circumstance that insured the success of the French; and thus the Duke of Guise in eight days, during the depth of winter, made himself master of this strong fortress, that had cost Edward III. a siege of eleven months, at the head of a numerous army, which had that very year been vic-

torious in the battle of Crecy. The English had held it above 200 years; and as it gave them an easy entrance into France, it was regarded as the most important possession belonging to the crown. They murmured loudly against the improvidence of the queen and her council, who, after engaging in a fruitless war for the sake of foreign interests, had thus exposed the nation to so severe a disgrace.

§ 8. The queen had long been in a declining state of health; and having mistaken her dropsy for a pregnancy, she had made use of an improper regimen, and her malady daily augmented. Every reflection now tormented her. The consciousness of being hated by her subjects, the prospect of Elizabeth's succession, apprehensions of the danger to which the Catholic religion stood exposed, dejection for the loss of Calais, concern for the ill state of her affairs, and, above all, anxiety for the absence of her husband, preyed upon her mind, and threw her into a lingering fever, of which she died, after a short and unfortunate reign of 5 years (Nov. 17, 1558). The nation were thus delivered from their fears respecting the succession, for there can be little doubt that a plot had been formed to transfer the kingdom to Philip. It is not necessary to employ many words in drawing the character of this princess. She possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable, and her person was as little engaging as her behavior and address. Obstinacy, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, revenge, tyranny —every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding. Amid that complication of vices which entered into her composition, we shall scarcely find any virtue but sincerity, to which we may add that in many circumstances of her life she gave indications of resolution and vigor of mind, a quality which seems to have been inherent in her family.

Cardinal Pole died the same day with the queen. The benign character of this prelate, the modesty and humanity of his deportment, made him universally beloved.

A passage to Archangel had been discovered by the English during the last reign, and a beneficial trade with Muscovy had been established. A solemn embassy was sent by the Czar to Mary, which seems to have been the first intercourse which that empire had with any of the western potentates of Europe.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1553. Lady Jane Gray proclaimed queen. Queen Mary's title acknowledged. Northumberland executed. The Roman Catholic religion re-established.
1554. Wyatt's rebellion. Execution of Lady Jane Gray.
1555. The Marian persecution. Burning of Hooper, Ridley, and Latimer.
1556. Cranmer burned.
1558. Calais lost. Death of Queen Mary.



Queen Elizabeth.

Ornament formed of bust of Queen Elizabeth, cut from a medal and inclosed in a border of goldsmith's work representing Lancaster, York, and Tudor roses.

CHAPTER XVIII.

ELIZABETH. FROM HER ACCESSION TO THE DEATH OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS. A.D. 1558–1587.

§ 1. Accession of the Queen. Re-establishment of Protestantism. § 2. Peace with France. The Reformation in Scotland. Supported by Elizabeth. § 3. French Affairs. Arrival of Mary in Scotland. Her Administration. § 4. Wise Government of Elizabeth. Proposals of Marriage. § 5. Civil Wars of France. Elizabeth assists the Huguenots. § 6. The Thirty-nine Articles. Scotch Affairs. The Queen of Scots marries Darnley. Hostility and Duplicity of Elizabeth. § 7. Murder of Rizzio. Murder of Darnley. Bothwell marries the Queen of Scots. Battle of Carberry Hill. § 8. Mary confined in Lochleven Castle. Murray Regent. James VI. proclaimed. Mary's Escape and Flight to England. § 9. Proceedings of the English Court. § 10. Duke of Norfolk's Conspiracy. Elizabeth excommunicated by the Pope. § 11. Rise of the Puritans. Their Proceedings in Parliament. § 12. Foreign Affairs. France and the Netherlands. § 13. New Conspiracy and Execution of the Duke of Norfolk. § 14. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Civil war in France. Affairs of the Netherlands. § 15. Elizabeth's prudent Government. Naval Enterprises of Drake. § 16. Negotiations of Marriage with the Duke of Anjou. § 17. Conspiracies in England. The High Commission Court. Parry's Conspiracy. § 18. Affairs of the Low Countries. Hostilities with Spain. Battle of Zutphen and Death of Sidney. § 19. Babington's Conspiracy. § 20. Trial and Condemnation of

the Queen of Scots. § 21. Her Execution. § 22. Elizabeth's affected Sorrow. She apologizes to James.

§ 1. ELIZABETH was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death; and after a few days she went thence to London, through crowds of people, who strove with each other in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudible, she buried all offenses in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her. When the bishops came in a body to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.

Philip, who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain dominion over England, immediately made proposals of marriage to the queen, and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose; but Elizabeth saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance during her sister's reign. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Catherine of Aragon, and that her marrying that monarch was in effect declaring herself illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne. She therefore gave him an obliging though evasive answer; and he still retained such hopes of success that he sent a messenger to Rome with orders to solicit the dispensation.

The queen, not to alarm the partisans of the Catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's counselors; but, in order to balance their authority, she added others who were known to be inclined to the Protestant communion, among whom were Sir Nicholas Bacon, whom she created lord keeper, and Sir William Cecil, secretary of state. With these counselors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the Protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. She resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, but at the same time to discover such symptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the Protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. She published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special license; and she also suspended the laws, so far as to order a great part of the service—the Litany, the Lord's prayer, the Creed, and the Gospels—to be read in English; and, having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence.

The bishops, foreseeing with certainty a revolution in religion, refused to officiate at her coronation, and it was with some difficulty that the Bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony (Jan. 13, 1559). The Parliament, which met soon after, began the session by a unanimous declaration of the validity of the queen's title to the throne. They then passed a bill for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen; and another for restoring to the crown the supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs. In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper; and on this clause was founded the Court of High Commission, which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the Constitution. Whoever refused to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offense, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a præmunire; but the third offense was declared treason. Lastly, an act was passed re-enacting all the laws of King Edward concerning religion, and prohibiting any minister, whether beneficed or not, to use any but the established Liturgy, under pain for the first offense of forfeiting goods and chattels, for the second of a year's imprisonment, and for the third of imprisonment during life. And thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamor, was the whole system of religion altered. The laws enacted with regard to religion met with little opposition from any quarter. The Liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The bishops had taken such an active part in the restoration of popery under Mary, that, with the exception of the Bishop of Llandaff, they all felt themselves bound to refuse the oath, and were accordingly degraded from their sees by the Court of High Commission; but of the inferior clergy through all England, amounting to nearly 10,000, only about 100 dignitaries and 80 parochial priests sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. The Archbishopric of Canterbury, which was vacant by the death of Cardinal Pole, was conferred upon Parker.

The two statutes above mentioned, usually called the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, were the great instruments of oppressing the Catholics during this and many subsequent reigns. The House of Commons, at the conclusion of the session, made the queen an important but respectful address that she should fix her choice of a husband. She told the speaker that she could

not take offense at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her; but that farther interposition on their part would ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess; that she was resolved to live and die a virgin; and that, for her part, she desired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity than to have this inscription engraved on her tomb-stone: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

§ 2. The negotiations for a peace with France, which were in progress at the time of Mary's death, were concluded in the first year of Elizabeth. Calais remained in the hands of the French monarch, who promised to restore it at the end of eight years—a stipulation, however, which was never intended nor expected to be executed. A peace with Scotland was a necessary consequence of that with France. But, notwithstanding this peace, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel of the most serious nature, and which was afterward attended with the most important consequences. The next heir to the English throne was Mary, Queen of Scots, now married to the dauphin; and the King of France, at the persuasion of the Duke of Guise and his brothers, ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of King and Queen of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries. When the English embassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; and Elizabeth plainly saw that the King of France intended on the first opportunity, to dispute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the Queen of Scots, and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the Duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II., the husband of Mary, still continued to assume, without reserve, the title of King of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favorable opportunity both of revenging the injury and providing for her own safety.

Since the murder of Cardinal Beaton the Reformation had been proceeding with rapid steps in Scotland. Some of the leading reformers, observing the danger to which they were exposed, and desirous to propagate their principles, entered privately, in 1557, into a bond or association, and called themselves the *Congregation* of the Lord, in contradistinction to the Established Church, which

they denominated the Congregation of Satan. The zeal and fury of this league was farther stimulated by the arrival of John Knox from Geneva, where he had passed some years in banishment, and where he had imbibed, from his commerce with Calvin, the sternness of his sect. Many acts of violence were committed upon the clergy, as well as upon the monasteries and churches, which produced an open civil war. At length the leaders of the Congregation, encouraged by the intelligence received of the sudden death of Henry II., passed an act, from their own authority, depriving the queen dowager of the regency, and ordering all the French troops to evacuate the kingdom. They collected forces to put their edict in execution against them, and solicited succors from Elizabeth. The wise council of Elizabeth did not deliberate long in agreeing to this request; and though the Scotch Presbyterians, and especially their leader, Knox, were hateful to the queen, Cecil at length persuaded her to support, by arms and money, the affairs of the Congregation in Scotland. She concluded a treaty of mutual defense with them, and she promised never to desist till the French had entirely evacuated Scotland. The appearance of Elizabeth's fleet in the Frith of Forth (Jan. 15, 1560) disconcerted the French army, who shut themselves up in Leith; while the English army, re-enforced by 5000 Scots, sat down before the place. The French were obliged to capitulate; and plenipotentiaries from France signed a treaty at Edinburgh with Cecil and Dr. Wotton, whom Elizabeth had sent thither for that purpose. It was there stipulated that the French should instantly evacuate Scotland, and that the King and Queen of France and Scotland should thenceforth abstain from bearing the arms of England, or assuming the title of that kingdom (July 6, 1560). The subsequent measures of the Scottish Reformers tended still more to cement their union with England. Being now entirely masters of the kingdom, they made no farther ceremony or scruple in fully effecting their purpose. Laws were passed abolishing the mass and the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; and the Presbyterian form of discipline was settled, leaving only at first some shadow of authority to certain ecclesiastics whom they called superintendents.

§ 3. Elizabeth soon found that the house of Guise, notwithstanding their former disappointments, had not laid aside the design of contesting her title and subverting her authority. But the progress of the Reformation in France, as well as the sudden death of the king, Francis II., interrupted the prosperity of the Duke of Guise. Catherine de Medicis, the queen mother, was appointed regent to her son, Charles IX., now in his minority; and the King of Navarre, who was favorable to the Protestants, was named lieutenant general of the kingdom. Catherine de Medicis, who

imputed to Mary all the mortifications which she had met with during Francis's lifetime, took care to retaliate on her by like injuries; and the Queen of Scots, finding her abode in France disagreeable, resolved to return to Scotland, and landed at Leith, Aug. 19, 1561. This change of abode and situation was very little agreeable to that princess. It is said that after she had embarked at Calais she kept her eyes fixed on the coast of France, and never turned them from that beloved object till darkness fell and intercepted it from her view. She then ordered a couch to be spread for her in the open air; and charged the pilot that, if in the morning the land were still in sight, he should awake her, and afford her one parting view of that country in which all her affections were centred. The weather proved calm, so that the ship made little way in the nighttime, and Mary had once more an opportunity of seeing the French coast. She sat up on her couch, and, still looking toward the land, often repeated these words: "Farewell, France, farewell! I shall never see thee more!" The first aspect, however, of things in Scotland was more favorable, if not to her pleasure and happiness, at least to her repose and security, than she had reason to apprehend. No sooner did the French galleys appear off Leith than people of all ranks, who had long expected their arrival, flocked toward the shore with an earnest impatience to behold and receive their young sovereign. She had now reached her 19th year; and the bloom of her youth and the amiable beauty of her person were farther recommended by the affability of her address, the politeness of her manners, and the elegance of her genius. The first measures which Mary embraced confirmed all the prepossessions entertained in her favor; she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the Reformed party, who had great influence over the people, and who, she found, were alone able to support her government. But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances. She was still a papist; and though she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to submit to the established religion, the preachers and their adherents could neither be reconciled to a person polluted with so great an abomination, nor lay aside jealousies of her future conduct. It was with great difficulty she could obtain permission for saying mass in her own chapel; she was soon exposed to every kind of contumely. The clergy, and the preachers in particular, took a pride in villifying her even to her face. The ringleader in these insults on the queen was John Knox, who possessed an uncontrolled authority in the Church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious usage of his sovereign. His usual appellation for the queen was Jezebel; and

though she endeavored, by the most gracious condescension, to win his favor, all her insinuations could make no impression on his obdurate heart. Mary, whose age, condition, and education invited her to liberty and cheerfulness, was curbed in all amusements by the absurd severity of those Reformers; and she found every moment reason to regret her leaving that country from whose manners she had in her early youth received her first impressions.

§ 4. Meanwhile, Elizabeth employed herself in regulating the affairs of her own kingdom. She made some progress in paying those great debts which lay upon the crown; she regulated the coin, which had been much debased by her predecessors; she introduced into the kingdom the art of making gunpowder and brass cannon; fortified her frontiers on the side of Scotland; made frequent reviews of the militia; promoted trade and navigation; and so much increased the shipping of her kingdom, both by building vessels of force herself, and suggesting like undertakings to the merchants, that she was justly styled the Restorer of Naval Glory and the Queen of the Northern Seas. It is easy to imagine that so great a princess, who enjoyed such singular felicity and renown, would receive proposals of marriage from several foreign princes —as the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor; Casimer, son of the elector palatine; Eric, King of Sweden; Adolph, Duke of Holstein; and the Earl of Arran, heir to the crown of Scotland. Even some of her own subjects, though they did not openly declare their pretensions, entertained hopes of success. Among the latter, the person most likely to succeed was a younger son of the late Duke of Northumberland, Lord Robert Dudley, who, by means of his exterior qualities, joined to address and flattery, had become in a manner her declared favorite, and had great influence in all her councils. But the queen gave all these suitors a gentle refusal, which still encouraged their pursuit; and she thought that she should the better attach them to her interests if they were still allowed to entertain hopes of succeeding in their pretensions.

§ 5. The progress of the Reformation in France threatened not only to involve that country in a civil war, but also to embroil other nations in the quarrel. The change produced in the political parties of that country by the death of Francis II. has been already mentioned. The queen regent had formed the project of governing both parties by playing one against the other; for, though religion was the pretense, ambition and the love of power were the real motives of the leaders. But faction, farther stimulated by religious zeal and hatred, soon grew too violent to be controlled. The Constable Montmorency joined himself to the Duke of Guise; the King of Navarre embraced the same party; and

Catherine, finding herself depressed by this combination, had recourse to Condé and the Huguenots,* as the French Protestants were called, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themselves by her countenance and protection. Condé, Coligny, and the other Protestant leaders, assembled their friends and flew to arms; Guise and Montmorency got possession of the king's person, and constrained the queen regent to embrace their party; fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France; and each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity. The Prince of Condé applied to Elizabeth for assistance, and offered to put Havre into the hands of the English. This offer was accepted by Elizabeth. An English army took possession of the town, and rendered important service to the Huguenots. But the captivity of Condé and Montmorency, who were soon afterward taken prisoners in battle, and the assassination of the Duke of Guise, made both parties anxious for peace; and the Huguenots accordingly concluded a treaty with the queen mother without consulting Elizabeth. The English queen, however, refused to surrender Havre, and she sent orders to the Earl of Warwick, the commander of the town, to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The plague, however, crept in among the English soldiers; and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet, it made such ravages that Warwick found himself obliged to capitulate, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. About 20,000 persons there died of it in one year. Elizabeth was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen regent desired to obtain leisure, in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Huguenots, a treaty of peace was concluded between the two countries.

§ 6. In the convocation which assembled in 1563, the last hand was put to the Reformation in England by the establishment of the 39 Articles in the form in which they now exist. The peace still continued with Scotland; and even a cordial friendship seemed to have been cemented between Elizabeth and Mary. These princesses made profession of the most entire affection, wrote amicable letters every week to each other, and had adopted, in all appearance, the sentiments as well as style of sisters. But Mary's close connection with the house of Guise was the ground of just and insurmountable jealousy to Elizabeth. She always told the

* This word is a corruption of the German *Eidgenossen*, i. e., "bound together by oath."

Queen of Scots that nothing would satisfy her but her espousing some English nobleman; and she at last named Lord Robert Dudley, now created Earl of Leicester, as the person on whom she desired that Mary's choice should fall. The Earl of Leicester, the great and powerful favorite of Elizabeth, possessed all those exterior qualities which are naturally alluring to the fair sex: a handsome person, a polite address, and insinuating behavior; and by means of these accomplishments he had been able to blind even the penetration of Elizabeth, and conceal from her the great defects, or rather odious vices, which attended his character. He was proud, insolent, interested, ambitious; without honor, without generosity, without humanity; and atoned not for these bad qualities by such abilities or courage as could fit him for that high trust and confidence with which she always honored him. Her constant and declared attachment to him had naturally emboldened him to aspire to her hand; and, in order to make way for these nuptials, he was universally believed to have murdered, in a barbarous manner, his wife, the heiress of one Robsart. The proposal of espousing Mary was by no means agreeable to him; and he always ascribed it to the contrivance of Cecil, his enemy. The queen herself had not any serious intention of effecting this marriage; the Earl of Leicester was too great a favorite to be parted with; and when Mary seemed at last to hearken to Elizabeth's proposal, this princess receded from her offers. After two years had been spent in evasions and artifices, Mary's subjects and counselors, and probably herself, began to think it full time that some marriage was concluded; and Lord Darnley, son of the Earl of Lenox, was the person selected for her consort. He was Mary's cousin-german by the Lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII., and was, after Mary, next heir to the crown of England.* He had been born and educated in England, where the Earl of Lenox had constantly resided since he had been banished by the prevailing power of the house of Hamilton. Elizabeth used all her efforts to prevent this marriage. She ordered Darnley immediately, upon his allegiance, to return to England; threw the Countess of Lenox and her second son into the Tower, where they suffered a rigorous confinement; seized all Lenox's English estate; and, though it was impossible for her to assign one single reason for her displeasure, she menaced, and protested, and complained, as if she had suffered the most grievous injury in the world. The marriage was celebrated on July 29, 1565. It also gave great offense to the Scottish Reformers, because the family of Lenox was believed to adhere to the Catholic faith; and though Darnley, who now bore the name of King Henry, went often to

* See the genealogical table, p. 241.

the Established Church, he could not, by his exterior compliance, gain the confidence and regard of the ecclesiastics. The Earl of Murray, the half-brother of Mary, being an illegitimate son of James V., and other Scottish lords, being secretly encouraged by Elizabeth, had recourse to arms. But the nation was in no disposition for rebellion. The king and queen advancing to Edinburgh at the head of their army, the rebels found themselves under a necessity of abandoning their country, and of taking shelter in England. Elizabeth, when she found the event so much to disappoint her expectations, thought proper to disavow all connections with the Scottish malcontents; and it was only by a sudden and violent incident, which, in the issue, brought on the ruin of Mary herself, that they were saved from the rigor of the law.

§ 7. The marriage of the Queen of Scots with Lord Darnley was so natural and so inviting in all its circumstances that it had been precipitately agreed to by that princess and her council; and while she was allured by his youth, and beauty, and exterior accomplishments, she had at first overlooked the qualities of his mind, which nowise corresponded to the excellence of his outward figure. She had loaded him with benefits and honors; but, having leisure afterward to remark his weakness and vices, she began to see the danger of her profuse liberality, and was resolved thenceforth to proceed with more reserve in the trust which she should confer upon him. His resentment against this prudent conduct served but the more to increase her disgust; and the young prince, enraged at her imagined neglects, pointed his vengeance against every one whom he deemed the cause of this change in her measures and behavior. There was in the court one David Rizzio, who had of late obtained a very extraordinary degree of confidence and favor with the Queen of Scots. He was a Piedmontese of mean birth, son of a teacher of music. Mary's secretary for French dispatches having incurred her displeasure, she promoted Rizzio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunities of approaching her person and insinuating himself into her favor. The favorite was of a disagreeable figure, but was not past his youth; and though the opinion of his criminal correspondence with Mary might seem of itself unreasonable, if not absurd, a suspicious husband could find no other means of accounting for that lavish and imprudent kindness with which she honored him.

Rizzio, who had connected his interests with the Roman Catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecutions against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and retainers. Morton, the chancellor, insinuating himself into Darnley's confi-

dence, employed all his art to inflame the discontent and jealousy of that prince; and he persuaded him that the only means of freeing himself from the indignities under which he labored was to bring the base stranger to the fate which he had so well merited. George Douglas, natural brother to the Countess of Lenox, the Lords Ruthven and Lindesey, and even the Earl of Lenox, the king's father, concurred in the same advice. A messenger was dispatched to the banished lords, who were hovering near the borders, and they were invited by the king to return to their native country. The design, so atrocious in itself, was rendered still more so by the circumstances which attended its execution. Mary, who was in the sixth month of her pregnancy, was supping in private (March 9, 1566) with Rizzio and others of her servants. The king entered the room by a private passage, and stood at the back of Mary's chair; Lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and other conspirators, being all armed, rushed in after him; and the Queen of Scots, terrified with the appearance, demanded of them the reason of this rude intrusion. They told her that they intended no violence against her person, but meant only to bring that villain, pointing to Rizzio, to his deserved punishment. Rizzio, aware of the danger, ran behind his mistress, and, seizing her by the waist, called aloud to her for protection, while she interposed in his behalf with cries, and menaces, and entreaties. The impatient assassins, regardless of her efforts, rushed upon their prey. Douglas, seizing Henry's dagger, stuck it in the body of Rizzio, who, screaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary by the other conspirators, and pushed into the antechamber, where he was dispatched with fifty-six wounds. The unhappy princess, informed of his fate, immediately dried her tears, and said she would weep no more, she would now think of revenge. The insult, indeed, upon her person; the stain attempted to be fixed on her honor; the danger to which her life was exposed on account of her pregnancy, were injuries so atrocious and so complicated that they scarcely left room for pardon, even from the greatest lenity and mercy.

Mary shortly afterward brought forth a son in the castle of Edinburgh (June 19). This event caused the English Parliament again to press Elizabeth for some settlement of the succession, at which she expressed her high displeasure, and eluded the application. It also gave additional zeal to the English party which favored Mary's claims. The friends of the Queen of Scots multiplied every day; and most of the considerable men in England, except Cecil, seemed convinced of the necessity of declaring her the successor. But all these flattering prospects were blasted by the subsequent incidents; where Mary's egregious indiscretions,

or rather atrocious crimes, threw her from the height of her prosperity, and involved her in infamy and ruin.

The Earl of Bothwell, of a considerable family and power in Scotland, but a man of profligate manners, had of late acquired the favor and entire confidence of Mary, and all her measures were directed by his advice and authority. Reports were spread of more particular intimacies between them, and these reports gained ground from the continuance or rather increase of her hatred toward her husband. That young prince was reduced to such a state of desperation by the neglects which he underwent from his queen and the courtiers, that he had once resolved to fly secretly into France or Spain, and had even provided a vessel for that purpose. Suddenly, however, Mary pretended to be reconciled to him after his recovery from a dangerous illness. She lived in the palace of Holyrood House, but for some reason an apartment was assigned him in a solitary house at some distance, called the Kirk of Field. Mary here gave him marks of kindness and attachment; she conversed cordially with him, and she lay some nights in a room below his; but on the 9th of February (1567) she told him that she would pass that night in the palace, because the marriage of one of her servants was there to be celebrated in her presence. About two o'clock in the morning the whole town was much alarmed at hearing a great noise, and was still more astonished when it was discovered that the noise came from the king's house, which was blown up by gunpowder; that his dead body was found at some distance in a neighboring field; and that no marks, either of fire, contusion, or violence, appeared upon it.

No doubt could be entertained but Henry was murdered; and general conjecture soon pointed toward the Earl of Bothwell as the author of the crime. But, as his favor with Mary was visible, and his power great, no one ventured to declare openly his sentiments. Mary's subsequent conduct justified these suspicions. The Earl of Lenox demanded speedy justice on his son's assassins. Mary took his demand very literally, assigned only 15 days for the examination of the matter, and cited Lenox to appear and prove his charge. But that nobleman was afraid to trust himself in Edinburgh; and as neither accuser nor witness appeared at the trial, Bothwell was acquitted. In the Parliament which met two days after, he was the person chosen to carry the royal sceptre; and no notice was taken of the king's murder. On its dissolution, several of the nobility signed a paper promising to support Bothwell, and recommending him to the queen as her husband. Shortly afterward, Mary having gone to Stirling to pay a visit to her son, Bothwell assembled a body of 800 horse on pretense of pursuing some robbers on the borders, and, having

waylaid her on her return, he seized her person near Edinburgh and carried her to Dunbar, with an avowed design of forcing her to yield to his purpose. Sir James Melvill, one of her retinue, was carried along with her, and says not that he saw any signs of reluctance or constraint; he was even informed, as he tells us, by Bothwell's officers, that the whole transaction was managed in concert with her. Bothwell was married to a sister of the Earl of Huntley; but a suit for a divorce between Bothwell and his wife was opened at the same instant in two different or rather opposite courts—one being Popish, the other Protestant; was pleaded, examined, and decided in four days; and a sentence of divorce pronounced. The marriage was solemnized by the Bishop of Orkney (May 15), a Protestant, who was afterward deposed by the Church for his scandalous compliance.

The Protestant teachers, who had great authority, had long borne an animosity to Mary, and the opinion of her guilt was, by that means, the more widely diffused, and made the deeper impression on the people. Some attempts made by Bothwell, and, as is pretended, with her consent, to get the young prince into his power, excited the most serious attention; and the principal nobility met at Stirling, and formed an association for protecting the prince, and punishing the king's murderers. Having levied an army, they met the forces of the queen and Bothwell at Carberry Hill, about six miles from Edinburgh. Mary soon became sensible that her own troops disapproved of her cause, and she saw no resource but that of putting herself, upon some general promises, into the hands of the confederates. She was conducted to Edinburgh amid the insults of the populace, who reproached her with her crimes, and even held before her eyes a banner on which were painted the murder of her husband and the distress of her infant son. Meanwhile, Bothwell fled unattended to Dunbar, and eventually made his escape to Denmark.

§ 8. The Queen of Scots was sent under a guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated in the lake of that name. Elizabeth seemed touched with compassion toward the unfortunate queen, and sent Sir Nicholas Throgmorton embassador to Scotland, in order to remonstrate both with Mary and the associated lords. He was instructed to express to her Elizabeth's high dissatisfaction at her conduct, but at the same time to declare that the late events had touched Elizabeth's heart with sympathy, and that she was determined not to see her oppressed by her rebellious subjects. At the same time, he was to demand that the punishment of Darnley's assassins should be intrusted to Elizabeth, and that Mary's infant son should be sent into England to be educated. But the associated lords were determined to proceed with severity, and

they thought proper, after several affected delays, to refuse the English embassador all access to Mary. Some were even of opinion that the captive queen should be publicly tried and imprisoned for life, or capitally punished. Having selected the Earl of Murray for regent, who possessed the confidence of the more zealous Reformers, three instruments were sent to Mary, by one of which she was to resign the crown in favor of her son, by another to appoint Murray regent, by the third to make a council which should administer the government until his arrival in Scotland. The Queen of Scots, seeing no prospect of relief, was prevailed on, after a plentiful effusion of tears, to sign these three instruments; and, in consequence of this forced resignation, the young prince was proclaimed king by the name of James VI. He was soon after crowned at Stirling (July 29, 1567), and the Earl of Morton took, in his name, the coronation oath, in which a promise to extirpate heresy was not forgotten. The Earl of Murray arrived soon after from France, and took possession of his high office. He paid a visit to the captive queen, in which he treated her with great harshness; and the Parliament which he assembled, after voting that she was undoubtedly an accomplice in her husband's murder, condemned her to imprisonment, ratified her resignation of the crown, and acknowledged her son for king, and Murray for regent. But many of the principal nobility from various motives, and all who retained any propensity to the Roman Catholic religion, formed a party in favor of the queen. Meanwhile, Mary had engaged, by her charms and caresses, a young gentleman, George Douglas, brother to the Laird of Lochleven, to assist her in escaping. He conveyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore (May 2, 1568). She hastened to Hamilton, where her adherents had already assembled, and in a few days an army of 6000 men was ranged under her standard. The regent also made haste to assemble forces; and, notwithstanding that his army was inferior in number to that of the Queen of Scots, he took the field against her. A battle was fought at Langside, near Glasgow (May 13), which was entirely decisive in favor of the regent, and was followed by a total dispersion of the queen's party. That unhappy princess fled southward from the field of battle with great precipitation, and at last embraced the resolution of taking shelter in England. She embarked on board a fishing-boat in Galloway, and landed the same day at Workington, in Cumberland, about thirty miles from Carlisle, whence she immediately dispatched a messenger to London, notifying her arrival, desiring leave to visit Elizabeth, and craving her protection, in consequence of former professions of friendship made her by that princess.

§ 9. Elizabeth now found herself in a situation when it was become necessary to take some decisive resolution with regard to her treatment of the Queen of Scots; and, upon the advice of Cecil, it was determined that Mary should be detained in custody, and brought to trial for her husband's murder. A message was accordingly sent to her at Carlisle, expressing the queen's sympathy with her in her late misfortunes, but stating that her request of being allowed to visit Elizabeth could not be complied with till she had cleared herself of her husband's murder, of which she was so strongly accused. So unexpected a check threw Mary into tears; and the necessity of her situation extorted from her a declaration that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and would submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend. This concession, which Mary could scarcely avoid without an acknowledgment of guilt, was the point expected and desired by Elizabeth; she immediately dispatched a message to the regent of Scotland, requiring him both to desist from farther prosecution of his queen's party, and to send some persons to London to justify his conduct with regard to her. Murray might justly be startled at receiving a message so violent and imperious; but, as his domestic enemies were numerous and powerful, and England was the sole ally which he could expect among foreign nations, he found it prudent to reply that he would willingly submit the determination of his cause to Elizabeth.

As the Queen of Scots had subsequently, as well as before, discovered great aversion to the trial proposed, and as Carlisle, by its situation on the borders, afforded her great opportunities of contriving her escape, she was removed to Bolton, a seat of Lord Scrope's, in Yorkshire. The commissioners appointed by the English court for the examination of this great cause were the Duke of Norfolk,* the Earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler. It would be impossible within our limits to enter into details of this important trial. After it had proceeded some time, it was transferred to Hampton Court; and Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord-keeper, the Earls of Arundel and Leicester, Lord Clinton, admiral, and Sir W. Cecil, secretary, were added to the English commissioners. The regent Murray, alarmed at first by reports of Elizabeth's partiality for the Queen of Scots, had kept back the most grievous part of the accusation against her; but, being encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth, at length accused her in plain terms of being an accomplice with Bothwell in the assassination of the king; the Earl of Lennox too appeared before the commissioners, and, imploring vengeance, repeated Murray's charge. To this public and distinct accusation Mary's commissioners refused to

* Son of the Earl of Surrey executed by Henry VIII.

reply, and they grounded their silence on very extraordinary reasons. They had orders, they said, from their mistress, if any thing were advanced that might touch her honor, not to make any defense, as she was a sovereign princess, and could not be subject to any tribunal; and they required that she should previously be admitted to Elizabeth's presence, to whom, and to whom alone, she was determined to justify her innocence. As if the conferences had been begun with any other end than to clear her from the accusations of her enemies! But Elizabeth's ministers, not satisfied with this evasion, and desirous to have proofs of Mary's guilt, summoned Murray before them, and reproved him in the queen's name, for the atrocious imputations which he had the temerity to throw upon his sovereign. Murray, thus urged, made no difficulty in producing the proofs of his charge against the Queen of Scots; and among the rest, some love-letters and sonnets of hers to Bothwell, written all in her own hand, and two other papers, one written in her own hand, another subscribed by her and written by the Earl of Huntley, each of which contained a promise of marriage with Bothwell made before the pretended trial and acquittal of that nobleman. These papers, which had been intercepted when the associated lords were besieging the castle of Edinburgh, contained incontestable proofs of Mary's criminal correspondence with Bothwell, of her consent to the king's murder, and of her concurrence in the violence which Bothwell pretended to commit upon her. The objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force; but were they ever so specious, they can not now be hearkened to, since Mary, at the time when the truth could have been fully cleared, did, in effect, ratify the evidence against her by recoiling from the inquiry at the very critical moment, and refusing to give an answer to the accusation of her enemies. Her commissioners, as soon as Murray opened his charge, endeavored to turn the conference from an inquiry into a negotiation, and never would make any reply.

Elizabeth, though she had seen enough for her own satisfaction, was determined that the most eminent persons of her court should also be acquainted with these transactions, and should be convinced of the equity of her proceedings. She ordered her privy council, together with some of the principal nobility, to be assembled; all the proceedings were laid before them; and, on the whole, Elizabeth told them that, as she had from the first thought it improper that Mary, after such horrid crimes were imputed to her, should be admitted to her presence before she had in some measure justified herself from the charge, so now, when her guilt was confirmed by so many evidences, and all answer refused, she must, for her part, persevere more steadily in that resolution.

Elizabeth next told the Queen of Scots' commissioners that she must regard Mary's resolution of making no reply at all as the strongest confession of guilt; nor could they ever be deemed her friends who advised her to that method of proceeding. The Queen of Scots had no other subterfuge than still to demand a personal interview with Elizabeth, a concession which, she was sensible, would never be granted. Orders were now given for removing the Queen of Scots from Bolton, a place surrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Stafford, where she was put under the custody of the Earl of Shrewsbury. Elizabeth promised to bury every thing in oblivion provided Mary would agree either voluntarily to resign her crown, or to associate her son with her in the government; the administration to remain, during his minority, in the hands of the Earl of Murray. But that high-spirited princess refused all treaty upon such terms, and declared that her last words should be those of a Queen of Scotland.

§ 10. Soon after the trial of the Queen of Scots, the ambition and imprudence of the Duke of Norfolk engaged him in a scheme for marrying her, which is said to have been suggested to him by the regent Murray. Mary expressed no aversion to the proposal; but, as the opposition of Elizabeth was anticipated, Norfolk, previously to applying for her consent, gained the approbation of the most considerable of the nobility to his scheme. Even the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's declared favorite, pretended to enter zealously into Norfolk's interests, and wrote a letter to Mary, which was also signed by several of the first rank, recommending Norfolk for her husband, and stipulating conditions for the advantage of both kingdoms. Mary returned a favorable answer to this application, and Norfolk employed himself with new ardor in the execution of his project. And though Elizabeth's consent was always supposed as a previous condition to the finishing of this alliance, it was apparently Norfolk's intention, when he proceeded such lengths without consulting her, to render his party so strong that it should no longer be in her power to refuse it. She was acquainted with the conspiracy through Leicester, and frequently warned the duke to beware on what pillow he reposed his head; but he never had the prudence or the courage to open to her his full intentions.

Norfolk was a Protestant; but among the nobility and gentry that seemed to enter into his views there were many who were zealously attached to the Catholic religion, and who would gladly, by a combination with foreign powers, or even at the expense of a civil war, have placed Mary on the throne of England. The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who possessed great power in the north, were leaders of this party, and with other no-

blemen formed a plan for liberating Mary. Norfolk discouraged, and even in appearance suppressed, these conspiracies; and, in order to repress the surmises spread against him, spoke contemptuously to Elizabeth of the Scottish alliance. But the suspicions of the government being awakened, he was committed to the Tower, under the custody of Sir Henry Nevil; and several other noblemen were taken into custody. The Queen of Scots herself was removed to Coventry; all access to her was, during some time, more strictly prohibited; and Viscount Hereford was joined to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon in the office of guarding her.

The Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland now attempted a rising, which was put down without striking a blow; and the leaders fled into Scotland. Great severity was exercised against such as had taken part in this rash enterprise. But the queen was so well pleased with Norfolk's behavior, who, though in confinement, had raised levies for her service, that she released him from the Tower, allowed him to live, though under some show of confinement, in his own house, and only exacted a promise from him not to proceed any farther in his negotiations with the Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth now found that she had reason to expect little tranquillity so long as the Scottish queen remained a prisoner in her hands, and she entered into a negotiation with Murray respecting her liberation. It is probable that she would have been pleased, on any honorable or safe terms, to rid herself of a prisoner who gave her so much disquietude. But all these projects vanished by the sudden death of the regent, who was assassinated, in revenge of a private injury, by a gentleman of the name of Hamilton (Jan. 23, 1570). By the death of the regent Scotland relapsed into anarchy. Mary's party assembled themselves together, and made themselves masters of Edinburgh; but Elizabeth dispatched an army into Scotland to check their progress. Her subsequent policy was full of duplicity. She played one party against another, and seemed sometimes to favor Mary, sometimes the party which had set up the young king, and allowed them to choose his grandfather, Lenox, as regent. The Queen of Scots could not but perceive Elizabeth's insincerity; and, finding all her hopes eluded, was more strongly incited to make, at all hazards, every possible attempt for her liberty and security. An incident also happened about this time which tended to widen the breach between Mary and Elizabeth, and to increase the vigilance and jealousy of the latter princess. Pope Pius V., who had succeeded Paul, issued a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, deprived her of all title to the crown, and absolved her subjects

from their oaths of allegiance (April 25, 1570). John Felton affixed this bull to the gates of the Bishop of London's palace; and, scorning either to fly or deny the fact, he was seized and condemned, and received the crown of martyrdom, for which he seems to have entertained so violent an ambition.

§ 11. It was at this period that the sect of the Puritans, who were afterward to play so great a part in the affairs of England, first began to make themselves considerable. It is computed that during the Marian persecutions 800 Protestants sought an asylum in Germany and Switzerland. Among them were many who, like Hooper, had been desirous of carrying reforms in the Church of England, especially in the matter of ceremonies and vestments, farther than Cranmer had done, and disputes upon these points broke out in 1554 among the Marian exiles settled at Frankfort. The exiles carried their quarrels back with them into England after the accession of Elizabeth, where they were the origin of dissent, or "the separation."* These controversies had already excited such ferment among the people, that in some places they refused to frequent the churches where the habits and ceremonies were used; would not salute the conforming clergy; and proceeded so far as to revile them in the streets, to spit in their faces, and to use them with all manner of contumely. But there was another set of opinions adopted by these innovators, which rendered them in a peculiar manner the object of Elizabeth's aversion. The same bold and daring spirit which accompanied them in their addresses to the Divinity appeared in their political speculations; and the principles of civil liberty, which during some reigns had been little avowed in the nation, and which were totally incompatible with the present exorbitant prerogative, had been strongly adopted by this new sect. Indeed, so absolute was the authority of the crown, that the precious spark of liberty was kindled and preserved by the Puritans alone, and it is to them that the English owe the whole freedom of their Constitution. Elizabeth neglected no opportunity of depressing those zealous innovators; and while they were secretly countenanced by some of her most favored ministers, Cecil, Leicester, Knolles, Bedford, Walsingham, she was never, to the end of her life, reconciled to their principles and practices.

§ 12. The affairs of religion were in that age not only the cause of internal seditions and rebellions in various states, but also played a great part in the foreign policy of kingdoms. The cause of the Queen of Scots was identified with that of the Roman Catholic party in Europe, and was secretly favored by the courts of

* For an account of the "Troubles of Frankfort" and origin of dissent in the English Church, see Dyer's *Life of Calvin*, ch. xii.

France and Spain, and Elizabeth, therefore, could not regard with indifference the events that were passing in those countries. In France the wars of religion had already broken out, and the respective heads of the Roman Catholic and Huguenot parties had fallen in the open field; the Constable Montmorency on the plains of St. Denis, the Duke of Condé at the battle of Jarnac. But their places were supplied by leaders of equal zeal and ability. The young Duke of Guise was destined to eclipse the fame of his father; while, on the other side, the indomitable Admiral Coligny had placed the young Condé and the Prince of Navarre, then only 16, at the head of the Huguenots. To the latter party Elizabeth had secretly lent assistance; but in 1570 the court of France concluded a hollow peace with them, which was only intended to lure them to a surer and more fatal destruction. Among the other artifices employed to lull the Protestants into a fatal security, Charles IX. of France affected to enter into close connection with Elizabeth. The better to deceive her, proposals of marriage were made her with the Duke of Anjou; terms of the contract were proposed, difficulties started and removed; and the two courts, equally insincere, though not equally culpable, seemed to approach every day nearer to each other in their demands and concessions. The queen had several motives for dissimulation. Besides the advantage of discouraging Mary's partisans by the prospect of an alliance between France and England, her situation with Philip demanded her utmost vigilance and attention; and the violent authority established in the Low Countries made her desirous of fortifying herself even with the bare appearance of a new confederacy.

Philip had left the Duchess of Parma governess of the Low Countries; and the plain good sense and good temper of that princess, had she been intrusted with the sole power, would have preserved the submission of those opulent provinces, which were lost from that refinement of treacherous and barbarous politics on which the King of Spain so highly valued himself. The cruelties exercised in the name of religion, and the establishment of the Inquisition, had excited a disposition to revolt; and Philip determined to lay hold of the popular disorders as a pretense for entirely abolishing the privileges of the Low Country provinces, and for ruling them thenceforth with military and arbitrary authority. In the execution of this violent design he employed the Duke of Alva, a proper instrument in the hands of such a tyrant. All the privileges of the provinces, the gift of so many princes, and the inheritance of so many ages, were openly and expressly abolished by edict; arbitrary and sanguinary tribunals erected; the Counts Egmont and Horn, in spite of their great merits and past services, brought to

the scaffold; multitudes of all ranks thrown into confinement, and thence delivered over to the executioner; and, notwithstanding the peaceable submission of all men, nothing was heard of but confiscation, imprisonment, exile, torture, and death. Elizabeth gave protection to all the Flemish exiles who took shelter in her dominions; and as many of these were the most industrious inhabitants of the Netherlands, and had rendered that country celebrated for its arts, she reaped the advantage of introducing into England some useful manufactures which were formerly unknown in that kingdom. She also seized some Genoese vessels which were carrying a large sum of money to Alva, and which had been obliged to take refuge in Plymouth and Southampton. These measures led to retaliations; but nothing could repair the loss which so well-timed a blow inflicted on the Spanish government in the Low Countries.

§ 13. Alva resolved to revenge the insult by exciting a rebellion in England, and procuring the marriage of the Duke of Norfolk with the Queen of Scots. Norfolk, finding that he had lost the confidence and favor of Elizabeth, was tempted to violate his word, and to open anew his correspondence with the Queen of Scots. A promise of marriage was renewed between them, and the duke was induced to give his consent to enterprises still more criminal. It was agreed that the Duke of Alva should land with a large body of troops at Harwich, where the Duke of Norfolk was to join them with all his friends; should thence march directly to London, and oblige the queen to submit to whatever terms the conspirators should please to impose upon her. The conspiracy, however, was discovered by means of a servant of Norfolk's, who, being intrusted with a bag of gold and a letter for transmission to Scotland, became suspicious, and carried the letter to Cecil (now Lord Burleigh). Three of the duke's agents were arrested, and confessed the whole truth when tortured. The duke was brought to trial, and was condemned of treason by a jury of 26 peers. The queen long hesitated to sign his death-warrant, but at last, at the instance of the Commons, he was executed (June 2, 1572). The Earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to the queen by the regent of Scotland, was also, a few months after, brought to the scaffold for his rebellion.

The Queen of Scots was either the occasion or the cause of all these disturbances; but, as she was a sovereign princess, Elizabeth durst not, as yet, form any resolution of proceeding to extremities against her. The Parliament was so enraged against her that the Commons made a direct application for immediate trial and execution. Elizabeth, however, satisfied with showing Mary the disposition of the nation, sent to the House her express commands

not to deal any farther at present in the affair of the Scottish queen.

§ 14. Shortly afterward there was perpetrated at Paris (Aug. 24, 1572) that inhuman slaughter of the Protestants which, from the day of its execution, has been called the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. The Admiral Coligny, together with about 500 noblemen and gentlemen, and nearly 10,000 persons of inferior rank, were butchered on this occasion. Charles, in order to cover this



Medal of Pope Gregory XIII. commemorating the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Obv.: GREGORIVS - XIII . PONT . MAX . AN . I: bust to left. Rev.: VGONOTTORVM . STRAGES . 1572: an angel slaying the Huguenots.

barbarous perfidy, pretended that a conspiracy of the Huguenots to seize his person had been suddenly detected, and that he had been necessitated, for his own defense, to proceed to this severity against them. He sent orders to Fénélon, his embassador in England, to ask an audience, and to give Elizabeth this account of the late transaction. The queen heard his apology without discovering any visible symptoms of indignation. She blamed the conduct of Charles, but, being sensible of the dangerous situation in which she now stood, she did not think it prudent to reject all commerce with him. She therefore allowed even the negotiations to be renewed for her marriage with the Duke of Alençon, Charles's third brother; those with the Duke of Anjou had already been broken off. The nobility and gentry of England, indeed, were roused to such a pitch of resentment, that they offered to levy an army of 22,000 foot and 4000 horse, to transport them into France, and to maintain them six months at their own charge; but Elizabeth, who was cautious in her measures, and who feared to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions by these dangerous crusades, refused her consent, and moderated the zeal of her subjects. But Elizabeth's best security lay in the strength of the Huguenots themselves. The sect which Charles had hoped at one blow to exterminate had soon an army of 18,000 men on foot, and possessed in different parts of France above 100 cities, castles, or fortresses. By the death of Charles (May 30, 1574) without issue,

at the age of 25, the crown devolved to his brother, the Duke of Anjou, now Henry III.; but his counsels were directed by the Duke of Guise and his family. Henry was desirous of increasing his power by acting as umpire between the two parties. Guise, however, having formed the famous League, which, without paying any regard to the royal authority, aimed at the entire suppression of the Huguenots, the king was forced to declare himself the head of it. Elizabeth secretly supported the Huguenots; but it was some years before any important transactions took place between her and France.

The affairs of the Netherlands were in as disturbed a state as those of France. In 1572 the provinces of Holland and Zealand revolted from the Spaniards and the tyranny of Alva. The Prince of Orange, who had been declared a rebel, and whose ample possessions in the Low Countries had been confiscated, emerged from his retreat in Germany to put himself at the head of the insurgents; and, by uniting the revolted cities in a league, he laid the foundation of that illustrious commonwealth, the offspring of industry and liberty, whose arms and policy long made so signal a figure in every transaction of Europe. The history of the memorable struggle of the Prince of Orange against the Duke of Alva and his successors can not be related in this place. The Hollanders, anxious to secure the assistance of Elizabeth, offered her the possession and sovereignty of their provinces if she would exert her power in their defense. But as an open war with the Spanish monarchy was the apparent consequence of her accepting this offer, she refused, in positive terms, the sovereignty proffered her; and she at present confined her efforts in their favor to an attempt at a mediation with Philip. But a few years afterward, Elizabeth, seeing from the union of all the provinces a fair prospect of their making a long and vigorous defense against Spain, no longer scrupled to embrace the protection of their liberties; she concluded a treaty with them, in which she stipulated to assist them with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, and to lend them £100,000 on receiving the bonds of some of the most considerable towns of the Netherlands for repayment within the year (1577).

§ 15. During these years, while Europe was almost every where in great commotion, England enjoyed a profound tranquillity, owing chiefly to the prudence and vigor of the queen's administration, and to the wise precautions which she employed in all her measures. By means of her rigid economy, she paid all the debts which she found on the crown, with their full interest, though some of these debts had been contracted even during the reign of her father. Some loans, which she had exacted at the commence-

ment of her reign, were repaid by her—a practice in that age somewhat unusual. During this peaceable and uniform government England furnishes few materials for history; and, except the small part which Elizabeth took in foreign transactions, there scarcely passed any occurrence which requires a particular detail.

Philip, though he had not yet come to an open rupture with the queen, was every day, both by the injuries which he committed and suffered, more exasperated against her. That he might retaliate the assistance which she gave to his rebels in the Low Countries, he had sent, under the name of the Pope, a body of troops into Ireland for the purpose of fomenting a rebellion (1579). When the English embassador made complaints of this invasion, he was answered by like complaints of the piracies committed by Francis Drake, a bold seaman, who had assaulted the Spaniards in the place where they deemed themselves most secure, in the New World. Drake, with the queen's consent and approbation, set sail from Plymouth in 1577 with four ships and a pinnace, on board of which were 164 able sailors. He passed into the South Sea by the Straits of Magellan, and, attacking the Spaniards, who expected no enemy in those quarters, he took many rich prizes, and prepared to return with the booty which he had acquired. Apprehensive of being intercepted by the enemy if he took the same way homeward by which he had reached the Pacific Ocean, he attempted to find a passage by the north of California; and failing in that enterprise, he set sail for the East Indies, and returned safely by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman who sailed round the globe, and the first commander-in-chief; for Magellan, whose ship executed the same adventure, died in his passage. His name became celebrated on account of so bold and fortunate an attempt; but many, apprehending the resentment of the Spaniards, endeavored to persuade the queen that it would be more prudent to disavow the enterprise, to punish Drake, and to restore the treasure. But Elizabeth, who admired valor, and was allured by the prospect of sharing in the booty, determined to countenance that gallant sailor: she conferred on him the honor of knighthood, and accepted of a banquet from him at Deptford, on board the ship which had achieved so memorable a voyage.

§ 16. The Duke of Alençon, now created Duke of Anjou, had never entirely dropped his pretensions to Elizabeth; and that princess, though her suitor was nearly 25 years younger than herself, and had no knowledge of her person but by pictures or descriptions, was still pleased with the image which his addresses afforded her of love and tenderness. The Duke of Anjou, encouraged by the accounts sent him of the queen's prepossessions in his favor, paid her secretly a visit at Greenwich; and, after some con-

ference with her, the purport of which is not known, he departed (1579). It appeared that, though his figure was not advantageous, he had lost no ground by being personally known to her; and soon after she commanded her ministers to draw up the terms of a contract of marriage, which was to be celebrated six weeks after the ratification of the articles. Elizabeth, however, though she had proceeded thus far, betrayed a constant vacillation of purpose; and not only the court of France, but Walsingham himself, Burleigh, and all her wisest ministers, were in amazement, doubtful where this contest between inclination and reason, love and ambition, would at last terminate. The States of the Netherlands chose the Duke of Anjou their governor; and having been successful in raising the siege of Cambray, he put his army into winter-quarters, and came over to England, in order to prosecute his suit to the queen. The reception which he met with made him expect entire success. In the midst of the pomp which attended the anniversary of her accession (Nov. 17, 1581), she was seen, after long and intimate discourse with him, to take a ring from her own finger, and put it upon his; and all the spectators concluded that in this ceremony she had given him a promise of marriage, and was even desirous of signifying her intentions to all the world. But the combat of her sentiments was not entirely over; her ambition, as well as prudence, rousing itself by intervals, still filled her breast with doubt and hesitation; and she was observed to pass several nights without any sleep or repose. At last her settled habits of prudence and ambition prevailed over her temporary inclination; and having sent for the Duke of Anjou, she had a long conference with him in private, where she was supposed to have made him apologies for breaking her former engagements. He expressed great disgust on his leaving her; threw away the ring which she had given him, and uttered many curses on the mutability of women and of islanders (1582).

§ 17. Several conspiracies in which the Jesuits were active, some real, others imaginary, had excited the suspicion and vigilance of the government, and were imputed to the intrigues of the Queen of Scots; and, as her name was employed in all of them, the council thought that they could not use too many precautions against the danger of her claims, and the restless activity of her temper. An association was set on foot by the Earl of Leicester and other courtiers, to defend the queen, to revenge her death, or any injury committed against her, and to exclude from the throne all claimants by whose suggestion, or for whose behoof, any violence should be offered to her majesty. The Queen of Scots was sensible that this association was leveled against her; and, to remove all suspicion from herself, she also desired to subscribe it. Eliza-

beth, that she might the more discourage malcontents, by showing them the concurrence of the nation in her favor, summoned a new Parliament, and she met with that dutiful attachment which she expected (Nov. 23, 1584). The association was confirmed by Parliament, and a clause was added, by which the queen was empowered to name commissioners for the trial of any pretender to the crown who should attempt or imagine any invasion, insurrection, or assassination against her; and for the greater security, a council of regency, in case of the queen's violent death, was appointed to govern the kingdom, to settle the succession, and to take vengeance for that act of treason. A severe law was also passed that all Jesuits and popish priests should depart the kingdom within 40 days; and the exercise of the Catholic religion, which had formerly been prohibited under lighter penalties, and which was in many instances connived at, was totally suppressed. In 1568 a popish seminary for refugee priests had been established at Douay, under the auspices of Philip, and directed by the Jesuits, whence the priests were continually passing into England, to keep alive the expiring faith, and sometimes to excite sedition. Thus Parsons and Campion, two Jesuits, had made themselves busy in England in 1581, respecting Pope Pius's bull of excommunication; and the latter, having been detected in treasonable practices, was publicly executed. Hence the necessity for these new laws.

But the most material subject agitated in this session was the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission, and the oath *ex officio*, as it was called, exacted by that court. This is a subject of such importance as to merit some explanation. The first primate after the queen's accession was Parker, a man rigid in exacting conformity to the established worship, and in punishing, by fine or deprivation, all the Puritanical clergymen who attempted to innovate any thing in the habits, ceremonies, or Liturgy of the Church. He died in 1575, and was succeeded by Grindal, who, as he himself was inclined to the new sect, was with great difficulty brought to execute the laws against them, or to punish the nonconforming clergy. He declined obeying the queen's orders for the suppression of *prophesyings*, or the assemblies of the zealots in private houses; and for this offense she had, by an order of the Star Chamber, sequestered him from his archiepiscopal functions, and confined him to his own house. Upon his death, which happened in 1583, she determined not to fall into the same error in her next choice; and she named Whitgift, a zealous churchman, who had already signalized his pen in controversy, and who, having in vain attempted to convince the Puritans by argument, was now resolved to open their eyes by power and by the execution of penal statutes. By his advice, the queen issued a new commission more ar-

bitrary than any of the former, and conveying more unlimited authority. She appointed 44 commissioners, 12 of whom were bishops; 3 commissioners made a quorum, and the jurisdiction of the court extended over the whole kingdom, and over all orders of men, though more particularly directed against the clergy. The commissioners were empowered to visit and reform all errors, heresies, schisms; and they were directed to make inquiry, not only by the legal methods of juries and witnesses, but by all other means and ways which they could devise. Where they found reason to suspect any person, they might administer to him an oath called *ex officio*, by which he was bound to answer all questions, and might thereby be obliged to accuse himself or his most intimate friend. In a word, this court was a real *Inquisition*, except that it could not employ torture. Censure and deprivation were its usual punishments; and sometimes it resorted to fine and imprisonment; but these, as well as the whole constitution of the court, were always regarded as illegal by the courts of law. In a speech from the throne at the end of the session the queen reproved the Commons for touching upon this grievance in their petition; and, so far from yielding to the displeasure of the Parliament, granted, before the end of her reign, a new commission, in which she enlarged, rather than restrained, the powers of the commissioners. The act against Jesuits and seminary priests was violently opposed by one Parry, who had received the queen's pardon for a crime by which he was exposed to capital punishment. Having obtained permission to travel, he retired to Milan, where, according to his own confession, he was persuaded by a Jesuit that he could not perform a more meritorious action than to take away the life of his sovereign and benefactress; and his design, having been communicated to the Pope through Cardinal Como, received the approbation of the holy father. On his return to England Parry communicated his intention to Neville, by whom it was betrayed to the ministers, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor (1585).

§ 18. These bloody designs now appeared every where as the result of that bigoted spirit by which the two religions, especially the Roman Catholic, were at this time actuated. About the same time, Baltazar Gerard, a Burgundian, undertook and executed the same design against the Prince of Orange; and that great man perished at Delft by the hands of a desperate assassin. The States of the Netherlands now renewed their offer to Elizabeth of acknowledging her for their sovereign on condition of obtaining her protection and assistance. Elizabeth declined this proposal; but being determined not to permit, without opposition, the total subjection of the revolted provinces, she accepted the protectorate,

and agreed to send over an army to their assistance (1585). The Earl of Leicester was sent over to Holland at the head of the English auxiliary forces. Elizabeth, finding that an open breach with Philip was unavoidable, resolved not to leave him unmolested in America. A fleet of 20 sail was equipped to attack the Spaniards in the West Indies, of which Sir Francis Drake was appointed admiral. They made several conquests; and, sailing along the coast of Virginia, they found the small remains of a colony which had been planted there by Sir Walter Raleigh, and which had gone extremely to decay. This was the first attempt of the English to form such settlements; and though they have since surpassed all European nations, both in the situation of their colonies, and in the noble principles of liberty and industry on which they are founded, they had here been so unsuccessful that the miserable planters abandoned their settlements, and prevailed on Drake to carry them with him to England. He returned with so much riches as encouraged the volunteers, and with such accounts of the Spanish weakness in those countries as served extremely to inflame the spirits of the nation to future enterprises.

Leicester's operations were much less successful than those of Drake. This man possessed neither courage nor capacity equal to the trust reposed in him by the queen; and as he was the only bad choice she made for any considerable employment, men naturally believed that she had here been influenced by an affection still more partial than that of friendship. He gained, indeed, advantages at first, but failed in an attempt which he made upon Zutphen. In a skirmish under the walls of this town Sir Philip Sydney was mortally wounded, and soon after died (Sept. 22, 1586). This person is described by the writers of that age as the most perfect model of an accomplished gentleman that could be formed even by the wanton imagination of poetry or fiction. Virtuous conduct, polite conversation, heroic valor, and elegant erudition, all concurred to render him the ornament and delight of the English court; and as the credit which he possessed with the queen and the Earl of Leicester was wholly employed in the encouragement of genius and literature, his praises have been transmitted with advantage to posterity. No person was so low as not to become an object of his humanity. After this last action, while he was lying on the field mangled with wounds, a bottle of water was brought him to relieve his thirst; but, observing a soldier near him in a like miserable condition, he said, "This man's necessity is greater than mine;" and resigned to him the bottle of water.

§ 19. Some priests of the English seminary at Rheims had wrought themselves up to a high pitch of rage and animosity

against the queen. Intoxicated with admiration of the divine power and infallibility of the Pope, they revered his bull, by which he excommunicated and deposed her. The assassination of heretical sovereigns, and of that princess in particular, was represented as the most meritorious of all enterprises; and they taught that whosoever perished in such pious attempts, enjoyed, without dispute, the glorious and never-fading crown of martyrdom. By such doctrines they instigated John Savage, a man of desperate courage, who had served some years in the Low Countries, to attempt the life of Elizabeth; and this assassin, having made a vow to persevere in his design, was sent over to England, and recommended to the confidence of the more zealous Catholics. About the same time, John Ballard, a priest of that seminary, when on a mission in England and Scotland, had observed a spirit of mutiny and rebellion to be very prevalent among the Roman Catholic devotees in these countries, and had founded on that disposition the project of dethroning Elizabeth, and of restoring, by force of arms, the exercise of the ancient religion. Mendoza, the Spanish embassador at Paris, strongly encouraged Ballard to hope for succors. He accordingly returned to England in the disguise of a soldier, and assumed the name of Captain Fortescue; and he bent his endeavors to effect at once the project of an assassination, an insurrection, and an invasion (1586). With this view he addressed himself to Anthony Babington, a young gentleman of a good family and fortune, who had discovered an excellent capacity, and was accomplished in literature beyond most of his years or station. Babington had before been engaged with one Morgan in a secret correspondence with the Queen of Scots; but after she was put under the custody of Sir Amias Paulet, and reduced to a more rigorous confinement, he had desisted from every attempt of that nature. When Ballard began to open his intentions to Babington, he found his zeal suspended, not extinguished; his former ardor revived on the mention of any enterprise which seemed to promise success in the cause of Mary and of the Catholic religion. Ballard proceeded to discover to him the design undertaken by Savage, and was well pleased to observe that, instead of being shocked with the project, Babington only thought it not secure enough when intrusted to one single hand, and proposed to join five others with Savage in this desperate enterprise. In prosecution of these views, Babington employed himself in increasing the number of his associates, as he aimed at the deliverance of the Queen of Scots at the very same instant when Elizabeth should be assassinated; and he secretly drew into the conspiracy many Catholic gentlemen discontented with the present government.

These desperate projects had not escaped the vigilance of Eliza-

beth's council, particularly of Walsingham, secretary of state, who, by means of spies, had got a hint of the designs entertained by the fugitives. But the bottom of the conspiracy was never fully known till Gifford, a seminary priest, came over, and made a tender of his services to Walsingham. By his means the discovery became of the utmost importance, and involved the fate of Mary, as well as of those zealous partisans of that princess. Babington and his associates employed Gifford to communicate their design to the Queen of Scots, and Gifford immediately applied to Walsingham, that the interest of that minister might forward his secret correspondence with Mary. Gifford found a brewer who supplied Paulet's family with ale, and bribed him to convey letters to the captive queen. The letters, by Paulet's contrivance, were thrust through a chink in the wall, and answers were returned by the same conveyance. Ballard and Babington were at first diffident of Gifford's fidelity; and, to make trial of him, they gave him only blank papers made up like letters; but finding by the answers that these had been faithfully delivered, they laid aside all farther scruple, and conveyed to Mary by his hands the particulars of the whole conspiracy. Mary replied that she approved highly of the design; that the gentlemen might expect all the rewards which it should ever be in her power to confer; and that the death of Elizabeth was a necessary circumstance, before any attempts were made, either for her own deliverance or an insurrection. These and other letters were carried by Gifford to Secretary Walsingham, and copies taken of them. At length Ballard was seized; and Babington, observing that he was watched, made his escape, and gave the alarm to the other conspirators. They all took to flight, covered themselves with several disguises, and lay concealed in St. John's Wood and other places, but were soon discovered and thrown into prison. In their examinations they contradicted each other, and the leaders were obliged to make a full confession of the truth. Fourteen were condemned and executed, of whom seven acknowledged the crime on their trial; the rest were convicted by evidence.

§ 20. The lesser conspirators being dispatched, measures were taken, after much deliberation, for the trial and conviction of the Queen of Scots. She was conducted to Fotheringay Castle in the county of Northampton, which it was determined to make the last stage of her trial and sufferings. Her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were immediately arrested; her papers were sent up to the council, among which were found many letters from persons beyond sea, and several too from English noblemen, containing expressions of respect and attachment. It was resolved to try Mary, not by the common statute of treasons, but

by an act which had passed the former year with a view to this very event; and the queen, in terms of that act, appointed a commission, consisting of 47 noblemen and privy counselors, and empowered them to examine and pass sentence on Mary, whom she denominated the late Queen of Scots, and heir to James V. of Scotland. Mary at first refused to answer, pleading her royal dignity, but the commissioners would not admit this objection; and at length, by a well-timed speech by Sir Christopher Hatton, the vice-chamberlain, she was persuaded to answer before the court, though, on her first appearance before the commissioners, she renewed her protestation against the authority of her judges. The only part of the charge which Mary positively denied was her concurrence in the design of assassinating Elizabeth. This article, indeed, was the most heavy, and the only one that could fully justify the queen in proceeding to extremities against her. In order to prove the accusation, there was produced the following evidence: copies taken in Secretary Walsingham's office of the intercepted letters between her and Babington, in which her approbation of the murder was clearly expressed; the evidence of her two secretaries, Nau and Curle, who had confessed, without being put to any torture, both that she had received these letters from Babington, and that they had written the answers by her order; the confession of Babington that he had written the letters and received the answers; and the confession of Ballard and Savage that Babington had shown them these letters of Mary written in the cipher which had been settled between them. Her reply consisted chiefly of her own denial, and an insinuation of forgery against Walsingham, which was indignantly repelled, and which she afterward withdrew. Such a defense can not weigh against so overwhelming a weight of testimony; nor is it probable that she should have been partially made acquainted with the nature of the conspiracy. Having finished the trial, the commissioners adjourned from Fotheringay Castle, and met in the Star Chamber at London, where they pronounced sentence of death upon the Queen of Scots, and confirmed it by their seals and subscriptions (Oct. 25, 1586).

The queen had now brought affairs with Mary to that situation which she had long ardently desired; but she foresaw the invidious colors in which this example of uncommon jurisdiction would be represented by the numerous partisans of Mary, and the reproach to which she herself might be exposed with all foreign princes, perhaps with all posterity. She therefore pretended the utmost reluctance to proceed to the execution of the sentence; affected the most tender sympathy with her prisoner; displayed all her scruples and difficulties; rejected the solicitation of her courtiers and ministers; and affirmed that, were she not moved

by the deepest concern for her people's safety, she would not hesitate a moment in pardoning all the injuries which she herself had received from the Queen of Scots. That the voice of her people might be more audibly heard in the demand of justice upon Mary, she summoned a new Parliament; and she knew, both from the usual dispositions of that assembly, and from the influence of her ministers over them, that she should not want the most earnest solicitations to consent to that measure which was so agreeable to her secret inclinations. The event answered her expectations; the sentence against Mary was unanimously ratified by both houses; and an application was voted to obtain Elizabeth's consent to its publication and execution. She gave an answer, ambiguous, embarrassed; full of real artifice and seeming irresolution; and she begged them to think once again whether it were possible to find any expedient, besides the death of the Queen of Scots, for securing the public tranquillity. The Parliament, in obedience to her commands, took the affair again under consideration, but could find no other possible expedient. The queen then published the sentence by proclamation; and this act seemed to be attended with the unanimous and hearty rejoicings of the people (Dec. 6). When the sentence was notified to her, Mary was nowise dismayed at the intelligence; and as she was told that her death was demanded by the Protestants for the establishment of their faith, she insisted that she was really a martyr to her religion, and was entitled to all the merits attending that glorious character. In her last letter to Elizabeth, which was full of dignity, without departing from that spirit of meekness and of charity which appeared suitable to this concluding scene of her unfortunate life, she preferred no petition for averting the fatal sentence; on the contrary, she expressed her gratitude to Heaven for thus bringing to a speedy period her sad and lamentable pilgrimage. She merely desired to be buried in France, and made some requests in favor of her servants. The King of France sent an embassador to intercede for the life of Mary, but without success. The interposition of the young King of Scots, though not able to change Elizabeth's determination, seemed, on every account, to merit more regard. As soon as James heard of the trial and condemnation of his mother, he sent Sir William Keith, a gentleman of his bed-chamber, to London, and wrote a letter to the queen, in which he remonstrated, in very severe terms, against the indignity of the procedure. Soon after, James sent the Master of Gray and Sir Robert Melvil to enforce the remonstrances of Keith, and to employ with the queen every expedient of argument and menaces. Elizabeth, however, still retained her resolution of executing the sentence against Mary; and it is believed that the Master

of Gray, gained by the enemies of that princess, secretly gave his advice not to spare her, and undertook, at all events, to pacify his master.

§ 21. When Elizabeth thought that as many importunities had been used and as much delay interposed as decency required, she at last determined to carry the sentence into execution; but even in this final resolution she could not proceed without displaying a new scene of duplicity and artifice. In order to alarm the vulgar, all sorts of rumors were dispersed respecting invasions from France, Spain, and Scotland, and of attempts and projects against the queen's life. Elizabeth, affecting to be in terror and perplexity, was observed to sit much alone, pensive and silent, and sometimes to mutter to herself half sentences importing the difficulty and distress to which she was reduced. She ordered Secretary Davison privately to draw a warrant for the execution of the Queen of Scots, but next day she enjoined him to delay; and when Davison told her that the warrant had already passed the great seal, she seemed to be somewhat moved, and blamed him for his precipitation; but the council persuaded him to send off the warrant, and promised to justify his conduct, and to take on themselves the whole blame of this measure. The warrant was accordingly dispatched to the Earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, and some others, ordering them to see the sentence executed upon the Queen of Scots.

The two earls came to Fotheringay Castle, and, being introduced to Mary, informed her of their commission, and desired her to prepare for death next morning at eight o'clock. She seemed nowise terrified, though somewhat surprised, with the intelligence. She said, with a cheerful and even a smiling countenance, that she did not think the queen, her sister, would have consented to her death, or have executed the sentence against a person not subject to the laws and jurisdiction of England. "But as such is her will," said she, "death, which puts an end to all my miseries, shall be to me most welcome; nor can I esteem that soul worthy the felicities of heaven which can not support the body under the horrors of the last passage to these blissful mansions." When the earls had left her she ordered supper to be hastened, that she might have the more leisure after it to finish the few affairs which remained to her in this world, and to prepare for her passage to another. She supped sparingly, as her manner usually was, and her wonted cheerfulness did not even desert her on this occasion. She comforted her servants under the affliction which overwhelmed them, and which was too violent for them to conceal it from her. Toward morning she arose and dressed herself in a rich habit of silk and velvet, the only one which she had reserved to herself. Having

passed into the hall, where was erected the scaffold covered with black, she saw with an undismayed countenance the executioners and all the preparations of death. Here her old servant, Sir Andrew Melvil, took an affecting leave of her. The warrant for her execution was then read to her; and during this ceremony she was silent, but showed in her behavior an indifference and unconcern as if the business had nowise regarded her. Before the executioners performed their office, the Dean of Peterborough stepped forth, and though the queen frequently told him that he needed not concern himself about her, that she was settled in the ancient Catholic and Roman religion, and that she meant to lay down her life in defense of that faith, he still thought it his duty to persist in his lectures and exhortations. She now began, with the aid of her two women, to disrobe herself, and the executioner also lent his hand to assist them. She smiled, and said that she was not accustomed to undress herself before so large a company, nor to be served by such valets. Her servants, seeing her in this condition ready to lay her head upon the block, burst into tears and lamentations. She turned about to them, put her finger upon her lips as a sign of imposing silence upon them, and, having given them her blessing, desired them to pray for her. One of her maids, whom she had appointed for that purpose, covered her eyes with a handkerchief; she laid herself down without any sign of fear or trepidation, and her head was severed from her body at two strokes by the executioner. He instantly held it up to the spectators, streaming with blood and agitated with the convulsions of death. The Dean of Peterborough alone exclaimed, "So perish all Queen Elizabeth's enemies!" The Earl of Kent alone replied "Amen!" The attention of all the other spectators was fixed on the melancholy scene before them, and zeal and flattery alike gave place to present pity and admiration of the expiring princess (Feb. 8, 1587).

Thus perished, in the 45th year of her age and 19th of her captivity in England, Mary Queen of Scots, a woman of great accomplishments both of body and mind, natural as well as acquired, but unfortunate in her life, and during one period very unhappy in her conduct. In order to form a just idea of her character, we must set aside one part of her conduct, while she abandoned herself to the guidance of a profligate man, and must consider these faults, whether we admit them to be imprudences or crimes, as the result of an inexplicable though not uncommon inconstancy in the human mind, of the frailty of our nature, of the violence of passion, and of the influence which situations, and sometimes momentary incidents have on persons whose principles are not thoroughly confirmed by experience and reflection. An enumeration of her qual-

ities might carry the appearance of a panegyric; an account of her conduct must in some parts wear the aspect of severe satire and invective.

§ 22. When the queen was informed of Mary's execution she affected the utmost surprise and indignation. She put herself in deep mourning, and she was seen perpetually bathed in tears, and surrounded only by her maids and women. None of her ministers or counselors dared to approach her; or, if any had such temerity, she chased them from her with the most violent expressions of rage and resentment; they had all of them been guilty of an unpardonable crime in putting to death her dear sister and kinswoman, contrary to her fixed purpose, of which they were sufficiently apprised and acquainted. No sooner was her sorrow so much abated as to leave room for reflection than she wrote a letter of apology to the King of Scots; and, in order the better to appease him, she committed Davison to prison, and ordered him to be tried in the Star Chamber for his misdemeanor. He was condemned to imprisonment during the queen's pleasure, and to pay a fine of £10,000. He remained a long time in custody; and the fine, though it reduced him to beggary, was rigorously levied upon him. James discovered the highest resentment, and refused to admit Elizabeth's envoy into his presence. He recalled his embassadors from England, and seemed to breathe nothing but war and vengeance. The States of Scotland, being assembled, took part in his anger, and professed that they were ready to spend their lives and fortunes in revenge of his mother's death, and in defense of his title to the crown of England. But the judicious representations made to him by Walsingham, joined to the peaceable, unambitious temper of the young prince, prevailed over his resentment, and he fell gradually into a good correspondence with the court of England. It is probable that the queen's chief object in her dissimulation with regard to the execution of Mary was that she might thereby afford James a decent pretense for renewing his friendship with her, on which their mutual interests so much depended.



Dutch medal on the overthrow of the Armada. Obv.: FLAVIT . יהוה ET . DISSIPATI SVNT . 1588: the Armada advancing in order.

CHAPTER XIX.

ELIZABETH CONTINUED. FROM THE EXECUTION OF THE QUEEN OF SCOTS TO THE DEATH OF ELIZABETH. A.D. 1587–1603.

§ 1. Preparations of Philip for an Invasion of England. The Invincible Armada. § 2. Defeat of the Spanish Armada. § 3. Expedition against Portugal. § 4. French Affairs. Elizabeth assists Henry IV. Naval Enterprises against Spain. § 5. Elizabeth's Proceedings with her Parliament. § 6. Affairs of France. Raleigh's Expedition to Guiana. § 7. Expeditions to Cadiz and Ferrol. The Earl of Essex. Death of Burleigh and of Philip II. § 8. Affairs of Ireland. Tyrone's Rebellion. Essex Lord-lieutenant of Ireland. Disgrace of Essex. § 9. His Insurrection. His Trial and Execution. § 10. Death and Character of Elizabeth. § 11. General Reflections on the Period of the Tudors. Power of the Crown under that Dynasty. § 12. The Constitution intact in Theory. Benevolences. Monopolies. § 13. Relations of the Crown and Commons. § 14. Administration of Justice. § 15. Consequences of the Reformation. Court of High Commission. § 16. General State of the Nation.

§ 1. WHILE Elizabeth insured tranquillity from the attempts of her nearest neighbor, she was not negligent of more distant dangers. She knew that Philip, eager for revenge and zealous to exterminate heresy, had formed, with the sanction and co-operation of the Pope and of the Guises in France, the ambitious project of subduing England, and was secretly preparing a great navy to attack her. Accordingly, she sent Sir Francis Drake with a fleet, soon after Mary's death (1587), to pillage the Spanish coast and destroy the shipping. Drake burned more than 100 ships off Cadiz, and destroyed a vast quantity of stores which had been col-



Reverse of medal on preceding page: ALLIDOR . NON . LÆDOR: the church on a rock in the midst of a stormy sea.

lected for the invasion of England. Meanwhile Philip continued his preparations with the greatest energy; every part of his vast empire resounded with the noise of armaments; and all his ministers, generals, and admirals were employed in forwarding the design. Vessels of uncommon size and force were built; vast armies were assembled; nor were any doubts entertained but such vast preparations, conducted by officers of consummate skill, must finally be successful; and the Spaniards, ostentatious of their power, and elated with vain hopes, had already denominated their navy the *Invincible Armada*. Elizabeth meantime made preparations for resistance; nor was she dismayed with that power by which all Europe apprehended she must of necessity be overwhelmed. Her force, indeed, seemed very unequal to resist so potent an enemy. All the sailors in England amounted at that time to about 14,000 men. The size of the English shipping was in general so small, that, except a few of the queen's ships of war, there were not four vessels belonging to the merchants which exceeded 400 tons. The royal navy consisted of only 34 sail, many of which were of small size; none of them exceeded the bulk of our largest frigates, and most of them deserved rather the name of pinnaces than of ships. The only advantage of the English fleet consisted in the dexterity and courage of the seamen. All the commercial towns of England were required to furnish ships for re-enforcing this small navy; and the citizens of London, in order to show their zeal in the common cause, instead of 15 vessels which they were commanded to equip, voluntarily fitted out double the number. The gentry and nobility hired, and armed,

and manned 43 ships at their own charge; and all the loans of money which the queen demanded were frankly granted by the persons applied to. Lord Howard of Effingham, a man of courage and capacity, was admiral, and took on him the command of the navy; Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, the most renowned seamen in Europe, served under him. On land three large armies were assembled; but the men were raised in haste, and such raw levies were much inferior to the Spaniards in discipline and reputation. The queen did every thing in her power to animate her soldiers and excite the martial spirit of the nation. She appeared on horseback in the camp that was formed at Tilbury; and, riding through the lines, discovered a cheerful and animated countenance, exhorted the soldiers to remember their duty to their country and their religion, and professed her intention, though a woman, to lead them herself into the field against the enemy, and rather to perish in battle than survive the ruin and slavery of her people.

§ 2. The sailing of the Spanish Armada was delayed by the death of the admiral and vice-admiral; and Philip appointed the Duke of Medina Sidonia to the command, a nobleman of great family, but entirely unacquainted with sea affairs. The Armada at last set sail from Lisbon (May 29, 1588), but, being dispersed by a storm, was obliged to put into the Groine (Corunna) to refit. When this was accomplished, the Spaniards with fresh hopes set out again to sea, in prosecution of their enterprise. The fleet consisted of 130 vessels, of which nearly 100 were galleons, and were of greater size than any ever before used in Europe. It carried on board 20,000 soldiers. The plan formed by the King of Spain was that the Armada should sail to Dunkirk, and, having taken on board the Spanish troops in the Netherlands under the command of the Duke of Parma, should thence make sail to the Thames, and, having landed the whole Spanish army, thus complete at one blow the entire conquest of England. On the 19th of July the Spaniards were descried off the Lizard, and Effingham had just time to get out of Plymouth when he saw the Armada coming full sail toward him, disposed in the form a crescent, and stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of the other. He gave orders not to come to close fight with the Spaniards, where the size of the ships and the numbers of the soldiers would be a disadvantage to the English, but to cannonade them at a distance, and to wait the opportunity which winds, currents, or various accidents must afford him of intercepting some scattered vessels of the enemy. Nor was it long before the event answered expectation. A great ship of Biscay, on board of which was a considerable part of the Spanish money, took fire by accident; and while all hands were employed in ex-

tinguishing the flames, she fell behind the rest of the Armada; the great galleon of Andalusia was detained by the springing of her mast; and both these vessels were taken, after some resistance, by Sir Francis Drake. As the Armada advanced up the Channel, the English hung upon its rear, and still infested it with skirmishes; while, the alarm having now reached the coast of England, the nobility and gentry hastened out with their vessels from every harbor, and re-enforced the admiral. The Armada cast anchor before Calais, in expectation that the Duke of Parma, who had received intelligence of their approach, would put to sea and join his forces to them. The English admiral practiced here a successful stratagem upon the Spaniards. He took eight of his smaller ships, and, filling them with all combustible materials, sent them one after another into the midst of the enemy. The Spaniards fancied that they were fire-ships of the same contrivance with a famous vessel which had lately done so much execution in the Scheldt, near Antwerp, and they immediately cut their cables, and took to flight with the greatest disorder and precipitation. The English fell upon them next morning while in confusion; and, besides doing damage to other ships, they took or destroyed about 12 of the enemy.

By this time it was become apparent that the intention for which these preparations were made by the Spaniards was entirely frustrated. The Duke of Parma positively refused to leave the harbor; and the Spanish admiral, finding that in many rencounters, while he lost so considerable a part of his own navy, he had destroyed only one small vessel of the English, prepared to return homeward; but, as the wind was contrary to his passage through the Channel, he resolved to sail northward, and, making the tour of the island, reach the Spanish harbors by the ocean. The English fleet followed him during some time; and, had not their ammunition fallen short, by the negligence of the officers in supplying them, they had obliged the whole Armada to surrender at discretion. A violent tempest overtook the Armada after it passed the Orkneys, and many of the ships were miserably wrecked. Not a half of the navy returned to Spain; and the seamen as well as soldiers who remained were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valor of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of that ocean which surrounds them. Such was the miserable and dishonorable conclusion of an enterprise which had been preparing for three years, which had exhausted the revenue and force of Spain, and which had long filled all Europe with anxiety and expectation.

§ 3. The discomfiture of the Armada had begotten in the nation

a kind of enthusiastic passion for enterprises against Spain; and a design was formed in the following year (1589) to conquer the kingdom of Portugal for Don Antonio, an illegitimate branch of the royal family of that country. Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Norris were the leaders in this romantic enterprise, which was afterward joined by the Earl of Essex; but the queen only allowed six of her ships of war to attend the expedition. The English gained several advantages over the Spaniards, and even got possession of the suburbs of Lisbon; yet, their ammunition and provisions being exhausted, and the army wasted by fatigue and intemperance, it was found necessary to make all possible haste to re-embark. They sailed thence to Vigo, which they took and burned, and, having ravaged the country around, they set sail and arrived in England. It is computed that 1100 gentlemen embarked on board the fleet, and that only 350 survived the multiplied disasters to which they had been exposed through fatigue, famine, sickness, and the sword.

§ 4. Meanwhile a revolution was in progress in France which finally engaged Elizabeth to take a part in the affairs of that country. Henry III., to disembarrass himself of the tyranny of the league, had caused its leaders, the Duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal, to be assassinated; and, having entered into a confederacy with the Huguenots and the King of Navarre, was himself murdered by Jaques Clement, a Dominican friar (Aug. 9, 1589). The King of Navarre, next heir to the crown, assumed the government by the title of Henry IV.; but the league governed by the Duke of Mayenne, brother to Guise, gathered new force, and the King of Spain entertained views either of dismembering the French monarchy or of annexing the whole to his own dominions. In these distressful circumstances Henry addressed himself to Elizabeth, who made him a present of £22,000, and sent him a reenforcement of 4000 men under Lord Willoughby (1590). In the following year she sent over, at two different times, a large body of men to the assistance of Henry, with the view of expelling the leaguers from Normandy. The Earl of Essex was appointed general of these forces, a young nobleman who, by many exterior accomplishments, and still more real merit, was daily advancing in favor with Elizabeth, and seemed to occupy that place in her affections which Leicester, now deceased, had so long enjoyed. During these military operations in France Elizabeth employed her naval power against Philip, and endeavored to intercept his West Indian treasures, the source of that greatness which rendered him so formidable to all his neighbors. This war did great damage to Spain, but it was attended with considerable expense to England.

§ 5. Elizabeth summoned therefore a Parliament in order to obtain a supply of money (1593); but, far from making any concessions in return, there never was any Parliament whom she treated in a more haughty manner, whom she made more sensible of their own weakness, or whose privileges she more openly violated. She sent Peter Wentworth to the Tower for moving a petition for the settlement of the succession; committed Sir Thomas Bromley, who had seconded him, to the Fleet Prison, together with Stevens and Welsh, two members to whom Sir Thomas had communicated his intention. Morrice, chancellor of the duchy, and attorney of the Court of Wards, having made a motion for redressing the abuses in the bishops' courts, but, above all, in the High Commission, was seized in the House itself by a sergeant-at-arms, discharged from his office, incapacitated from any practice in his profession as a common lawyer, and kept some years prisoner in Tilbury Castle. The queen expressly pointed out both what the House should and should not do, and the Commons were as obsequious to the one as to the other of her injunctions. They accordingly passed a law against recusants, entitled "An Act to retain her majesty's subjects in their due obedience," by which an obstinate and prolonged refusal to attend public worship was made a capital felony. This law bore equally hard upon the Catholics and the Puritans. Nevertheless, the Commons not only voted a subsidy, but even enlarged it at the instance of the Peers.

§ 6. Meanwhile Henry IV., moved by the necessity of his affairs, had resolved to renounce the Protestant religion, and was solemnly received by the French prelates of his party into the bosom of the Church (July 25, 1593). Elizabeth pretended to be extremely displeased with this abjuration of Henry; and she wrote him an angry letter, reproaching him with this interested change of his religion. Sensible, however, that the league and the King of Spain were still their common enemies, she hearkened to his apologies, continued her succors both of men and money, and formed a new treaty, in which they mutually stipulated never to make peace but by common agreement. She assisted Henry in finally breaking the force of the league, which, after the conversion of that monarch, went daily to decay, and was threatened with speedy ruin and dissolution. The English forces rendered Henry considerable assistance till he made peace with Spain in 1598.

This was the age of naval enterprises, and several were undertaken about this time by Sir John Hawkins and his son Richard Hawkins, Sir Francis Drake, and others. In 1595, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had been thrown into prison for an intrigue with a

maid of honor, no sooner recovered his liberty than he was pushed by his active and enterprising genius to attempt some great action. It was imagined that in the inland parts of South America, called Guiana, a country as yet undiscovered, there were mines and treasures far exceeding any which Cortez or Pizarro had met with. Raleigh, whose turn of mind was somewhat romantic and extravagant, undertook, at his own charge, the discovery of this wonderful country. Having taken the small town of St. Joseph, in the isle of Trinidad, where he found no riches, he left his ship and sailed up the River Oronoco in pinnaces, but without meeting with any thing to answer his expectations.

§ 7. In 1596 the English attempted the Spanish dominions in Europe, where they heard Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, in which were embarked near 7000 soldiers. The land forces were commanded by the Earl of Essex; the navy by Lord Effingham, high admiral. The fleet set sail on the 1st of June, and bent its course to Cadiz, which place was taken chiefly through the impetuous valor of Essex, who disregarded the more cautious counsels of Effingham. The admiral was afterward created Earl of Nottingham, and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex. In the preamble of the patent it was said that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz, a merit which Essex pretended solely to belong to himself. Next year the queen, having received intelligence that the Spaniards were preparing a squadron in order to make a descent upon Ireland, equipped a large fleet, in which she embarked about 6000 troops, and appointed the Earl of Essex commander-in-chief both of the land and sea forces. The design was to attack Ferrol and the Groine, where the Spanish expedition was preparing; but the English fleet having been dispersed and shattered by a storm, and their provisions much spent, Essex confined his enterprise to the intercepting of the Indian fleet; but the Spaniards contrived to get to Terceira, and Essex intercepted only three ships, which, however, were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The Earl of Essex continued daily to increase in the queen's favor, but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects. Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation; and she instantly gave him a box on the

ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence. Instead of recollecting himself, and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword, and swore that he would not bear such usage were it from Henry VIII. himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Yet the queen's partiality reinstated him in his former favor, and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment. The death of Lord Burleigh, who had always opposed Essex, which happened about the same time (1598), seemed to insure him constant possession of the queen's confidence, and nothing, indeed, but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Soon after the death of Burleigh, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II., who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired in an advanced age at Madrid (Sept. 13).

§ 8. About this time Elizabeth's attention was called to the affairs of Ireland. Though the dominion of the English over that country had been established above four centuries, their authority hitherto had been little more than nominal. A body of 1000 men was supported there, which, on extraordinary emergencies, was augmented to 2000. No wonder that such a force was unable to control the half-civilized Irish, and that their ancient animosity against the tyranny of the English, now farther inflamed by religious antipathy, should have broken out in several dangerous rebellions. Hugh O'Neale, nephew to Shan O'Neale, or the Great O'Neale, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of Earl of Tyrone; but, having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he preferred the pride of barbarous license and dominion to the pleasures of opulence and tranquillity, and he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain; he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition; and, having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy. Tyrone defied and eluded for some years the arms of Sir John Norris, the English commander, and defeated his successor, Sir Henry Bagnal, in a pitched battle at Blackwater, where 1500 men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory, so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition, and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country and patron of Irish liberty. The English council, sensible that the rebellion of Ireland was now come to a dangerous head, resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures;

and Essex prevailed upon the queen to appoint him governor of Ireland by the title of lord lieutenant; and to insure him of success, she levied an army of 18,000 men. Essex landed at Dublin in April (1599); but, instead of bringing the war to an end, as had been expected, he found himself, at the end of the campaign, unable to effect any thing against the enemy. By long and tedious marches, and by sickness, his numbers were reduced to 4000 men. Essex hearkened, therefore, to a message sent him by Tyrone, who desired a conference, and a cessation of arms was agreed upon. Essex also received from Tyrone proposals for a peace, in which that rebel had inserted many unreasonable and exorbitant conditions; and there appeared afterward some reason to suspect that he had here commenced a very unjustifiable correspondence with the enemy.

So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex. She took care to inform him of her dissatisfaction, but commanded him to remain in Ireland till farther orders. Essex, however, dreading that, if he remained any longer absent, the queen would be totally alienated from him, immediately set out for England; and, making speedy journeys, he arrived at court before any one was in the least apprised of his intentions. Though besmeared with dirt and sweat, he hastened up stairs to the presence chamber, thence to the privy chamber, nor stopped till he was in the queen's bed-chamber, who was newly risen, and was sitting with her hair about her face. He threw himself on his knees, kissed her hand, and had some private conference with her, where he was so graciously received that on his departure he was heard to express great satisfaction, and to thank God that, though he had suffered much trouble and many storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. But this placability of Elizabeth was merely the result of her surprise, and of the momentary satisfaction which she felt on the sudden and unexpected appearance of her favorite. When Essex waited on her in the afternoon, he found her extremely altered in her carriage toward him. She ordered him to be confined to his chamber; to be twice examined by the council; and, though his answers were calm and submissive, she committed him to the custody of Lord Keeper Egerton, and held him sequestered from all company, even from that of his countess. The vexation of this disappointment, and of the triumph gained by his enemies, preyed upon his haughty spirit, and he fell into a distemper which seemed to put his life in danger. When Elizabeth heard of his sickness, she was not a little alarmed with his situation, and sent him word that, if she thought such a step consistent with her honor, she would herself pay him a visit.

Essex rapidly recovered; but a belief was instilled into Elizabeth that his distemper had been entirely counterfeit, in order to move her compassion, and she relapsed into her former rigor against him. There were several incidents which kept alive the queen's anger. Every account which she received from Ireland convinced her more and more of his misconduct in that government, and of the insignificant purposes to which he had employed so much force and treasure. The comparison of his successor Mountjoy's vigorous and successful administration with that of Essex contributed to alienate Elizabeth from her favorite; and she received additional disgust from the partiality of the people, who, prepossessed with an extravagant idea of Essex's merit, complained of the injustice done him by his removal from court and by his confinement. Elizabeth had often expressed her intentions of having him tried in the Star Chamber; but her tenderness for him prevailed at last over her severity, and she was contented to have him only examined by the privy council. Essex pleaded in his defense with great humility; but the council deprived him of all his public offices, and sentenced him to return to his own house, there to continue a prisoner till it should please her majesty to release this and all the rest of his sentence. Sir Robert Cecil, the younger son of Burleigh,* who was now secretary, used all his influence to ruin Essex. Bacon, so much distinguished afterward by his high offices, and still more by his profound genius for the sciences, pleaded against him before the council; although Essex, who could distinguish merit, and who passionately loved it, had entered into an intimate friendship with Bacon; had zealously attempted, though without success, to procure him the office of solicitor general; and, in order to comfort his friend under the disappointment, had conferred on him a present of land to the value of £1800.

§ 9. All the world expected that Essex would soon be reinstated in his former credit when they saw that, though he was still prohibited from appearing at court, he was continued in his office of master of horse, and was restored to his liberty. But Elizabeth, though gracious in her deportment, was of a temper somewhat haughty and severe; and being continually surrounded with Essex's enemies, means were found to persuade her that his lofty spirit was not sufficiently subdued, and that he must undergo a farther trial before he could again be safely received into favor.

* The eldest son, Thomas Cecil, succeeded his father as Lord Burleigh in 1598. He was created Earl of Exeter in 1605, and from him the present Marquis of Exeter is descended. Robert Cecil, mentioned above, was made Earl of Salisbury in 1605, and is the ancestor of the present Marquis of Salisbury.

He possessed a monopoly of sweet wines; and as his patent was near expiring, he patiently expected that the queen would renew it, and he considered this event as the critical circumstance of his life, which would determine whether he could ever hope to be reinstated in credit and authority; but she denied his request, and even added, in a contemptuous style, that an ungovernable beast must be stinted in his provender. This rigor, pushed one step too far, proved the final ruin of this young nobleman, and was the source of infinite sorrow and vexation to the queen herself. Being now reduced to despair, he gave entire reins to his violent disposition, and threw off all appearance of duty and respect. Intoxicated with the public favor which he already possessed, he practiced anew every art of popularity. He secretly courted the confidence of the Catholics; but his chief trust lay in the Puritans, whom he openly caressed, and whose manners he seemed to have entirely adopted. He engaged the most celebrated preachers of that sect to resort to Essex House, he had daily prayers and sermons in his family, and he invited all the zealots in London to attend those pious exercises. He also indulged himself in great liberties of speech, and was even heard to say of the queen that she was now grown an old woman, and was become as crooked in her mind as in her body. These stories were carried to Elizabeth, who was ever remarkably jealous on this head; and, though she was now approaching to her 70th year, she allowed her courtiers, and even foreign embassadors, to compliment her upon her beauty; nor had all her good sense been able to cure her of this preposterous vanity. Essex even made secret applications to the King of Scots, and assured him that he was determined to use every expedient for extorting an immediate declaration in favor of that monarch's right of succession. James willingly hearkened to this proposal, but did not approve of the violent methods by which Essex intended to carry it out.

But Essex now resorted to more desperate counsels. A select council of malcontents was formed, by whom it was agreed that Essex should seize the palace, should oblige the queen to assemble a Parliament, and should, with common consent, settle a new plan of government. While these desperate projects were in agitation, many reasons of suspicion were carried to the queen, and Essex received a summons to attend the council, which met at the treasurer's house. While he was musing on this circumstance a private note was conveyed to him, by which he was warned to provide for his own safety. He concluded that all his conspiracy was discovered, at least suspected, and he immediately dispatched messages to his more intimate confederates, requesting their advice and assistance in the present critical situation of his affairs.

Flight was proposed, but rejected by Essex; to seize the palace seemed impracticable, without more preparations; there remained, therefore, no expedient but that of raising the city, which was immediately resolved on, but the execution of it was delayed till next day; and emissaries were dispatched to all Essex's friends, informing them that Cobham and Raleigh had laid schemes against his life, and entreating their presence and assistance.

Next day (Feb. 8, 1601) there appeared at Essex House the Earls of Southampton and Rutland, the Lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about 300 gentlemen of good quality and fortune, and Essex informed them of the danger to which he pretended the machinations of his enemies exposed him. The queen, being informed of these designs, sent some of the chief officers of state to Essex House to learn the cause of these unusual commotions. Essex detained them prisoners in his house, and proceeded to the execution of his former project. He sallied forth with about 200 attendants, armed only with walking-swords, and in his passage to the city was joined by the Earl of Bedford and Lord Cromwell. He cried aloud, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" and then proceeded to the house of Smith, the sheriff, on whose aid he had great reliance. The citizens flocked about him in amazement, but no one showed a disposition to join him. The sheriff, on the earl's approach to his house, stole out at the back door, and made the best of his way to the mayor. Essex meanwhile, observing the coldness of the citizens, after in vain attempting to force his way through the streets, retired toward the river, and, taking boat, arrived at Essex House. He was now reduced to despair, and surrendered in the evening to the Earl of Nottingham.

The queen soon gave orders for the trial of the most considerable of the criminals, and the Earls of Essex and Southampton were arraigned before a jury of 25 peers, by whom they were found guilty. Bacon, though he was none of the crown lawyers, yet did not scruple, in order to obtain the queen's favor, to be active in bereaving of life his friend and patron, whose generosity he had often experienced. After Essex had passed some days in the solitude and reflections of a prison, his proud heart was at last subdued, not by the fear of death, but by the sentiments of religion, a principle which he had before attempted to make the instrument of his ambition, but which now took a more firm hold of his mind, and prevailed over every other motive and consideration. He made a full confession of his disloyalty, in which he spared not even his most intimate friends.

The present situation of Essex called forth all the queen's tender affections, and kept her in the most real agitation and ir-

resolution. She signed the warrant for his execution; she countermanded it; she again resolved on his death; she felt a new return of tenderness. What chiefly hardened her heart against him was his supposed obstinacy in never making, as she hourly expected, any application to her for mercy; and she finally gave her consent to his execution. He discovered at his death symptoms rather of penitence and piety than of fear, and willingly acknowledged the justice of the sentence by which he suffered. The execution was private, in the Tower, agreeably to his own request (Feb. 25). The Earl of Essex was but 34 years of age when his rashness, imprudence, and violence brought him to this untimely end. Some of Essex's associates were tried, condemned, and executed. Southampton's life was saved with great difficulty, but he was detained in prison during the remainder of this reign.

§ 10. The remaining transactions of this reign are neither numerous nor important. The war was continued against the Spaniards with success; and in 1602 Tyrone appeared before Mountjoy, and made an absolute surrender of his life and fortunes to the queen's mercy. But Elizabeth was now incapable of receiving any satisfaction from this fortunate event. She had fallen into a profound melancholy, which all the advantages of her high fortune, all the glories of her prosperous reign, were unable in any degree to alleviate or assuage. Her dejection has been ascribed to various causes, and particularly to compunction for the fate of Essex, but it was probably the natural result of disease and old age. Her anxious mind at last had so long preyed on her frail body that her end was visibly approaching; and the council, being assembled, sent the keeper, admiral, and secretary to know her will with regard to her successor. She answered, with a faint voice, that, as she had held a regal sceptre, she desired no other than a royal successor. Cecil requesting her to explain herself more particularly, she subjoined that she would have a king to succeed her; and who should that be but her nearest kinsman, the King of Scots? Being then advised by the Archbishop of Canterbury to fix her thoughts upon God, she replied that she did so, nor did her mind in the least wander from him. Her voice soon after left her; her senses failed; she fell into a lethargic slumber, which continued some hours; and she expired gently, without farther struggle or convulsion, in the 70th year of her age and 45th of her reign (March 24, 1603).

So dark a cloud overcast the evening of that day which had shone out with a mighty lustre in the eyes of all Europe. There are few great personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies and the adulation of friends than Queen Elizabeth, and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been

more certainly determined by the almost unanimous consent of posterity. Her vigor, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne; a conduct less rigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess; her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition; she guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities: the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

§ 11. The many arbitrary acts of power exercised by the Tudor princes have, by some historians, been ascribed to an actual increase of the prerogative, nor can it be justly doubted that the crown gained an accession of strength under that dynasty. To be persuaded of this, we need only advert to the succession of the crown. Under the early Plantagenets the notion was not altogether obsolete that the sovereign was in a certain degree elective, and the invariable right of succession in the eldest branch was not completely established till the reign of Edward I. But under Henry VIII. an act was passed empowering that monarch to bequeath the crown to whomsoever he pleased, even to one not of the blood royal. So, too, an alteration was made in the coronation oath of Edward VI.; and that prince was crowned, as the rightful and undoubted heir, before he had sworn to preserve the liberties of the realm, and without the consent of the people having been asked to his accession.

This augmented power of the crown under the Tudors was not supported by military force, and seems to have rested mainly upon public opinion. Such a state of opinion was a natural consequence of the long and bloody wars of the Roses, which, being carried on merely for the choice of a sovereign, must have filled the public mind with an exaggerated idea of his personal importance. The same wars, however, undoubtedly added to the material, as well as to the ideal, power of the crown. The great nobility were nearly exterminated by them, who had hitherto been the chief support of the people in their struggles with the throne. The nobles were farther overawed and depressed by several severe and unjust executions, as those of the Earl of Warwick, the Earl of Suffolk, and the Duke of Buckingham, under Henry VIII., and of several others in the subsequent reigns. On the other hand, the dissolution of the monasteries, and various encroachments upon the property of

the Church, supplied Henry and his successors with funds to purchase the affection of the nobles, and to attach them by the grateful bonds of self-interest.

§ 12. Yet in theory at least the Constitution remained intact, however it might sometimes be violated in practice. This is evident from several works,* written in the reign of Elizabeth, which represent the English Constitution as a monarchy limited by law. The two chief privileges of Parliament, that of legislation and that of taxation, were regarded as indisputable. Henry VIII. procured indeed a statute to enable the king, on attaining the age of 24, to repeal any acts passed since his accession, and another to give his proclamations the force of laws. Yet here the Constitution is acknowledged in the very breach and suspension of it, for the king does not assume these powers, but has them conferred upon him by Parliament. On the other hand, the parliamentary right of taxation was sometimes evaded, or attempted to be evaded, by the crown. One of the devices for this purpose was called a *Benevolence*, which, under the pretense of a free gift, was in reality an extortion of money from those who could afford to contribute. In this sense,† the first clear precedent for a *benevolence* was that extorted by Edward IV. in 1474. His successor passed an act (1 Rich. III., c. 2) declaring such a method of raising money illegal. Nevertheless, Henry VII. levied a *benevolence* in 1491, but appears not to have succeeded in obtaining the money till he had procured an act a few years afterward (11 Henry VII., c. 10). In *1505*, however, he levied a *benevolence* without any fresh act. Henry VIII. seems to have made two similar attempts, in 1525 and 1544. The first of these was abandoned from the appearance of symptoms of rebellion, and for the second he seems to have been ultimately compelled to come to Parliament for an act. These are the only instances of such attempts under the Tudors. But Elizabeth exercised an act of great arbitrary power. Read, an alderman of London, who had refused to contribute, was enrolled as a foot-soldier, and sent to the wars in Scotland, where he was taken prisoner. Henry VIII. sometimes also resorted to forced loans, from the obligation of which he in one case procured the Parliament to release him. Elizabeth also raised compulsory loans, but she was punctual in repaying them.

The sovereigns of this period still continued to derive an income

* Such are Aylmer's *Harborowe for faithful Subjects;* Hooker's *Eccl. Polity;* Sir T. Smith's *Commonwealth*, etc. Compare a letter of Henry VIII. himself to the Pope, quoted by Mr. Froude, *Hist. of Eng.*, i., 187.

† It should be borne in mind that the term *benevolence* was also applied to the supply constitutionally granted by Parliament, as in the ordinary formula of assent: *Le roy remercie ses loyaux sujets, accepte leur benevolence*, etc.; but this is quite a different thing.

from some feudal rights, as escheats, purveyance, etc. Another source of income was the sale of pardons, and sometimes of bishoprics. The sovereign also enjoyed the means of rewarding his favorites and adherents by the erection of monopolies; that is, the granting of patents for the exclusive sale of certain articles. Toward the close of Elizabeth's reign this abuse had reached an intolerable height, and some of the most necessary articles of life, as salt, iron, calf skins, train oil, vinegar, sea coals, lead, paper, and a great many more, were in the hands of patentees. The Parliament was at length aroused, and some stormy debates ensued on the subject in the session of 1601. Elizabeth was obliged to promise that the monopolies complained of should be abolished, but it does not appear that her word was very strictly kept.

§ 13. The narrative will have conveyed some idea of the haughty manner in which the Tudor sovereigns treated the Commons. Elizabeth prescribed to them what subjects they should debate, reprimanded unruly members, and committed some of them to the Tower. But, though they submitted to this treatment, we are not to suppose that they were ignorant of their privileges, or disposed to surrender them. There was little or no public opinion to support them in resisting the crown; their debates were hardly known, and met with but little sympathy out of doors; and the press was under a censorship. Yet instances are not wanting in which the Commons boldly asserted their privileges. In the debate on a subsidy in 1601, Mr. Sergeant Heyle having observed that the queen might take it at her pleasure, and that she had as much right to their land and goods as to any revenue of the crown, Mr. Montague replied that it would be found from former grants that subsidies were a free gift. "And though," he observed, "her majesty requires this at our hands, *yet it is in us to give*, not in her to exact of duty."* And Speaker Onslow, in his address to the queen herself, at the close of the session of 1566, plainly pointed out the limits of her prerogative. "By our common law," he said, "although there be for the prince provided many princely prerogatives and royalties, yet it is not such as the prince can take money or other things, or do as he will at his own pleasure, without order, but quietly to suffer his subjects to enjoy their own, without wrongful oppression; wherein other princes, by their liberty, do take as pleaseth them."†

The Commons gained ground as the Tudor dynasty proceeded. In the reign of Henry VIII. they ventured to throw out only one bill recommended by the crown; but there are many instances

* D'Ewes' *Journal*, p. 663. Hume's whole account of this debate (in the note) is very garbled; and though he gives Sergeant Heyle's speech, he omits Montague's answer. † D'Ewes, p. 115.

under his successors of their doing so. On the other hand, the crown did not scruple to reject bills which had passed both houses; and in 1597 Elizabeth refused no fewer than 48. The interference of the crown in elections shows the opinion entertained of the power of the Commons; and the same fact is evident from the creation of what we should now call rotten boroughs. In the short reign of Edward VI. 22 boroughs were created or restored; in that of Mary, 14; while Elizabeth added no fewer than 62 members to the House, of whom a large proportion sat for petty boroughs under the influence of the crown. Thus a great many placemen, officers of the court, and lawyers on the look-out for promotion, were introduced into the House, a circumstance which, together with the manners of the times, accounts for the occasionally servile tone of the debates.

§ 14. Turning from the Legislature to the executive and the administration of justice, we shall find, in like manner, that the liberty of the subject, though secure in legal theory, was frequently violated in practice. The law forbade any man to be thrown into prison without legal warrant, or to be kept there without being speedily brought to trial, or to be condemned without a trial by his peers; yet, in fact, all these things were frequently done. Even under the Plantagenets the king's ordinary council sometimes exercised an arbitrary jurisdiction, depriving an accused person of trial by jury, or punishing jurors whose verdict had displeased them by fine and imprisonment. Under the Tudors these illegal proceedings were still farther aggravated by means of the same council, or rather a committee of it, called the court of Star Chamber.* The most flagrant violations of justice were naturally displayed in political trials, which, Mr. Hallam has not scrupled to say, "rendered our courts of justice little better than the caverns of murderers."† The state trials conducted in Parliament were no better than those in the ordinary courts of law. Cromwell, the minister of Henry VIII., introduced the precedent of condemning an accused person without hearing him in his defense; but, by a just retribution, he himself was one of the first to fall by his own invention.

§ 15. The reforms of the Church introduced by Henry VIII. proceeded little beyond the abolishment of the papal jurisdiction in England; those of Edward VI. went a great way in the direction of Calvinism. Elizabeth was inclined to the Lutheran rites; and these might seem the fairest compromise between Protestant and papist, in the uniformity of worship which she had determined to establish. Of course the zealots of neither sect were satisfied, and thus she raised up two political as well as religious parties against

* See Notes and Illustrations—the Star Chamber. † *Const. Hist.*, i, 231.

her, both of which occasioned her great trouble. In her first year two important acts were passed, that of supremacy and that of uniformity; by the latter of which the use of any but the established Liturgy was prohibited under severe penalties. In order to enforce this law, a new court, called the Court of High Commission, was erected, with powers hitherto unknown to the Constitution, of which an account has been already given (p. 338). The courts of law regarded this tribunal from the first as illegal, and frequently granted prohibitions against its acts. On one occasion the judges refused to entertain a charge of murder against a man who had killed one of the pursuivants of the commissioners while attempting to enter his house by virtue of their warrant. Under the Stuarts, however, when the judges had been rendered more dependent and servile, we shall find this court emancipated from all control of the laws.

§ 16. If we turn our attention from constitutional questions to the general state of the nation, we must, on the whole, pronounce the period of the Tudors to have been one of advancement and improvement. The arms and negotiations of Henry VIII., though not always well directed, extended English influence on the Continent; and though this advantage was lost in the short but inglorious reign of Mary, which threatened to make England a Spanish province, it was more than recovered under Elizabeth. In her reign England first became a great maritime power; and some of the sea-fights and expeditions which then took place, especially the destruction of the Spanish Armada, were as brilliant and glorious exploits as any that can be found in our naval annals. Nor was the aid which her land forces lent to the Huguenots in France, and to the nascent liberties of the Dutch, wanting in glory, though rather perhaps, from the cause in which they were engaged, than from the feats actually performed. The enterprising voyages of maritime discovery by Drake, Cavendish, and others, likewise shed a lustre on her reign, and prepared the way for that extensive colonization which has proved one of the chief sources of England's greatness.

It is a remarkable fact, evident from the whole tenor of European history, that a bigoted devotion to the Roman See and its doctrines is wholly incompatible with true enlightenment and social progress. We see this truth illustrated in English history in the early dawn of the Reformation under Edward III., and still more so in its final establishment under the Tudors. Learning and science then began to revive; and the annals of Elizabeth are adorned with some of the greatest names of English literature. The majesty of English prose was formed by the hand of Hooker; the harmony of English verse flowed from the lips of Spenser.

The drama, the surest proof of an advanced civilization, had then its first beginnings, and was perfected by the immortal genius of Shakspeare; while Bacon opened up a new method of philosophy, whose practical fruits we may be said even now to gather.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1559. Coronation of Queen Elizabeth. Restoration of the Protestant worship.
1561. Queen Mary returns to Scotland.
1567. Murder of Darnley and marriage of Mary to Bothwell.
1568. Mary escapes into England; is brought to trial and detained a prisoner.
1572. The Duke of Norfolk tried and executed for treason. Massacre of St. Bartholomew.
1584. Act against Jesuits and seminary priests.
1586. Battle of Zutphen and death of Sir Philip Sydney. Babington's conspiracy. Mary Queen of Scots tried and condemned.
1587. The Queen of Scots executed (Feb. 8). Defeat of the Spanish Armada.
1596. Expedition to Cadiz.
1599. The Earl of Essex appointed lord-lieutenant of Ireland to put down Tyrone's rebellion.
1601. Conspiracy and execution of Essex.
1602. Tyrone submits.
1603. Death of Elizabeth.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. THE COURT OF STAR CHAMBER.

The origin of this court is derived from the most remote antiquity. It was originally composed of all the members of the king's *consilium ordinarium* or ordinary council, and its jurisdiction embraced both civil and criminal causes. Its title was derived from the *camera stellata* or Star Chamber, an apartment in the king's palace at Westminster in which it held its sittings; and we find "the lords sitting in Star Chamber" used as a well-known phrase in the records of Edward III. The name was continued long after the locality of the court was changed. In the time of Edward III. the jurisdiction of the court had become so oppressive, that various statutes were made to abridge and restrain it; and after this period its power, though not wholly extinct, appears to have gradually declined till the time of the Tudors. Henry VII., in the third year of his reign, erected a new court on the ruins of the old. It consisted of the chancellor, the treasurer, and the lord privy seal, as judges, together with a bishop, a temporal lord of the council, and the two chief justices, or, in their absence, two other justices, as assistants. This court was not therefore, strictly speaking, the Court of Star Chamber; still less are we to look upon it, as some writers have done, as the original of that famous court. Yet as most of, if not all, the members who composed it were also members of the ordinary council, it may be regarded as a sort of committee of the ancient court of Star Chamber; and both Lord Coke (*Fourth Institute*, p. 62) and Lord Hale (*Jurisdiction of the Lords' House*, ch. v., p. 35) consider it as only a modification of that tribunal. So also the judges of the King's Bench, in the 13th year of Elizabeth, cite the proceedings of this court under the name of the Star Chamber (Plowden's *Commentaries*, 323). Yet that appellation does not appear to have been given to it either in the statute by which it was erected, or in another passed in the 21st year of Henry VIII., by which the president of the council was added to the number of the judges.

The fact just mentioned, however, shows that the tribunal erected by Henry VII. continued to exist as a distinct court from the ordinary council till a late period of the reign of Henry VIII. It was chiefly designed to restrain and punish illegal combinations, such as the giving of liveries, etc., the partiality of sheriffs in forming panels and making untrue returns, the taking of money by juries, riots, and unlawful assemblies; and it had the power to punish offenders, just as if they had been convicted in due course of law. But toward the close of Henry VIII.'s reign the jurisdiction of the ancient Star Chamber was revived, and the court of Henry VII. became gradually merged in it. The precise period of this revival can not be ascertained. By some it is ascribed to Cardinal Wolsey; and, at all events, the ancient court was again in activity in the 31st year of Henry VIII., as the celebrated act of that year concerning proclamations ordains that offenders against it may be tried before the Star Chamber. Sir Thomas Smith, who wrote his *Commonwealth of England* in Elizabeth's reign, knows nothing of Henry VII.'s court: it had then become merged in the general council.

The judges of the revived court, however, continued to be the same, viz., the lord chancellor, or lord keeper, as president, the treasurer, the privy seal, and the president of the

council; but with these were associated the members of the council, and all peers of the realm who chose to attend. Under the Tudors the number of judges often amounted to 30 or 40; but under James I. and Charles I. only such peers seem to have been summoned as were also members of the privy council. The bishops also ceased to attend.

The civil jurisdiction of the Star Chamber embraced disputes between English and alien merchants, questions of maritime law, testamentary causes, suits between corporations, etc.; but these were gradually transferred to the Admiralty Court, the Court of Chancery, and the common law courts. It was the criminal jurisdiction which rendered the Star Chamber most powerful and most odious. The offenses of which it took cognizance were perjury, forgery, riot, maintenance, fraud, libel, and conspiracy; and generally, all misdemeanors, especially of a public kind, which could not be brought under the law. The regular course of proceeding was by information at the suit of the attorney general, or sometimes of a private person. Depositions of witnesses were taken in writing and read in court. But occasionally the process was summary. The accused was privately examined, sometimes tortured, and, if thought to have confessed enough, was sentenced without any formal trial. The court had power to pronounce any sentence short of death. Fines and imprisonment were the usual punishments, and the fines were frequently so enormous as to be ruinous. Toward a later period the Star Chamber sentenced to the pillory, whipping, cutting off the ears, etc. It exercised an illegal control over the ordinary courts of justice. In the reigns of James I. and Charles I. its jurisdiction became very tyrannical and offensive as a means of asserting the royal prerogative; and the court was at length abolished by the Long Parliament in the reign of the latter monarch (16 Chas. I., c. 10), as will be related in its proper place.

For farther information respecting the Star Chamber, see Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ch. i. and ch. viii.; Sir F. Palgrave's *Essay upon the original Authority of the King's Council*; and the article "Star Chamber" in the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

B. AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE TUDORS.

The works of several of the chroniclers which serve for the period of the Plantagenets extend also into that of the Tudors, as those of Fabian, Hall, Grafton, Polydore, Virgil, Hollingshed, Stowe, etc.

The History of the reign of Henry VII. has been written by Lord Bacon; that of Henry VIII. by Lord Herbert of Cherbury; that of Edward VI. by Hayward; that of Elizabeth by Camden. Edward VI. left a journal of some of the occurrences of his reign.

Subsidiary works for this period are Fiddes' *Life of Wolsey*; Le Grand, *Hist. du Divorce*; Froude's *History of England*, 4 vols., containing the period from the fall of Wolsey to the death of Henry VIII.; Sir Simon D'Ewes' *Journal of Queen Elizabeth's Parliaments*; Birch's *Memoirs*; Winwood's *Memorials*; Miss Aiken's *Memoirs of the Court of Queen Elizabeth*; Ellis's *Original Letters*; Murdon's *State Papers*; the *State Trials*, *State Papers*, *Hardwicke Papers*, etc.

For a view of the Constitution during this period, see Hallam's *Constitutional History*, vol. i. The 2d chapter of Brodie's *Hist. of the British Empire* is useful respecting the reign of Elizabeth.

For the Scotch affairs of the period should be consulted George Buchanan's *Hist. of Scotland* (translated by Bond); Drummond's *Hist. of Scotland*; the Memoirs of Melvil, Keith, Forbes; Robertson's *Hist. of Scotland*; Tytler's *Hist. of Scotland*.

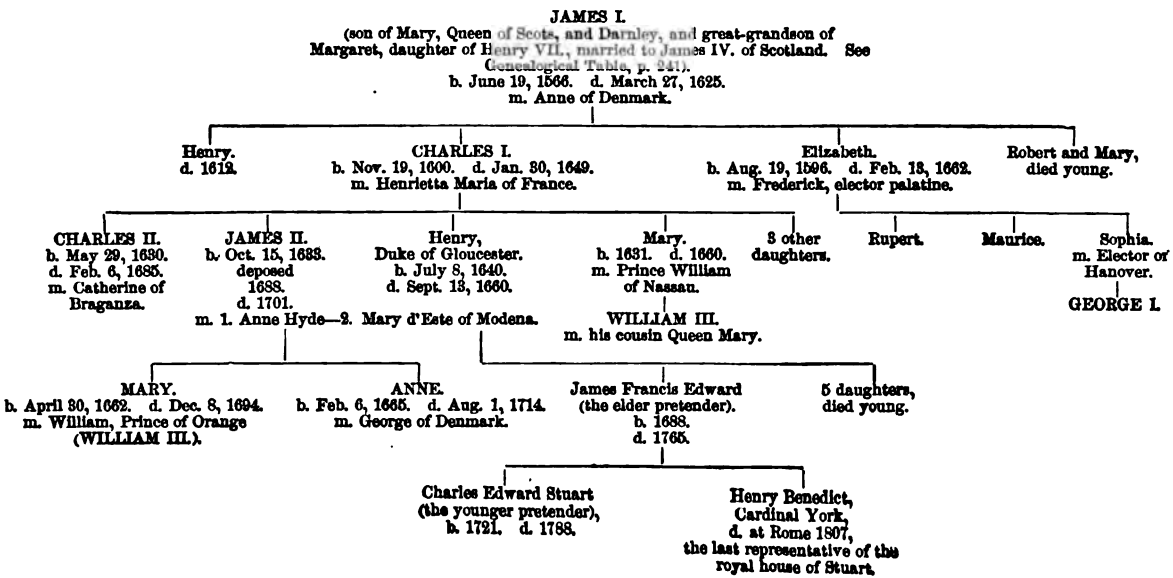
For ecclesiastical affairs and the history of the Reformation, Strype's *Eccl. Memorials*, *Annals of the Reformation*, and *Lives of Parker*, *Grindal*, *Whitgift*, and *Aylmer*; Burnet's *Hist. of the Reformation*; Collier's *Eccl. History*; Heylyn's *Hist. of the Reformation*; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*; Neal's *Hist. of the Puritans*, etc.



Sardonyx ring, with cameo head of Queen Elizabeth, in the possession of Rev. Lord John Thynne.

This is said to be the identical ring given by Queen Elizabeth to Essex. It has descended from Lady Frances Devereux, Essex's daughter, in unbroken succession from mother and daughter to the present possessor. The ring is gold, the sides engraved, and the inside of blue enamel.—Labarte, *Arts of the Middle Ages*, p. 55.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF STUART.





Obverse of medal of James I. IAC : I . TOTIVS . INS : BRYT . IMP : ET . FRANC . ET . HIBR REX. (The title Imperator is to be noted.) Bust of king, facing.

BOOK V.

THE HOUSE OF STUART, TO THE ABDICATION OF JAMES II.

A.D. 1603–1688.

CHAPTER XX.

JAMES I. A.D. 1603–1625.

§ 1. Introduction. § 2. Accession of James. § 3. Conspiracy in favor of Arabella Stuart. Conference at Hampton Court. § 4. Proceedings of Parliament. Peace with Spain. § 5. The Gunpowder Plot. § 6. Struggles with the Parliament. Assassination of Henry IV. of France. § 7. State of Ireland, and Settlement of Ulster. Death of Prince Henry, and Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth. § 8. Rise of Somerset. Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury. § 9. Somerset's Fall and Rise of Buckingham. § 10. English Colonization. Raleigh's Expedition to Guiana. His Execution. § 11. Negotiations for the Spanish Match. Affairs of the Palatinate. § 12. Discontent of the English. A Parliament. Impeachments. Fall of Lord Bacon. § 13. Rupture between the King and Commons. § 14. Progress of the Spanish Match. Prince Charles and Buckingham visit Madrid. § 15. The Marriage Treaty broken by Buckingham. Triumph of the Commons. § 16. Rupture with Spain, and Treaty with France. Mansfeldt's Expedition. Death and Character of the King.

§ 1. In the preceding narrative we have seen the liberties of the nation commenced and founded under the Plantagenets, eclipsed but not extinguished under the Tudors; in the present book we shall behold them tending through many dangers to their secure establishment. The reformation having been completed under the Tudor dynasty, the nation had more leisure to devote

their attention to their political condition; while the same movement had awakened in a large party not only a desire for farther ecclesiastical reforms, but also for an extension of civil freedom. Fortunately for the people, the sceptre had passed into the hands of a weak sovereign, whose vanity and presumption continually led him to parade that opinion of his absolute sovereignty which he had neither the means nor the ability successfully to assert. Thus, to the ruin of his son and successor, but to the everlasting benefit of the English nation, he provoked and precipitated the decision of the question as to what were the privileges of the crown and what were the constitutional liberties of the people. With the history of the progress of this great debate the following book will be chiefly occupied, for its engrossing nature left comparatively little leisure for other transactions.

§ 2. The crown of England was never transmitted from father to son with greater tranquillity than it passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, in spite of the will of Henry VIII., sanctioned by act of Parliament, by which the succession had been settled on the house of Suffolk, the descendants of his younger sister Mary. Queen Elizabeth, on her death-bed, had recognized the title of her kinsman James, and the whole nation seemed to dispose themselves with joy and pleasure for his reception. Great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the acclamations, which resounded from all sides. But James, though sociable and familiar with his friends and courtiers, hated the bustle of a mixed multitude; and though far from disliking flattery, yet was he still fonder of tranquillity and ease. He issued, therefore, a proclamation, forbidding the resort of people, on pretense of the scarcity of provisions and other inconveniences, which, he said, would necessarily attend it; and by his repulsive, ungainly manners, as well as by symptoms which he displayed of an arbitrary temper, he had pretty well lost his popularity even before his arrival in London.

James, at his accession, was 36 years of age, and had by his queen, Anne of Denmark, two sons, Henry and Charles, and one daughter, Elizabeth. His education having been conducted by the celebrated George Buchanan, he had acquired a considerable stock of learning, but at the same time an immeasurable conceit of his own wisdom. He took every occasion to make a pedantic display of his acquirements both in conversation and in writing, for he was an author, and had published, for the use of his son, a book called *Basilikon Doron* (Βασιλικὸν δῶρον) or *Royal Gift*, besides works on demonology and other subjects. These qualities led the Duke of Sully to characterize him as the most learned fool in Christendom, while his courtiers and flatterers gave him the name of the British Solomon.

James signalized his accession by distributing a profusion of titles; and in three months after his entrance into the kingdom he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no fewer than 700 persons. He had brought with him, to what he called the "Land of Promise," great numbers of his Scottish courtiers, many of whom were immediately added to the English privy council. Yet he left almost all the chief offices in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of political concerns, both foreign and domestic, to his English subjects. Among these, Secretary Cecil, afterward created Earl of Salisbury, was always regarded as his prime minister and chief counselor. The secret correspondence into which he had entered with James, and which had sensibly contributed to the easy reception of that prince in England, had laid the foundation of Cecil's credit.

§ 3. Shortly after the accession of James a double conspiracy to subvert the government was discovered. One of these plots, called the *Main*, is said to have been chiefly conducted by Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Cobham, and consisted of a plan to place Arabella Stuart, the cousin of the king,* on the throne, with the assistance of the Spanish government. The other plot, called the *Bye*, the *Surprise*, or the *Surprising Treason*, was led by Broke, brother of Lord Cobham, and by Sir Griffin Markham, and was a design to *surprise* and imprison the king, and to remodel the government. Broke was engaged in both plots, and formed the connecting link between them. In this wild undertaking men of all persuasions were enlisted; as Lord Grey, a Puritan, Watson and Clarke, two Roman Catholic priests, and others. Their designs came to the ears of Secretary Cecil, and the conspirators were arrested. The two priests and Broke were executed; Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned after they had laid their heads upon the block. Raleigh too was reprieved, not pardoned; and he remained in confinement many years afterward. His guilt rested on the evidence of Cobham; and there are good reasons for thinking that he was entirely innocent.

The religious disputes between the Church and the Puritans induced James to call a conference at Hampton Court, on pretense of finding expedients which might reconcile both parties. The Church of England had not yet abandoned the rigid doctrines of grace and predestination; the Puritans had not yet separated themselves from the Church, nor openly renounced episcopacy. The conference was opened Jan. 14, 1604. The demands of the Puritans were for purity of doctrine, good pastors, a reform in church government and in the book of Common Prayer. The

* She was the daughter of the Duke of Lenox, the brother of Lord Darnley, the king's father. See genealogical table, p. 241.

king, from the beginning of the conference, showed the strongest propensity to the Established Church, and frequently inculcated the maxim, NO BISHOP, NO KING. The bishops, in their turn, were very liberal of their praises toward the royal disputant; and after a few alterations in the Liturgy had been agreed to, both parties separated with mutual dissatisfaction. James was glad of this opportunity to display his learning, and boasted mightily of his performance.

§ 4. Upon the assembling of the Parliament the Commons granted the king tonnage and poundage,* but they demurred to vote him a supply when the question was brought before them by some members attached to the court. In order to cover a disappointment which might bear a bad construction both at home and abroad, James sent a message to the House, in which he told them that he desired no supply; and he was very forward in refusing what was never offered him. Soon after, he prorogued the Parliament, not without discovering, in his speech, visible marks of dissatisfaction. The struggle between the Stuarts and the Commons was already begun.

This summer a peace with Spain was finally concluded, and was signed by the Spanish ministers at London.

§ 5. The Roman Catholics had expected great favor and indulgence on the accession of James, and it is pretended that he had even entered into positive engagements to tolerate their religion as soon as he should mount the throne of England. Very soon they discovered their mistake, and were at once surprised and enraged to find James, on all occasions, express his intention of strictly executing the laws enacted against them, and of persevering in all the rigorous measures of Elizabeth. Catesby, a gentleman of good parts and of an ancient family, first thought of a most extraordinary method of revenge, and he opened his intention to Percy, a descendant of the illustrious house of Northumberland. The scheme was, to destroy, at one blow, the king, the royal family, the Lords, and the Commons, when assembled on the first meeting of the Parliament, by blowing them up with gunpowder. Percy was charmed with this project of Catesby; and they agreed to communicate the matter to a few more, and among the rest to Thomas Winter, whom they sent over to Flanders in quest of Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, with whose zeal and courage they were all thoroughly acquainted. When they enlisted any new conspirator, in order to bind him to secrecy, they always, together with an oath, employed the sacrament, the

* These, which are the origin of our custom-house duties, consisted chiefly of a duty of 3*s.* upon every tun of wine imported, and of 1*s.* in the pound on other articles.

most sacred rite of their religion. All this passed in the spring and summer of the year 1604, when the conspirators also hired, in Percy's name, the vault below the House of Lords. Thirty-six barrels of powder were lodged in it, the whole covered up with fagots and billets, the doors of the cellar boldly flung open, and every body admitted, as if it contained nothing dangerous.

The dreadful secret, though communicated to above 20 persons, had been religiously kept during the space of nearly a year and a half. But Catesby's money being exhausted, he was compelled to seek the means of proceeding with the conspiracy by enlisting other persons; and particularly Sir Everard Digby, of Gothirst, in Buckinghamshire, and Francis Tresham, of Rushton, in Northamptonshire, two opulent Catholic gentlemen. It is suspected that the plot was revealed by the latter. Ten days before the meeting of Parliament, Lord Monteagle, a Catholic, son to Lord Morley, and brother-in-law of Tresham, received the following letter, which had been delivered to his servant by an unknown hand. "My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation; therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this Parliament; for God and man have concurred to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement, but retire yourself into your country, where you may expect the event in safety; for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet, I say, they will receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them." Monteagle communicated it to Lord Salisbury, and he to the king, who conjectured, from the serious, earnest style of the letter, that it implied something dangerous and important. A *terrible blow*, and yet the *authors concealed*, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder; and it was thought advisable to inspect all the vaults below the Houses of Parliament. This care belonged to the Earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, who purposely delayed the search till the day before the meeting of Parliament. He remarked those great piles of wood and fagots which lay in the vault under the Upper House, and he cast his eye upon Fawkes, who stood in a dark corner, and passed himself for Percy's servant. These circumstances appeared suspicious, and it was resolved that a more thorough inspection should be made. About midnight, Sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendants; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him, and, turning over the fagots, discovered the powder (Nov. 5). The matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were taken in Fawkes's pocket, who, finding his guilt

now apparent, and seeing no refuge but in boldness and despair, expressed the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness; and though he was put to the rack in the Tower, he does not appear to have disclosed the names of his associates till they had already risen in arms.

Catesby, Percy, and the other criminals, hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire, where Sir Everard Digby, thinking himself assured that success had attended his confederates, was already in arms in order to seize the Princess Elizabeth. Hence they proceeded to Holbeach in Staffordshire; and they were obliged to put themselves on their defense against the country, who were raised from all quarters and armed by the sheriff. The conspirators, with all their attendants, never exceeded the number of 50 persons, and, being surrounded on every side, could no longer entertain hopes either of prevailing or escaping. Having therefore confessed themselves and received absolution, they boldly prepared for death, and resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible to the assailants. But even this miserable consolation was denied them. Some of their powder took fire, and disabled them for defense. The people rushed in upon them. Percy and Catesby were killed by one shot. Digby, Rookwood, Thomas Winter, and others, being taken prisoners, were tried, confessed their guilt, and died by the hands of the executioner, as well as Garnet, superior of the Jesuits in England, who was privy to the conspiracy. Tresham was committed to the Tower, where he died on the 27th December. On the meeting of Parliament, James, in his opening speech, declared that he would only punish those who were actually concerned in the plot, but the Parliament passed some new statutes of an oppressive character against the Catholics.

§ 6. The little concern which James took in foreign affairs renders the domestic occurrences, particularly those of Parliament, the most interesting of his reign. A new session was held this spring (1610), the king full of hopes of receiving supply, the Commons of circumscribing his prerogative. The Earl of Salisbury laid open the king's necessities, first to the Peers, then to a committee of the Lower House. The Commons, not to shock the king with an absolute refusal, granted him one subsidy and one fifteenth, which would scarcely amount to £100,000. The king sought to indemnify himself by raising the customs rates payable upon commodities; but a spirit of liberty had now taken possession of the House; the leading members, men of an independent genius and large views, began to regulate their opinions more by

the future consequences which they foresaw than by the former precedents which were set before them. Though expressly forbidden by the king to touch his prerogative, they passed a bill abolishing these impositions, which was rejected by the House of Lords. They likewise discovered some discontent against the king's proclamations, against the practice of borrowing on privy seals, and other abuses; and they made remonstrances against the proceedings of the *High Commission Court*, with which, however, James refused compliance. But the business which chiefly occupied them during this session was the abolition of wardships and purveyance, prerogatives which had been more or less touched on every session during the whole reign of James. They offered the king a settled revenue as an equivalent for the powers which he should part with, and the king was willing to hearken to terms; but the session was too far advanced to bring so difficult a matter to a full conclusion. We know not exactly the reason of this failure; it only appears that the king was extremely dissatisfied with the conduct of the Parliament, and soon after dissolved it. This was his first Parliament, and it sat nearly seven years.

This year was distinguished by the murder of the French monarch, Henry IV., by the poniard of the fanatical Ravaillac. In England the antipathy to the Catholics was increased by this tragical event; and some of the laws which had formerly been enacted in order to keep these religionists in awe, began now to be executed with greater rigor and severity.

§ 7. About this time the king brought to a conclusion the institutions which he had framed to civilize the Irish, and to render their subjection durable and useful to the crown of England. James proceeded in this work by a steady, regular, and well-concerted plan. In particular, the whole province of Ulster having fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting new colonies in that fertile country; the property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding 2000 acres; tenants were brought over from England and Scotland; and by these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province of all Ireland, soon became the best cultivated and most civilized. On this settlement the Earl of Salisbury founded a financial scheme. On pretense of raising money for its defense, a new order of nobility, called baronetcy, was invented, and the patents sold for £1095 apiece. Hence baronets bear on their shields the arms of Ulster, a bloody hand.

The sudden death of Henry, Prince of Wales (Nov. 6, 1612), diffused a universal grief throughout the nation. It is with peculiar fondness that historians mention him, and in every respect

his merit seems to have been extraordinary. He had not reached his 18th year, and he already possessed more dignity in his behavior, and commanded more respect, than his father, with all his age, learning, and experience. The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth with Frederick, elector palatine, was finished some time after the death of the prince (Feb. 14, 1613), and served to dissipate the grief which arose on that melancholy event; but this marriage, though celebrated with great joy and festivity, ultimately proved itself an unhappy event to the king, as well as to his son-in-law, and had ill consequences on the reputation and fortunes of both.

§ 8. About the end of 1609, Robert Carr, a youth of 20 years of age, and of a good family in Scotland, arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks, all his acquired abilities in an easy air and graceful demeanor. He had letters of recommendation to his countryman, Lord Hay, and that nobleman assigned him the office, at a match of tilting, of presenting to the king his buckler and device. The king became strongly attached to him, taught him even the elements of the Latin grammar, and determined to initiate him into all the profound mysteries of government, on which the monarch set so high a value. The favorite was not at first so intoxicated with advancement as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the assistance and advice of a friend, and he was more fortunate in his choice than is usual with such pampered minions. In Sir Thomas Overbury he met with a judicious and sincere counselor, who, building all hopes of his own preferment on that of the young favorite, endeavored to instill into him the principles of prudence and discretion. But an event soon happened which proved the ruin both of the tutor and his pupil. Carr had succeeded to Salisbury's power on the death of that able minister in 1612, and had been created Viscount Rochester in the preceding year. Having entertained an illicit passion for the wife of the Earl of Essex,* Rochester had even formed the project of espousing her by procuring a divorce from her husband. Overbury, to whom he communicated the scheme, strongly opposed it; and, in order to get him out of the way, Rochester, instigated by the countess, persuaded the king to send him on an embassy into Russia. Having declined this proposal, Overbury was committed to the Tower. This obstacle being removed, the lovers pursued their purpose, and the king himself entered zealously into the project of procuring the countess a divorce from her husband. As Essex himself made no opposition, the sentence was speedily pronounced;

* Essex had been restored to the honors of his father in 1603.

and, to crown the scene, the king, solicitous lest the lady should lose any rank by her new marriage, bestowed on his minion the title of Earl of Somerset. Notwithstanding this success, the Countess of Somerset was not satisfied till she should farther satiate her revenge on Overbury; and she engaged her husband, as well as her uncle, the Earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were reiterated by weak poisons, but at last they gave him one so sudden and violent that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him (Sept. 15, 1613). His interment was hurried on with the greatest precipitation; and, though a strong suspicion immediately prevailed among the public, the full proof of the crime was not brought to light till some years afterward.

§ 9. But the favorite had not escaped that still voice which can make itself heard amid all the hurry and flattery of a court. Conscious of the murder of his friend, Somerset received small consolation from the enjoyments of love, or the utmost kindness and indulgence of his sovereign. The graces of his youth gradually disappeared, the gayety of his manners was obscured, his politeness and obliging behavior were changed into sullenness and silence; and the king, whose affections had been gained by these superficial accomplishments, began to estrange himself from a man who no longer contributed to his amusement. The sagacious courtiers observed the first symptoms of this disgust. Somerset's enemies seized the first opportunity, and offered a new minion to the king. George Villiers, a youth of one-and-twenty, younger brother of a good family, returned at this time (1615) from his travels, and was remarked for the advantages of a handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy he was purposely placed full in James's eye, and immediately engaged the attention, and, in the same instant, the affections of that monarch. After some manœuvres to save appearances, James bestowed the office of cup-bearer on young Villiers. The whole court was now thrown into two parties between the two minions, while the king himself, divided between inclination and decorum, increased the doubt and ambiguity of the courtiers; but the discovery of Somerset's guilt in the murder of Overbury at last decided the controversy, and exposed him to the ruin and infamy which he so well merited. An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret, and the affair at last came to the ears of the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By this means Sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, was informed, and he immediately carried the intelligence to James. Sir Edward Coke was employed to unravel the labyrinth of guilt.

All the accomplices in Overbury's murder were brought to trial, and received the punishment due to their crime; but the king bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and the countess. To soften the rigor of their fate, after some years' imprisonment, he restored them to their liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. Their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred; and they passed many years together in the same house, without any intercourse or correspondence with each other. From the conduct of James to the guilty pair, as well as from the improbability that the countess should have procured Overbury's murder merely out of revenge for his having dissuaded Somerset from marrying her, we are irresistibly led to infer that there was some dark and unrevealed secret connected with this event in which the king himself was implicated.*

The fall of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for Villiers to mount up at once to the full height of favor, of honors, and of riches. In the course of a few years James created him Viscount Villiers, Earl, Marquis, and Duke of Buckingham, and conferred upon him some of the highest offices in the kingdom, and thus the fond prince, by loading his favorite with premature and exorbitant honors, took an infallible method to render him rash, precipitate, and insolent.

§ 10. The commencement of English colonization dates from the reign of James. In that of Elizabeth, Raleigh endeavored to plant a colony in North America, in the district called after the queen, Virginia; but it proved a failure. Toward the close of Elizabeth's reign, and the beginning of that of James, several discoveries and surveys were made in North America; and in 1606 James granted charters to two companies—the London or South Virginia Company, and the Plymouth Company—for planting colonies in that quarter; in consequence of which, Jamestown, in the Bay of Chesapeake, was founded in the following year, and was kept from perishing by the courage and fortitude of James Smith. In 1610 Lord Delaware proceeded thither as Governor of Virginia, with a new body of emigrants, who were again reenforced in the following year, and from this time the colony flourished and increased. In 1610 a charter was also granted for the colonization of Newfoundland. At the same time the trade to the east was fostered and encouraged by the government. On the 31st Dec., 1600, the East India Company was established by a charter of Elizabeth for 15 years, which was renewed by James

* See Amos, "Great Oyer of Poisoning; Trial of the Earl of Somerset for poisoning Sir Thomas Overbury in the Tower of London:" London, 1846.

in 1609 for an unlimited period; and in 1612 the first English factory was established at Surat.

But the man who had given the first impulse to British colonization was still languishing in prison. The long sufferings of Raleigh had worn out his unpopularity. People forgot that he had been the bitter enemy of their great favorite, the Earl of Essex, and were struck with the extensive genius of the man who, being educated amid naval and military enterprises, had surpassed in the pursuits of literature even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives. They admired his unbroken magnanimity, which at his age and under his circumstances could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his "History of the World." To increase these favorable dispositions, on which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a gold mine in Guiana, a country discovered by him about 23 years before, and which was sufficient, according to his representation, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The king released Raleigh from the Tower, and conferred on him authority over his fellow-adventurers, though he still refused to grant him a pardon. Raleigh maintained that the English title to the whole of Guiana, by virtue of its discovery, remained certain and indefeasible; but it happened in the mean time that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the River Oronoco, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value. Gondomar therefore, the Spanish embassador, complained of Raleigh's preparations; but the latter protested the innocence of his intentions, and James assured Gondomar that he should pay with his head for any hostile attempt. Raleigh bent his course to St. Thomas; and remaining himself at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son and a Captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed and pursued into the town; but young Raleigh received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterward reduced to ashes; and found not in it any thing of value. But Keymis, being unable to penetrate to the real or supposed mine, returned to Raleigh with the melancholy intelligence of his son's death and the ill success of the enterprise; and then, stung with the reproaches of Raleigh, retired to his cabin, and put an end to his own life. The other adventurers now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh,

and thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. The Spanish embassador demanded the execution of Raleigh; and James, in order to please the Spanish court, made use of that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hands, and signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage. "'Tis a sharp remedy," he said, "but a sure one for all ills," when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded. With the utmost indifference he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow; and in his death there appeared the same great mind which during his life had displayed itself in all his conduct and behavior (Oct. 29, 1618). No measure of James's reign was attended with more public dissatisfaction. It was regarded as a piece of complaisance toward Spain, with which country James was now meditating more intimate connections.

§ 11. Gondomar, the Spanish embassador, had made offer of the second daughter of Spain to Prince Charles; and, that he might render the temptation irresistible to the necessitous monarch, he gave hopes of an immense fortune which should attend the princess. The court of Spain, though determined to contract no alliance with a heretic, entered into negotiations with James, which they artfully protracted; and the transactions in Germany, so important to the Austrian greatness, became every day a new motive for this duplicity of conduct. The States of Bohemia, which were in open revolt against the Emperor Ferdinand II. for the defense of their religious liberties, had elected Frederick, elector palatine, for their king, since, in addition to his own forces, he was son-in-law to the King of England, and nephew to Prince Maurice, whose authority was become almost absolute in the United Provinces. They hoped that these princes, moved by the connections of blood, as well as by the tie of their common religion, would interest themselves in all the fortunes of Frederick, and would promote his greatness. On the other hand, all the Catholic princes of the empire had embraced Ferdinand's defense; and, above all, the Spanish monarch, deeming his own interest closely connected with that of the younger branch of his family, prepared powerful succors from Italy and from the Low Countries.

The news of these events no sooner reached England than the whole kingdom was on fire to engage in the quarrel; but James, besides that his temper was too little enterprising for such vast undertakings, was restrained by another motive which had a mighty influence over him: he refused to patronize the revolt of subjects against their sovereign, and from the very first denied to his son-in-law the title of King of Bohemia. After much irreso-

lution, he resolved to defend the hereditary dominions of the palatine, but to leave the King of Bohemia to his fate. Meanwhile, affairs every where hastened to a crisis. Almost at one time it was known in England that Frederick, being defeated in the great and decisive battle of Prague, had fled with his family into Holland, and that Spinola, the Spanish commander, had invaded the palatinate, and, meeting with no resistance, except from some princes of the union, and from one English regiment of 2400 men, commanded by the brave Sir Horace Vere, had in a little time reduced the greater part of that principality (1620).

§ 12. High were now the murmurs and complaints against the king's neutrality and inactive disposition; but the only attention James paid to this feeling was to make it a pretense for obtaining money. He first tried the expedient of a benevolence; but the jealousy of liberty was now roused, and the nation regarded such expedients as real extortions, contrary to law, and dangerous to freedom. A Parliament was found to be the only resource which could furnish any large supplies; and writs were accordingly issued for summoning that great council of the nation (Jan. 30, 1621). In this Parliament, although there appeared at first nothing but duty and submission on the part of the Commons, there were first regularly formed, though without acquiring these denominations, the parties of court and country. The Commons, being informed that the king had remitted several considerable sums to the palatine, without a negative voted him two subsidies. Afterward they proceeded to the examination of grievances. They found that patents had been granted to Sir Giles Mompesson for licensing inns and ale-houses, and for gold and silver thread, which he made of a baser metal. The Commons proceeded against him by way of impeachment—a revival of a practice they had sometimes adopted under the Lancastrian kings, but of which there had been no instance under the Tudors. Encouraged by this success, the Commons carried their scrutiny into other abuses of importance, and sent up an impeachment to the Peers against the celebrated Bacon, now Viscount St. Albans and chancellor. His want of economy and his indulgence to servants had involved him in necessities; and, in order to supply his prodigality, he had been tempted to take bribes, by the title of presents, and that in a very open manner, from suitors in chancery. The chancellor, conscious of guilt, deprecated the vengeance of his judges, and endeavored, by a general avowal, to escape the confusion of a stricter inquiry. The Lords insisted on a particular confession of all his corruptions. He acknowledged 28 articles, and was sentenced to pay a fine of £40,000, to be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure, to be forever incapable of any office, place, or employment, and

never again to sit in Parliament, or come within the verge of the court. In consideration of his great merit, the king released him in a little time from the Tower, remitted his fine, as well as all the other parts of his sentence, conferred on him a pension of £1800 a year, and employed every expedient to alleviate the weight of his age and misfortunes. And that great philosopher at last acknowledged with regret that he had too long neglected the true ambition of a fine genius, and, by plunging into business and affairs which require much less capacity, but greater firmness of mind than the pursuits of learning, had exposed himself to such grievous calamities.

§ 13. The Commons were proceeding with the reformation of abuses when they were adjourned by the king's commission, who was displeased to see his prerogative too nearly touched. Before separating they passed a unanimous resolution to spend their lives and fortunes in defense of their religion and of the palatinate, "lifting up their hats in their hands so high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in Parliament." This solemn protestation and pledge was recorded in the Journals. During the recess of Parliament the king had been so imprudent as to commit to prison Sir Edwin Sandys, without any known cause except his activity and vigor in discharging his duty as a member of Parliament; and, above all, the transactions in Germany, joined to the king's cautions, negotiations, and delays, inflamed that jealousy of honor and religion which prevailed throughout the nation. This summer the ban of the empire had been published against the elector palatine, and the execution of it was committed to the Duke of Bavaria. The upper palatinate was in a little time conquered by that prince, and the progress of the Austrian arms was attended with rigors and severities exercised against the professors of the Reformed religion. The zeal of the Commons immediately moved them, upon their reassembling (Nov. 14), to take all these transactions into consideration. They framed a remonstrance against the growth of popery, adverting particularly to the contemplated Spanish match and to the conquest of the palatinate. As soon as the king heard of the intended remonstrance, he wrote a letter to the speaker, in which he sharply rebuked the House for openly debating matters far above their reach and capacity, and he strictly forbade them to meddle with any thing that regarded his government or deep matters of state. By this violent letter the Commons were inflamed, not terrified. In a new remonstrance they insisted on their former remonstrance and advice; and they maintained, though in respectful terms, that they were entitled to interpose with their counsel

in all matters of government, and to possess entire freedom of speech in their debates. So vigorous an answer was nowise calculated to appease the king. It is said, when the approach of the committee who were to present it was notified to him, he ordered twelve chairs to be brought, for that there were so many kings a coming. In his answer he commented on the unfitness of the House to enter on affairs of government, and told them that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors, but that, as long as they contained themselves within the limits of their duty, he would be careful to maintain and preserve their lawful liberties and privileges.

This open pretension of the king's naturally gave great alarm to the House of Commons. They therefore framed a protestation, in which they repeated all their former claims for freedom of speech, and an unbounded authority to interpose with their advice and counsel; and they asserted "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England." The king, being informed of this proceeding, sent immediately for the journals of the Commons, and with his own hand, before the council, he tore out this protestation, and ordered his reasons to be inserted in the council-book. He then prorogued the Parliament, and soon after dissolved it by proclamation. Several of the leading members of the House, among whom was Sir Edward Coke,* were committed to prison; and others, as a lighter punishment, were sent to Ireland, in order to execute some business.

§ 14. Meanwhile, the efforts made by Frederick for the recovery of his dominions were vigorous but unsuccessful. Count Tilly defeated his armies; and though James negotiated for him with the emperor, he neglected to give him any material support. At length he persuaded his son-in-law to disarm, under color of duty and submission to the emperor. James's eyes were now entirely turned toward Spain; and he doubted not, if he could effect his son's marriage with the infanta, but that, after so intimate a conjunction, the restoration of the palatine could easily be obtained. A dispensation from Rome was requisite for the marriage of the infanta with a Protestant prince; and the King of Spain, having undertaken to procure that dispensation, had thereby acquired the means of retarding at pleasure or of forwarding the marriage, and at the same time of concealing entirely his artifices from the court

* Sir Edward Coke, the rival and enemy of Bacon, and the most eminent lawyer of those times, had been created chief justice of the King's Bench in 1613; but, having lost the favor of James by his opposition to the illegal exercise of the royal prerogative, he was deprived of his seat upon the Bench in 1616, and was returned to Parliament in 1621.

of England. In order to soften the objection on the score of religion as much as possible, James issued public orders for discharging all popish recusants who were imprisoned; and it was daily apprehended that he would forbid, for the future, the execution of the penal laws enacted against them. By this concession, as well as by the skillful negotiations of the Earl of Bristol, James's embassador to Philip IV., matters seemed to have been nearly brought to a successful conclusion, when all these flattering prospects were blasted by the temerity of a man whom the king had fondly exalted from a private condition to be the bane of himself, of his family, and of his people. Buckingham represented to the Prince of Wales that a journey to Madrid would be an unexpected gallantry which would equal all the fictions of Spanish romance, and must immediately introduce him to the princess under the agreeable character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer. The mind of the young prince was inflamed by these generous and romantic ideas; and having with difficulty obtained the consent of the king, the prince and Buckingham, with three attendants, passed disguised and undiscovered through France, under the names of John and Thomas Smith. They even ventured into a court ball at Paris, where Charles saw the Princess Henrietta, whom he afterward espoused, and who was at that time in the bloom of youth and beauty. In eleven days after their departure from London they arrived at Madrid (March 7, 1623), and surprised every body by a step so unusual among great princes. The Spanish monarch, by the most studious civilities, showed the respect which he bore to his royal guest. He gave him a golden key which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours; and he introduced him into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attends the kings of Spain on their coronation. The infanta, however, was only shown to her lover in public, the Spanish ideas of decency being so strict as not to allow of any farther intercourse till the arrival of the dispensation. A treaty was soon concluded, in which nothing could reasonably be found fault with except one article, in which the king promised that the children should be educated by the princess till ten years of age. This condition could not be insisted on but with a view of seasoning their minds with Catholic principles; and, though so tender an age seemed a sufficient security against theological prejudices, yet the same reason which made the Pope insert that article should have induced James to reject it. But, besides the public treaty, there were separate articles, privately sworn to by the king, in which he promised to suspend the penal laws enacted against Catholics, to procure a repeal of them in Parliament, and to grant

a toleration for the exercise of the Catholic religion in private houses. But meanwhile Gregory XV., who granted the dispensation, died, and Urban VIII., his successor, delayed sending a new dispensation, in hopes of extorting fresh concessions. The King of England, as well as the prince, became impatient. On the first hint Charles obtained permission to return, and Philip graced his departure with all the circumstances of elaborate civility and respect which had attended his reception. But Buckingham's behavior, composed of English familiarity and French vivacity, his sallies of passion, his indecent freedoms with the prince, his dissolute pleasures, his arrogant, impetuous temper, which he neither could nor cared to disguise, had disgusted the Spaniards. Sensible how odious he was become to them, and dreading the influence which that nation would naturally acquire after the arrival of the infanta, he resolved to employ all his credit in order to prevent the marriage. His impetuous and domineering character had acquired, what it ever after maintained, a total ascendant over the temper of Charles; and when the prince left Madrid he was firmly determined, notwithstanding all his professions, to break off the treaty with Spain.

§ 15. A rupture with Spain, the loss of two millions, were prospects little agreeable to the pacific and indigent James; but, finding his only son bent against a match which had always been opposed by his people and his Parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he had not courage or strength of mind sufficient to overcome. Buckingham assumed entirely the direction of the negotiations; and Bristol received positive orders not to deliver the proxy, which had been left in his hands, or to finish the marriage, till security were given for the full restitution of the palatinate. Philip understood this language; but, being determined to throw the blame of the rupture entirely on the English, he delivered into Bristol's hand a written promise, by which he bound himself to procure the restoration of the palatine, either by persuasion or by every other possible means; and when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction, he ordered the infanta to lay aside the title of Princess of Wales, which she bore after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; and, thinking that such rash counsels as now governed the court of England would not stop at the breach of the marriage treaty, he ordered preparations for war immediately to be made throughout all his dominions.

The king, having broken with Spain, was obliged to concert new measures; and without the assistance of Parliament no effectual step of any kind could be taken. It might be hoped that, the Spanish alliance, which gave such umbrage, being abandoned, the

Commons would now be better satisfied with the king's administration. In his speech to the houses (Feb. 19, 1624) James dropped some hints of his cause of complaint against Spain, and he graciously condescended to ask the advice of Parliament, which he had ever before rejected, with regard to the conduct of so important an affair. Buckingham delivered to a committee of Lords and Commons a long narrative, which he pretended to be true and complete, of every step taken in the negotiations with Philip; but, partly by the suppression of some facts, partly by the false coloring laid on others, this narrative was calculated entirely to mislead the Parliament, and to throw on the court of Spain the reproach of artifice and insincerity. The Prince of Wales, who was present, vouched for its truth; and the king himself lent it, indirectly, his authority, by telling the Parliament that it was by his orders Buckingham laid the whole affair before them. Such, on the threshold of manhood, was Charles's initiation in insincerity. The narrative concurred so well with the passions and prejudices of the Parliament that no scruple was made of immediately adopting it, and they immediately advised the king to break off both treaties with Spain, as well that which regarded the marriage as that for the restitution of the palatinate. The people displayed their triumph by public bonfires and rejoicings, and by insults on the Spanish ministers, and Buckingham became the favorite of the public and of the Parliament. The Commons voted a sum of £300,000, which, at the king's own proposition, was paid to a committee of Parliament, and issued by them, without being intrusted to his management. Advantage was also taken of the present juncture to pass the bill against monopolies, which had formerly been encouraged by the king, but which had failed by the rupture between him and the last House of Commons; and the Commons corroborated their newly-revived power of impeachment by preferring one against the Earl of Middlesex, the treasurer, who was found guilty of accepting presents and of other misdemeanors.

§ 16. All James's measures, and all the alliances into which he entered, were now founded on the system of enmity to the Austrian family, and of war to be carried on for the recovery of the palatinate. An army of 6000 men was levied in England and sent over to Holland, which had renewed the war with the Spanish monarchy. A treaty was entered into with France, which included a marriage between Charles and the Princess Henrietta; and as the prince, during his abode in Spain, had given a verbal promise to allow the infanta the education of her children till the age of thirteen, this article was here inserted in the treaty. In the spring of 1625 James was seized with a tertian ague, and aft-

er some fits expired on the 27th of March, after a reign over England of 22 years and some days, and in the 59th year of his age. His reign over Scotland was almost of equal duration with his life. No prince was ever so much exposed to the opposite extremes of calumny and flattery, of satire and panegyric. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness. His capacity was considerable, but fitter to discourse on general maxims than to conduct any intricate business. Awkward in his person and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command respect; partial and undiscerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Never had sovereign a higher notion of the kingly dignity, never was any less qualified by nature to sustain it. He spent much of his time in hunting, and in the coarse and vulgar sports of cock-fighting and baiting bulls and bears; and the manners of his court were disgraced by buffoonery, drunkenness, and debauchery.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1603. Accession of James I. A conspiracy to place Arabella Stuart on the throne.
1604. Hampton-court conference.
1605. The Gunpowder Plot.
1607. Jamestown in Virginia founded.
1611. Ulster colonized by Londoners and others.
1616. The Earl and Countess of Somerset convicted of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury.
1618. Sir Walter Raleigh executed after his unfortunate expedition to Guiana.
1621. Rupture between the king and the Commons.
1623. Prince Charles and Buckingham proceed to Madrid.
1625. Death of James I., March 27.



Obverse of pattern for a Broad of Charles I. CAROLVS . D : G : MAG : BRIT : FR : ET . HI : REX. Bust of king to left.

CHAPTER XXI.

CHARLES I.—FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR. A.D. 1625–1642.

§ 1. Accession of Charles. Proceedings in Parliament. § 2. Expedition against Spain. Second Parliament. Impeachment of Buckingham. § 3. Illegal Taxation. War with France. Expedition to the Isle of Rhé. § 4. Third Parliament. Petition of Right. Struggle between the King and Commons. § 5. Assassination of Buckingham. Surrender of Rochelle. § 6. New Session. Tonnage and Poundage. Religious Disputes. Dissolution of Parliament. § 7. Peace with France and Spain. The King's Advisers. Laud's Innovations in the Church. Arbitrary and illegal Government. § 8. Ship-money. Trial of Hampden. § 9. Discontents in Scotland. The Covenant. Episcopacy abolished. Scotch Wars. § 10. Fourth English Parliament. Riots in London. § 11. Scotch War. Rout at Newburn, and Treaty of Ripon. Council at York, and Summoning of the Long Parliament. § 12. Meeting of the Long Parliament. Impeachment of Strafford. Great Authority of the Commons. Triennial Bill. § 13. Strafford's Trial. His Attainder and Execution. § 14. Court of High Commission and Star Chamber abolished. King's Journey to Scotland. § 15. Irish Rebellion. § 16. Meeting of the English Parliament. The Remonstrance. Impeachment of the Bishops. § 17. Accusation of Lord Kimbolton and the five Members. The King leaves London. The Militia Bill. The King arrives at York. § 18. Preparations for a Civil War. The King erects his Standard at Nottingham.

§ 1. SOON after his accession, Charles, now in his 25th year, completed his marriage with the French princess Henrietta. He had espoused her by proxy at Paris, and on the 22d of June, 1625, Buckingham conducted her to England. On the 18th of that month a new Parliament assembled at Westminster, and Charles not unnaturally expected that at the commencement of his reign they would display their affection by granting him supplies adequate to conduct a war which had been undertaken with the apparent approbation of the people. But the House of Commons was almost entirely governed by a set of men of the most uncom-

mon capacity and the largest views: men who were now formed into a regular party, and united, as well by fixed aims and projects, as by the hardships which some of them had undergone in prosecution of them. Among these we may mention the names of Sir Edward Coke, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Eliot, Sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym. Animated with a warm regard to liberty, these generous patriots saw with regret an unbounded power exercised by the crown, and were resolved to seize the opportunity which the king's necessities offered them of reducing the prerogative within more reasonable compass. The end they esteemed beneficent and noble, the means regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies was the undoubted privilege of the Commons; and with these views they voted only two subsidies (about £140,000) to meet the expenses of the formidable war into which Charles was about to plunge. Not discouraged, however, by this failure, Charles, though he was constrained to adjourn the Parliament by reason of the plague, which at that time raged in London, immediately reassembled them at Oxford, and made a new attempt to gain from them some supplies. But, though he laid bare to them all his necessities—though he showed that upward of a million a year was necessary for the conduct of the war and for the defense of Ireland, and even condescended to use entreaties, the Commons remained inexorable. Besides all their other motives, they had made a discovery which inflamed them against the court and against the Duke of Buckingham. The French court, not without the connivance, it was suspected, of Charles and his ministers, had attempted to employ against the Huguenots of Rochelle some English vessels which had been sent to Dieppe on pretense of serving against the Genoese. When, on discovery of his destination, Pennington, the commander, had sailed with his squadron to England, Buckingham, lord admiral, had compelled him to return; and the contemplated enterprise was frustrated only by the mutiny and desertion of the crews. The king, finding that the Parliament was resolved to grant him no supply, took advantage of the plague, which began to appear at Oxford, and on that pretense immediately dissolved them (Aug. 12). To supply the want of parliamentary aids, Charles issued privy seals for borrowing money from his subjects. The advantage reaped by this expedient was a small compensation for the disgust which it occasioned: by means, however, of that supply, and by other expedients, he was, though with difficulty, enabled to equip his fleet, which consisted of 80 vessels, and carried on board an army of 10,000 men, under Sir Edward Cecil, lately created Viscount Wimbledon.

§ 2. Cecil undertook an expedition against Cadiz, which proved a complete failure, and increased the complaints against the court. A little prudence might have discovered to Charles the folly of persisting in hostilities which he had not the means of carrying on without the surrender of his dearest pretensions, and from which he had an opportunity to escape, as war was not actually declared against Spain till after the dissolution of his first Parliament. But his evil genius, and the violent counsels of Buckingham, urged him on to his destruction. The abortive attempt upon Cadiz increased his necessities, and obliged him to call a new Parliament (Feb. 6, 1626). But the views of the last Parliament were immediately adopted by this, as if the same men had been every where elected, and no time had intervened since their meeting. The inadequate supplies which they voted were coupled with the condition that they were to proceed in regulating and controlling every part of government which displeased them, to which the king's urgent necessities obliged him to submit. The Duke of Buckingham, who became every day more unpopular, was obliged to sustain two violent attacks this session, one from the Earl of Bristol, another from the House of Commons. The Earl of Bristol had mortally offended Buckingham in the affair of the Spanish marriage, and was consequently obnoxious to Charles. When the Parliament was summoned, Charles, by a stretch of prerogative, had given orders that no writ, as is customary, should be sent to Bristol. That nobleman applied to the House of Lords by petition, and craved their good offices with the king for obtaining what was his due as a peer of the realm. His writ was sent him, but accompanied with a letter from the Lord Keeper Coventry, commanding him, in the king's name, to absent himself from Parliament. This letter Bristol conveyed to the Lords, and asked advice how to proceed in so delicate a situation. The king's prohibition was withdrawn, and Bristol took his seat. Provoked at these repeated instances of vigor, which the court denominated contumacy, Charles ordered his attorney general to enter an accusation of high treason against him. By way of recrimination, Bristol accused Buckingham of high treason, and proved that he was the author of the war with Spain. The lower House also, after having voted that common fame was a sufficient ground of accusation by the Commons, proceeded to frame regular articles against Buckingham. They accused him of having united many offices in his person; of neglecting to guard the seas, insomuch that many merchant ships had fallen into the hands of the enemy; of delivering ships to the French king in order to serve against the Huguenots; of being employed in the sale of honors and offices; of accepting extensive grants from the crown; of

procuring many titles of honor for his kindred; and of administering physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. It is probable that several of these articles were well founded; but, as the Commons called for no evidence, it is impossible to give a decided opinion upon them. The Parliament was dissolved before any of these impeachments was brought to a termination; but Bristol recorded a satisfactory answer on the journals; while the fact that Buckingham made none at all to that in the Lords renders his course very suspicious.

§ 3. Having thus failed in obtaining a grant, certain *new counsels*, with which Charles had threatened the Parliament, were now to be tried, in order to supply his necessities. A commission was openly granted to compound with the Catholics, and agree for dispensing with the penal laws enacted against them. From the nobility he desired assistance; from the city he required a loan of £100,000. The former contributed slowly; but the latter, covering themselves under many pretenses and excuses, gave him at last a flat refusal. Each of the maritime towns was required, with the assistance of the adjacent counties, to arm so many vessels as were appointed them. The city of London was rated at 20 ships. This is the first appearance, in Charles's reign, of ship-money; a taxation which had once been imposed by Elizabeth, but which afterward, when carried some steps farther by Charles, created such violent discontents. But after the news of the battle of Luttern, between the King of Denmark and Count Tilly, the imperial general, in which the former was totally defeated, money, more than ever, became necessary, in order to support a prince who was so nearly allied to Charles. After some deliberation, an act of council was passed, importing that, as the urgency of affairs admitted not the way of Parliament, the most speedy, equal, and convenient method of supply was by a GENERAL LOAN from the subject, according as every man was assessed in the rolls of the last subsidy. Commissioners, invested with an almost inquisitorial power, were appointed to levy the money. That religious prejudices might support civil authority, sermons were preached by Sibthorpe and Mainwaring in favor of the general loan; and the court industriously spread them over the kingdom. Passive obedience was there recommended in its full extent, the whole authority of the state was represented as belonging to the king alone, and all limitations of law and a Constitution were rejected as seditious and impious. Throughout England many refused these loans; some were even active in encouraging their neighbors to insist upon their common rights and privileges. By warrant of the council *these* were thrown into prison.

Great was at this time the surprise of all men when Charles, baffled in every attempt against the Austrian dominions, embroiled with his own subjects, unsupplied with any treasure but what he extorted by the most invidious and most dangerous measures, as if the half of Europe, now his enemy, were not sufficient for the exercise of military prowess, wantonly attacked France. This war is commonly ascribed to a personal pique between Buckingham and Richelieu; but it can scarcely be doubted that there were other motives for it: on the part of France, disgust, fanned by the Pope, at the non-fulfillment of the articles of the marriage treaty; on that of England, disappointment at having received no assistance in the German war. Buckingham had persuaded Charles to dismiss at once all his queen's French servants, contrary to the articles of the marriage treaty, and encouraged the English ships of war and privateers to seize vessels belonging to French merchants. But, finding that all these injuries produced only remonstrances and embassies, or at most reprisals, on the part of France, he resolved to undertake at once a military expedition against that kingdom. Buckingham sailed first to Rochelle with a fleet of nearly 100 sail and an army of 7000 men; but, though Rochelle was in possession of the Huguenots, and was then besieged by Cardinal Richelieu, the inhabitants, mistrusting the English commander, refused to admit him. Buckingham then bent his course to the isle of Rhé; but all his measures were so ill concerted, that in a few months he returned to England, having lost two thirds of his land forces—totally discredited both as an admiral and a general, and bringing no praise with him but the vulgar one of courage and personal bravery (Oct., 1627).

§ 4. Meanwhile the money levied, or rather extorted, under color of prerogative, had come in very slowly, and had left such ill-humor in the nation that it appeared dangerous to renew the experiment, and the absolute necessity of supply forced the king to call a third Parliament. When the Commons assembled (March 17, 1628) they appeared to be men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and possessed of such riches that their property was computed to surpass three times that of the House of Peers. Many of the members had been cast into prison, and had suffered by the measures of the court; yet, notwithstanding these circumstances, which might prompt them to embrace violent resolutions, they entered upon business with perfect temper and decorum. The king told them in his first speech that, if they should not do their duties in contributing to the necessities of the state, he must, in discharge of his conscience, use those other means which God had put into his hands. "Take not this for a threatening," added the king, "for I scorn to threaten any but

my equals; but as an admonition from him who, by nature and duty, has most care of your preservation and prosperity." The lord keeper, by the king's direction, added a speech to the same effect; but these haughty and unwise rebukes made no impression upon the Commons. After some excellent speeches from Sir Francis Seymour, Sir Robert Philips, Sir Thomas Wentworth, and others, in favor of liberty, a vote was passed without opposition against arbitrary imprisonments and forced loans. And the spirit of liberty having obtained some contentment by this exertion, the reiterated messages of the king, who pressed for supply, were attended to with more temper. Five subsidies were voted him, with which, though much inferior to his wants, he declared himself well satisfied. The supply, though voted, was not as yet passed into a law, and the Commons resolved to employ the interval in providing some barriers against the violation of their rights and liberties. Forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of Parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, the billeting of soldiers, martial law—these were the grievances complained of, and against these an eternal remedy was to be provided. The Commons pretended not, as they affirmed, to any unusual powers or privileges; they aimed only at securing those which had been transmitted from their ancestors; and their law, which provided against all these abuses, and which was founded on Magna Charta and other ancient statutes, they resolved to call a PETITION OF RIGHT, as implying that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient Constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative or acquisition of new liberties.

The king attempted to elude the bill by persuading the House of Lords to induce the Commons so to modify it that a saving clause should still be left for his sovereign power. But the Commons, who saw through these artifices, sent the bill in its original state to the upper House, and the Peers passed the petition without any material alteration, and nothing but the royal assent was wanting to give it the force of a law. The king accordingly came to the House of Peers, sent for the Commons, and, being seated in his chair of state, the petition was read to him. Great was now the astonishment of all men when, instead of the usual concise and clear form by which a bill is either confirmed or rejected, Charles said, in answer to the petition, "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the statutes be put into execution; that his subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties, to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as much obliged as of his own prerogative." The result might have been foreseen. The Commons returned in

very ill humor, which they vented by impeaching Dr. Mainwaring. They next proceeded to censure the conduct of Buckingham, whose name hitherto they had cautiously forborne to mention. After some abortive attempts to divert the tempest that was ready to burst on the duke, the king thought proper, upon a joint application of the Lords and Commons, to come to the House of Peers, and, by pronouncing the usual form of words, "Let it be law as is desired," to give full sanction and authority to the petition.* The Commons, nevertheless, continued to carry their scrutiny into every part of government, and resumed their censure of Buckingham's conduct, to whom they attributed all their grievances. They also complained that the levying of tonnage and poundage, without consent of Parliament, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, so lately granted. The king, in order to prevent the finishing and presenting this remonstrance, came suddenly to the Parliament, and ended this session by a prorogation (June 26).

§ 5. But the object of the displeasure of the Commons was soon after removed in a sudden and unexpected manner. The Duke of Buckingham repaired to Portsmouth to superintend the preparations for an expedition to relieve Rochelle. Here he engaged in conversation with Soubise and other French gentlemen, after which he drew toward the door; and in that passage, turning himself to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army, he was, on a sudden, over Sir Thomas's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than "The villain has killed me," in the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last (Aug. 23). Soon after, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, "Here is the fellow who killed the duke," every body ran to ask, "Which is he?" The man very sedately answered, "I am he." He was now known to be one Felton, who had served under the duke in the station of lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the isle of Rhé, Felton had applied for the company; and when disappointed he threw up his commission, and retired in discontent from the army. When asked at whose instigation he had performed the horrid deed, he replied that the resolution proceeded only from himself and the impulse of his own conscience, and that his motives would appear if his hat were found; for that, believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them. The king urged that Felton should be racked in order to extort from him a discovery of his

* This celebrated PETITION OF RIGHT, which is the second great charter of English liberties, is printed in extenso in Notes and Illustrations, p. 420.

accomplices; but the judges declared that practice altogether illegal; so much more exact reasoners, with regard to law, had they become, from the jealous scruples of the House of Commons. Felton was soon afterward executed for the murder.

Meanwhile, the distress of Rochelle had risen to the utmost extremity. After Buckingham's death the command of the fleet and army was conferred on the Earl of Lindesey, who, arriving before Rochelle, made some attempts to break through the mole erected across the harbor by Richelieu; but, by the delays of the English, that work was now fully finished and fortified, and the inhabitants, finding their last hopes fail them, were reduced to surrender at discretion, even in sight of the English admiral (Oct. 18, 1628).

§ 6. The failure of an enterprise in which the English nation, from religious sympathy, so much interested themselves, could not but diminish the king's authority in the Parliament during the approaching session (Jan. 20, 1629); but the Commons, when assembled, found many other causes of complaint. All the copies of the Petition of Right which were dispersed had, by the king's orders, annexed to them the first answer, which had given so little satisfaction to the Commons. Selden also complained in the House that one Savage, contrary to the Petition of Right, had been punished with the loss of his ears by a discretionary or arbitrary sentence of the Star Chamber. But the great article on which the House of Commons broke with the king was their claim with regard to tonnage and poundage.

The duty of tonnage and poundage, in more ancient times, had been commonly a temporary grant of Parliament; but it had been conferred on Henry V. during life, with the special proviso, however, that the grant was not to form a precedent; and though the grant for life had been renewed under subsequent sovereigns, yet it was clearly in the power of Parliament to withhold it. In Charles's first Parliament the Commons had voted it only for a year; but the Peers rejected this bill; and as a dissolution of Parliament followed soon after, no attempt seems to have been made for obtaining tonnage and poundage in any other form. Charles, meanwhile, continued still to levy this duty by his own authority, and the nation was so accustomed to that exertion of royal power that no scruple was at first entertained of submitting to it. But the Commons now insisted that the king should at once entirely desist from levying these duties; after which they were to take it into consideration how far they would restore him to the possession of a revenue of which he had clearly divested himself. Charles was not disposed to comply with this condition; yet he contented himself, for the present, with soliciting the

House by messages and speeches. But the Commons, instead of hearkening to his solicitations, proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, which was the only grievance to which, in their opinion, they had not, as yet, by their Petition of Right, applied a sufficient remedy.

Amid that complication of disputes in which men were then involved, we may observe that the appellation *Puritan* stood for three parties, which, though commonly united, were yet actuated by very different views and motives. There were the political Puritans, who maintained the highest principles of civil liberty; the Puritans in discipline, who were averse to the ceremonies and episcopal government of the Church; and the doctrinal Puritans, who rigidly defended the speculative system of the Swiss reformers. In opposition to all these stood the court party, the hierarchy, and the Arminians; only with this distinction, that the latter sect, being introduced a few years before, did not, as yet, comprehend all those who were favorable to the Church and to monarchy. Till toward the end of James's reign the tenets of the Church of England had been Calvinistic. James himself, in the pride of his theological learning, had been a rigid opponent of Arminius, the champion of free-will. In 1611 he had condescended to procure from the Dutch the banishment of Vorstius, a professor of divinity and disciple of Arminius, and had even given them a hint that he was worthy of the flames; and the divines whom he sent to the Synod of Dort in 1618 assisted to procure the condemnation of the Arminians in Holland. But soon after this he changed his opinion; the clergy were forbidden to preach the doctrine of predestination; and Laud, Howson, and Corbet, notorious Arminians, were advanced to bishoprics. These men, and their disciples and successors, were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and of entire submission to princes; and if these could once be censured, and be expelled the Church and court, the Commons concluded that the hierarchy would receive a mortal blow, the ceremonies be less rigidly insisted on, and the king, deprived of his most faithful friends, be obliged to abate those high claims of prerogative on which at present he insisted. But Laud had unfortunately acquired a great ascendant over Charles; and as all those prelates, obnoxious to the Commons, were regarded as his chief friends and most favorite courtiers, he was resolved not to disarm and dishonor himself by abandoning them to the resentment of his enemies.

The inquiries and debates concerning tonnage and poundage went hand in hand with these theological or metaphysical controversies. Sir John Eliot framed a remonstrance against levying those duties without consent of Parliament, and offered it to the

clerk to read. It was refused. He read it himself. The question being then asked for, the speaker, Sir John Finch, said, "That he had a command from the king to adjourn, and to put no question." Upon which he rose and left the chair. The whole House was in an uproar. The speaker was pushed back into the chair, and forcibly held in it by Hollis and Valentine, till a short remonstrance was framed, and was passed by acclamation rather than by vote. Papists and Arminians were declared capital enemies to the Commonwealth. Those who levied tonnage and poundage were branded with the same epithet. And even the merchants who should voluntarily pay these duties were denominated betrayers of English liberty, and public enemies. The doors being locked, the gentleman usher of the House of Lords, who was sent by the king, could not gain admittance till this remonstrance was finished. By the king's order, he took the mace from the table, which ended their proceedings, and a few days after the Parliament was dissolved (March 10, 1629). Several members were committed to prison on account of the last tumult in the House, which was called sedition; nor were they released without great difficulty, and after several delays. Sir John Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine were summoned to their trial in the King's Bench for seditious speeches and behavior in Parliament; but, refusing to answer before an inferior court for their conduct as members of a superior, they were condemned to be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, to find sureties for their good behavior, and to be fined, the two former £1000 apiece, the latter £500. But they unanimously refused to find sureties, and disdained to accept of deliverance on such terms. Sir John Eliot died while in custody; a great clamor was raised against the administration, and he was universally regarded as a martyr to the liberties of England.

§ 7. Charles, being destitute of all supply, and having resolved to call no more Parliaments till he should see greater indication of a compliant disposition in the nation, was necessarily reduced to make peace with the two crowns against which he had hitherto waged a war, entered into without necessity, and conducted without glory. After the death of Buckingham, who had somewhat alienated Charles from the queen, she is to be considered as his chief friend and favorite. His ministers he began to choose from the popular leaders: a sure proof that a secret revolution had happened in the constitution, and had necessitated the prince to adopt new maxims of government. But the views of the king were at this time so repugnant to those of the Puritans, that the leaders whom he gained lost from that moment all interest with their party, and were even pursued as traitors with implacable

hatred and resentment. This was the case with Sir Thomas Wentworth, whom the king created, first a baron, then a viscount, and afterward Earl of Strafford; made him president of the council of York, and deputy of Ireland; and regarded him as his chief minister and counselor. Sir Dudley Digges was about the same time created master of the rolls; Noy, attorney general; Littleton, solicitor general. All these had likewise been Parliamentary leaders, and were men eminent in their profession. In all ecclesiastical affairs, and even in many civil, Laud, Bishop of London, acquired a great ascendant over Charles, and led him, by the facility of his temper, into a conduct which proved fatal to himself and to his kingdom. Laud, and the other prelates who embraced his measures, by adopting many of those religious sentiments which prevailed during the fourth and fifth centuries, could not fail of giving the English faith and Liturgy some resemblance to the Catholic superstition, which the kingdom in general, and the Puritans in particular, held in the greatest horror and detestation. Alterations were made in the ritual. The communion table was removed from the centre of the churches, placed at the east end, railed in, and called the altar; the use of copes, pictures, crucifixes, etc., was restored; in short, those usages were introduced which characterize the party called *High-Church*. Hence not only the discontented Puritans believed the Church of England to be relapsing fast into Romish superstition, the court of Rome itself entertained hopes of regaining its authority in this island; and, in order to forward Laud's supposed good intentions, an offer was twice made him, in private, of a cardinal's hat, which he declined accepting. In return for Charles's indulgence toward the Church, Laud and his followers took care to magnify, on every occasion, the regal authority, and to treat with the utmost disdain or detestation all puritanical pretensions to a free and independent constitution. The principles which exalted prerogative were not entertained by the king merely as soft and agreeable to his royal ears; they were also put in practice during the time that he ruled without Parliaments. He levied money either by the revival of obsolete laws, or by violations, some more open, some more disguised, of the privileges of the nation; and he gave way to severities in the Star Chamber and High Commission, which seemed necessary in order to support the present mode of administration, and repress the rising spirit of liberty throughout the kingdom. He issued a proclamation, from which it was generally inferred that during this reign no more Parliaments were intended to be summoned. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied by the royal authority alone. Compositions were openly made with recusants, and the popish religion became a regular

part of the revenue. Under a law of Edward II., persons possessed of £40 a year and upward in land were summoned to receive knighthood, or compound for their neglect. Commissioners were appointed for fixing the rates of composition, and instructions were given to these commissioners not to accept of a less sum than would have been due by the party upon a tax of three subsidies and a half. Monopolies were revived, and many other illegal methods of raising money were resorted to.

The court of Star Chamber extended its authority, and it was matter of complaint that it encroached upon the jurisdiction of the other courts, imposing heavy fines and inflicting severe punishment beyond the usual course of justice. One case may be mentioned by way of example. Prynne, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had written an enormous quarto of a thousand pages, which he called *Histrio-Mastix*. Its professed purpose was to decry stage-plays, comedies, interludes, music, dancing; but the author likewise took occasion to declaim against hunting, public festivals, Christmas-keeping, bonfires, and maypoles. It was thought somewhat hard that general invectives against plays should be interpreted into satires against the king and queen, merely because they frequented these amusements, and because the queen sometimes acted a part in pastorals and interludes which were represented at court. Yet Prynne was indicted in the Star Chamber as a libeler; was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand in the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay £5000 fine to the king; and to be imprisoned during life (1633). To mortify the Puritans, Charles renewed his father's edict for allowing sports and recreations on Sunday to such as attended public worship; and he ordered his proclamation for that purpose to be publicly read by the clergy after divine service. Those who were puritanically affected refused obedience, and were punished by suspension or deprivation. Some encouragement and protection which the king and the bishops gave to wakes, church-ales, bride-ales, and other cheerful festivals of the common people, were the objects of like scandal to the Puritans.

§ 8. Several years were passed in the quiet endurance of these and other illegal proceedings. In 1634 a new grievance was introduced, that of ship-money. The first writs of this kind had been directed to sea-port towns only; but ship-money was at this time levied on the whole kingdom, and each county was rated at a particular sum, which was afterward assessed upon individuals. The tax seems to have been moderately and equitably assessed, and the money to have been expended on the navy; but the imposition was entirely arbitrary; by the same right any other tax

might be imposed; and men thought a powerful fleet, though very desirable both for the credit and safety of the kingdom, but an unequal recompense for their liberties, which, they apprehended, were thus sacrificed to the obtaining of it.

It would be endless to recount all the acts of tyranny exercised at this period by the crown and the Star Chamber, as well as by the ecclesiastical supremacy of Laud, now Archbishop of Canterbury. The Puritans, restrained in England, shipped themselves off for America, and laid there the foundations of a government which possessed all the liberty, both civil and religious, of which they found themselves bereaved in their native country. The charter of Massachusetts Bay had been obtained from the crown in 1629, and about 350 Nonconformists, chiefly of the independent sect, sailed with the first fleet. At last, in 1637, John Hampden acquired, by his spirit and courage, universal popularity throughout the nation, and has merited great renown with posterity for the bold stand which he made in defense of the laws and liberties of his country. Hampden, having been rated at 20 shillings, as ship-money, for an estate which he possessed in the county of Buckingham, resolved, rather than tamely submit to so illegal an imposition, to stand a legal prosecution, and expose himself to all the indignation of the court. The case was argued during twelve days in the Exchequer Chamber, before all the judges of England, and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety every circumstance of this celebrated trial. The event was easily foreseen; the prejudiced judges, two excepted, gave sentence in favor of the crown as to the general right of levy, though three others also decided for Hampden on merely technical grounds relating to his particular case. Hampden, however, obtained by the trial the end for which he had so generously sacrificed his safety and his quiet; the people were roused from their lethargy, and became sensible of the dangers to which their liberties were exposed. These national questions were canvassed in every company; and the more they were examined, the more evidently did it appear to many that liberty was totally subverted, and an unusual and arbitrary authority exercised over the kingdom.

§ 9. But, notwithstanding the discontents in England, affairs might long have continued on the same footing there had they not been influenced by the proceedings in Scotland. Charles, from his love of prelacy, which order he considered best fitted to inculcate obedience and loyalty among the people, had raised many of the Scotch prelates to the chief dignities of the state. The Scotch nobility, whose power was great, and whose connection with the king had been much loosened by his long absence, were disgusted to find the prelates superior to themselves in power and influence.

The inferior ranks of the Scotch clergy themselves equaled, if not exceeded, the nobility in their prejudices against the court, against the prelates, and against episcopal authority. The people, under the influence of the nobility and clergy, could not fail to partake of their discontents, and were imbued with the same horror against popery with which the English Puritans were possessed. Yet, in spite of these symptoms, the king's great aim was to complete the work begun by his father; to establish discipline in Scotland upon a regular system of canons, to introduce a Liturgy into public worship, and to render the ecclesiastical government of all his kingdoms regular and uniform.

The Liturgy which the king, from his own authority, imposed on Scotland, though he was not by law the head of the Scottish Church, was copied, with a few alterations, from that of England, and due notice was given of the intention to commence the use of it on Sunday, July 23, 1637. On that day, accordingly, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the Dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, began the service, the bishop himself and many of the privy council being present. But no sooner had the dean opened the book than the people, clapping their hands, cursing, and crying out, "A pope! a pope! antichrist! stone him!" raised such a tumult, that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop, mounting the pulpit in order to appease the populace, had a stool thrown at him; the council was insulted; and it was with difficulty that the magistrates were able, partly by authority, partly by force, to expel the crowd, and to shut the doors against them. The tumult, however, still continued without; and the bishop, going home, was attacked, and narrowly escaped from the hands of the enraged multitude.

Farther riots ensued; yet Charles continued inflexible, though to so violent a combination of a whole kingdom he had nothing to oppose but a proclamation (Feb. 15, 1638), in which he pardoned all past offenses, and exhorted the people to be more obedient for the future, and to submit peaceably to the use of the Liturgy. This proclamation was instantly encountered with a public protestation, presented by the Earl of Hume and Lord Lindesey; and this was the first time that men of quality had appeared in any violent act of opposition. But this proved a crisis. The insurrection, which had been advancing by a gradual and slow progress, now blazed up at once. No disorder, however, attended it. On the contrary, a new order immediately took place. Four *tables*, as they were called, were formed in Edinburgh. One consisted of nobility, another of gentry, a third of ministers, a fourth of burgesses. The table of gentry was divided into many subordinate tables, according to their different counties. In the

hands of the four tables the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. Orders were issued by them, and every where obeyed with the utmost regularity. And among the first acts of their government was the production of the COVENANT. This famous deed consisted first of a renunciation of popery, formerly signed by James in his youth, followed by a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist religious innovations, and to defend one another against all opposition whatsoever. The people, without distinction of rank or condition, of age or sex, flocked to the subscription of this covenant, and even the king's ministers and counselors themselves were, most of them, seized by the general contagion. The king now began to apprehend the consequences, and sent the Marquis of Hamilton as commissioner, with authority to treat with the Covenanters. He required the Covenant to be renounced and recalled; but the popular leaders told Hamilton they would sooner renounce their baptism. Charles, who wanted both decision and sincerity, made concessions, and was at last willing entirely to abolish the canons, the Liturgy, and the High Commission court, and even to limit extremely the power of the bishops. These successive concessions of the king, which yet came still short of the rising demands of the malcontents, discovered his own weakness and gave no satisfaction. Without waiting for the consent of the crown, they elected a general assembly, which met at Glasgow, Nov. 21, 1638. Episcopacy, the High Commission, the canons, and the Liturgy, were abolished and declared unlawful; and the whole fabric which James and Charles, in a long course of years, had been rearing with so much care and policy, fell at once to the ground. The Covenant likewise was ordered to be signed by every one, under pain of excommunication.

Preparations were now openly made for war. Cardinal Richelieu, in revenge for Charles's opposition to his designs upon Flanders, carefully fomented the first commotions in Scotland, and secretly supplied the Covenanters with money and arms. The Earl of Argyle, though he long seemed to temporize, at last embraced the Covenant, and became the chief leader of that party. Forces were regularly enlisted and disciplined; arms were commissioned and imported from foreign countries; and the whole country, except a small part where the Marquis of Huntley still adhered to the king, being in the hands of the Covenanters, was in a very little time put in a tolerable posture of defense. On the other hand, Charles's fleet was formidable, and had 5000 land forces on board, under the Marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail to the Firth of Forth, and to cause a diversion in the forces of the malcontents. An army was levied of nearly 20,000

foot and above 3000 horse, and was put under the command of the Earl of Arundel. The king himself joined the army, and he summoned all the peers of England to attend him. The whole had the appearance of a splendid court rather than a military armament; and in this situation, carrying more show than real force with it, the camp arrived at Berwick. Here Charles concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that within 48 hours the Scots should dismiss their forces; that the king's forts should be restored to him, his authority be acknowledged, and a general assembly and a Parliament be immediately summoned, in order to compose all differences (June 18, 1639). The king, whose character was neither vigorous nor decisive, seems to have adopted this measure from observing in his army symptoms of sympathy with the Scots. He agreed not only to confirm his former concessions of abrogating the canons, the Liturgy, and the High Commission, but also to abolish the order itself of bishops, for which he had so zealously contended. But the Scotch Parliament, which met soon after, having advanced pretensions which tended to diminish the civil power of the monarch, the war was renewed with great advantages on the side of the Covenanters, and disadvantages on that of the king; for no sooner had Charles concluded the pacification than the necessities of his affairs and his want of money obliged him to disband his army; while the more prudent Covenanters, in dismissing their troops, had warned them to be ready on the first summons.

§ 10. The king, with great difficulty, found means to draw together an army, but soon discovered that, all savings being gone, and great debts contracted, his revenue would be insufficient to support them. An English Parliament, therefore, formerly so unkind and intractable, must now, after above eleven years' intermission, after the king had tried many irregular methods of taxation, after multiplied disgusts given to the Puritanical party, be summoned to assemble amid the most pressing necessities of the crown. The time appointed for the meeting of Parliament was purposely late (April 13, 1640), and very near the time allotted for opening the campaign against the Scots; and hence Charles took occasion to press them for an immediate grant, before they proceeded to offer him petitions for the redress of their grievances, promising that as much as was possible of this season should afterward be allowed them for that purpose. But, by means of the Scottish insurrection, and the general discontents in England, affairs were drawn so near to a crisis, that the leaders of the House, sagacious and penetrating, began to foresee the consequences, and to hope that the time so long wished for was now

come, when public liberty must acquire a full ascendant. The Commons, instead of taking notice of the king's complaints against his Scottish subjects, or his applications for supply, entered immediately upon grievances. They began with examining the behavior of the speaker the last day of the former Parliament, when he refused, on account of the king's command, to put the question; and they declared it a breach of privilege. They proceeded next to inquire into the imprisonment and prosecution of Sir John Eliot, Hollis, and Valentine; the affair of ship-money was canvassed; and plentiful subject of inquiry was suggested on all hands. Charles, in order to bring the matter of supply to some issue, solicited the House by repeated messages, and offered to abolish ship-money in return for a supply of 12 subsidies, about £600,000, payable in three years. But to this the Commons objected that, by bargaining for the remission of that duty, they would, in a manner, ratify the authority by which it had been levied; at least, give encouragement for advancing new pretensions of a like nature, in hopes of resigning them on like advantageous conditions. The king was in great doubt and perplexity. He saw that his friends in the House were outnumbered by his enemies. Where great evils lie on all sides, it is difficult to follow the best counsel; nor is it any wonder that the king, whose capacity was not equal to situations of such extreme delicacy, should hastily have formed and executed the resolution of dissolving this Parliament; a measure, however, of which he soon after repented (May 5). This abrupt and violent dissolution naturally excited discontents among the people, and these were increased when some of the members were imprisoned and otherwise ill treated. An attack was made during the night upon Laud, in his palace of Lambeth, by above 500 persons; and a multitude entered St. Paul's, where the High Commission then sat, tore down the benches, and cried out, "No bishop, no High Commission." All these instances of discontent were presages of some great revolution, had the court possessed sufficient skill to discern the danger, or sufficient power to provide against it.

§ 11. The king, having raised money by several illegal and arbitrary expedients, was enabled, though with great difficulty, to march his army, consisting of 19,000 foot and 2000 horse. The Scottish army, though somewhat superior, were sooner ready than the king's. The Covenanters still preserved the most pathetic and most submissive language, and entered England, they said, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's presence, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. At Newburn-upon-Tyne they were opposed by a detachment of 4500 men under Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the pas-

sage of the river. The Scots first entreated them, with great civility, not to stop them in their march to their gracious sovereign, and then attacked them with great bravery, killed several, and chased the rest from their ground. The English forces at Newcastle now retreated into Yorkshire, and the Scots took possession of Newcastle. Hence they dispatched messengers to the king, who was arrived at York; and they took care, after the advantage which they had obtained, to redouble their expressions of loyalty, duty, and submission to his person, and they even made apologies, full of sorrow and contrition, for their late victory. In order to prevent their advance, the king agreed to a treaty, and named 16 English noblemen, who met with 11 Scottish commissioners at Ripon.

An army newly levied, undisciplined, frightened, seditious, ill paid, and governed by no proper authority, was very unfit for withstanding a victorious and high-spirited enemy, and retaining in subjection a discontented and zealous nation; and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last determined to yield to it. He had summoned a great council of the peers at York (Sept. 24), but, foreseeing that they would advise him to call a Parliament, he told them in his first speech that he had already taken this resolution. They agreed to pay the Scots a weekly subsidy of £5600, to be levied on the four northern counties; and the negotiation of the treaty was transferred from Ripon to London.

§ 12. The elections, as might have been expected, ran in favor of the popular party. The Parliament, memorable as the LONG PARLIAMENT, met on Nov. 3, 1640. The first act of the Commons was to choose Lenthall for their speaker, in opposition to Charles's views, who had intended to advance Gardiner, Recorder of London, to that important dignity. Without any interval they entered upon business, and they immediately struck a blow which may in a manner be regarded as decisive, by impeaching the Earl of Strafford, who was considered as chief minister. Strafford, sensible of the load of popular prejudices under which he labored would gladly have declined attendance in Parliament; but Charles, who had entire confidence in the earl's capacity, thought that his counsels would be extremely useful during the critical session which approached. And when Strafford still insisted on the danger of his appearing amid so many enraged enemies, the king, little apprehensive that his own authority was so suddenly to expire, promised his protection, and assured him that not a hair of his head should be touched by the Parliament. The debate respecting Strafford was conducted with locked doors; his impeachment was unanimously voted, and Pym was chosen to carry it up to

the Lords. Most of the house accompanied him on so agreeable an errand; and Strafford, who had just entered the House of Peers, and who little expected so speedy a prosecution, was immediately, upon this general charge, ordered into custody (Nov. 11). After a deliberation which scarcely lasted half an hour, an impeachment of high treason was also voted against Laud, who was immediately, upon this general charge, sequestered from Parliament, and committed to custody. The Lord-keeper Finch, and Sir Francis Windebank, the secretary, a creature of Laud's, apprehending a similar attack, fled to the Continent. Thus, in a few weeks, this House of Commons, not opposed, or rather seconded, by the Peers, had produced such a revolution in the government that the two most powerful and most favored ministers of the king were thrown into the Tower, and daily expected to be tried for their life; while two other ministers had, by flight alone, saved themselves from a like fate. The Commons, not content with the authority which they had acquired by attacking these great ministers, were resolved to render the most considerable bodies of the nation obnoxious to them. All persons who had assumed powers not authorized by statute were declared *delinquents*. This term was newly come into vogue, and expressed a degree or species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained. It would comprehend all the sheriffs, and all those who had been employed in assessing ship-money; all the farmers and officers of the customs, who had been engaged during so many years in levying tonnage and poundage; and all those who had concurred in the arbitrary sentences of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission. No minister of the king, no member of the council, but found himself exposed by this decision. And almost all the bench of bishops, and the most considerable of the inferior clergy, who had voted in the late Convocation, were involved, by these new principles, in the imputation of delinquency. The whole sovereign power being thus in a manner transferred to the Commons, the popular leaders seemed willing for some time to suspend their active vigor, and to consolidate their authority, ere they proceeded to any violent exercise of it. This was the time when genius and capacity of all kinds, freed from the restraint of authority, and nourished by unbounded hopes and projects, began to exert themselves and be distinguished by the public. Then was celebrated the sagacity of Pym; the mighty ambition of Hampden; then, too, were known the dark, ardent, and dangerous character of St. John, the impetuous spirit of Hollis, and the enthusiastic genius of young Vane. Even men of the most moderate tempers, and the most attached to the Church and monarchy, exerted themselves with the utmost vigor in the redress of grievances, and in

prosecuting the authors of them; the lively and animated Digby, the firm and undaunted Capel, the modest and candid Palmer. In this list, too, of patriot Royalists are found the names of Hyde and Falkland. Though in their ultimate views and intentions these men differed widely from the former, in their present actions and discourses an entire concurrence and unanimity were observed.

The harangues of members were now first published and dispersed; the pulpit and the press were delivered from the long silence and constraint in which they had been retained by the authority of Laud and the High Commission. The sentence which had been executed against Prynne, as well as against two other Puritans, Bastwick and Burton, now suffered a revisal from Parliament, and they were released from their prisons in Scilly and the Channel Islands. When the prisoners landed in England they were received and entertained with the highest demonstrations of affection, were attended by a mighty confluence of company, their charges were borne with great magnificence, and liberal presents bestowed on them. The invasion of the Scots had evidently been the cause of assembling the Parliament; the presence of their army reduced the king to that total subjection in which he was now held; and the Commons, for this reason, openly professed their intention of retaining these invaders. Eighty thousand pounds a month was requisite for the subsistence of the Scotch and English armies, a sum much greater than the subject had ever been accustomed, in any former period, to pay to the public. And though several subsidies, together with a poll-tax, were from time to time voted to answer the charge, the Commons still took care to be in debt, in order to render the continuance of the session the more necessary.

The zeal of the Commons was particularly directed against the bishops and the Established Church. They introduced a bill for prohibiting all clergymen the exercise of any civil office, as a consequence of which the bishops were to be deprived of their seats in the House of Peers. But the bitter and intolerant spirit displayed by the Puritans was now beginning to alienate many of the lords; and the bill was rejected by a large majority. Among other acts of regal executive power which the Commons were every day assuming, they issued orders for demolishing all images, altars, crucifixes. It was now that the zealous Sir Robert Harley, to whom the execution of these orders was committed, removed the beautiful crosses at Cheapside and Charing Cross. A committee was elected as a court of inquisition upon the clergy, and was commonly denominated the committee of *scandalous ministers*. The proceedings of this famous committee, which continued

for several years, were cruel and arbitrary, and made great havoc both on the Church and the universities. They began with harassing, imprisoning, and molesting the clergy, and ended with sequestrating and ejecting them. Charles, who was now aware of the uselessness of resistance, yet opposed, as long as he could, the bill for assembling a Parliament at least once in three years (1641). By a statute passed during the reign of Edward III. it had been enacted that Parliaments should be held once every year, or more frequently if necessary; but, as no provision had been made in case of failure, this statute had been dispensed with at pleasure. The defect was supplied by those vigilant patriots who now assumed the reins of government. It was enacted that, if the chancellor failed to issue writs by the 3d of September in every third year, any 12 or more of the peers should be empowered to exert this authority; in default of the peers, that the sheriffs, mayors, bailiffs, etc., should summon the voters; and in their default, that the voters themselves should meet and proceed to the election for members, in the same manner as if writs had been regularly issued from the crown. Nor could the Parliament, after it was assembled, be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved without their own consent, during the space of 50 days. Nothing could be more necessary than such a statute for completing a regular plan of law and liberty.

§ 13. Immediately after Strafford was sequestered from Parliament and confined in the Tower, a joint committee of the Lords and Commons were appointed to investigate his case, and were bound to secrecy by an oath. To bestow the greater solemnity on this important trial, scaffolds were erected in Westminster Hall, where both houses sat, the one as accusers, the other as judges. Besides the chair of state, a close gallery was prepared for the king and queen, who attended during the whole trial. The articles of impeachment against Strafford were 28 in number, and regarded his conduct as president of the council of York, as deputy or lieutenant of Ireland, and as counselor or commander in England. From a cumulation of charges it was endeavored to establish a constructive one of treason. The principal articles were the billeting of soldiers on the Irish in order to make them submit to his illegal demands, advising the king to employ the army raised in Ireland to subject England, and the taxing of the people of Yorkshire for the maintenance of his troops. The remaining charges were for hasty and imperious expressions and tyrannous acts toward individuals. In order to strengthen the case of the impeachment, Pym produced a paper, found by Sir Henry Vane in his father's cabinet, purporting to be notes of a debate in council after the dissolution of the last Parliament, in which Strafford was

represented as advising the king that, having tried the affections of his people, he was absolved and loose from all rules of government, and might do what power would admit. And it was pretended that the circumstance of this paper having been seen by Pym, who had copied it, and by young Sir Henry Vane, was equivalent to the testimony of two witnesses, the number required by law in cases of treason. Strafford is allowed, on all hands, to have made a noble defense, which is thus characterized by Whitelock, the chairman of the committee which conducted the impeachment: "Certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and actions, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."

It was evident that Strafford had gained many friends by the manly modesty of his demeanor and the eloquence of his defense. The result appeared doubtful if the trial proceeded in Westminster Hall; and some of the leaders of the popular party therefore resolved to adopt one of the worst precedents of the reign of Henry VIII., and to proceed against Strafford by bill of attainder.* This course, however, was opposed by Pym and Hampden, who still believed that they could support the charge of treason by impeachment; but these great leaders were outvoted, and the bill of attainder was brought into the Lower House. It is a curious fact that Hyde and Falkland, who were shortly afterward the mainstay of the Royalist party, were eager supporters of the attainder, and consequently are chiefly answerable for the death of Strafford.† The bill of attainder passed the Commons with only 59 dissenting votes. A new discovery, made about this time, served to throw every thing into still greater flame and combustion. Some principal officers concerted a form of a petition to the king and Parliament, to be subscribed by the army, in which they offered to come up and guard the Parliament. The draught of this petition being conveyed to the king, he was prevailed on to countersign it himself as a mark of his approbation. An officer named Goring betrayed the secret to the popular leaders. The alarm

* The student should bear in mind the difference between an *impeachment* and a *bill of attainder*. In an impeachment the Commons are the accusers, and the Lords alone the judges. In a bill of attainder the Commons are the judges as well as the Lords; it may be introduced in either House; it passes through the same stages as any other bill; and when agreed to by both houses, it receives the assent of the crown.

† The opposition of Hampden to Strafford's attainder, and Hyde's support of it, have been proved for the first time by Mr. Forster ("Historical and Biographical Essays," i., p. 252, foll., London, 1858).

may easily be imagined which this intelligence conveyed. The Commons voted a protestation, to be signed by the whole nation, declaring that the subscribers would defend their religion and liberties. About 80 peers had constantly attended Strafford's trial; but such apprehensions were entertained on account of the popular tumults, that only 45 were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the House. Yet of these, 19 had the courage to vote against it. The opinion of the judges had been taken, and was read to the House previously to the division. It was not very decidedly expressed, and did not state that the prisoner was guilty of treason, but that "they are of opinion, upon all that which their lordships have voted to be proved, that the Earl of Strafford doth deserve to undergo the pains and forfeitures of high treason by law." The bill was then passed (May 7, 1641). On the following day the populace flocked about Whitehall, and accompanied their demand of justice with the loudest clamors and most open menaces. All the king's servants, consulting their own safety rather than their master's honor, declined interposing with their advice between him and his Parliament. Juxon alone, Bishop of London, whose courage was not inferior to his other virtues, ventured to advise him, if in his conscience he did not approve of the bill, by no means to assent to it. Some plans for the earl's escape were devised, but abandoned; and Strafford, hearing of Charles's irresolution and anxiety, took a very extraordinary step: he wrote a letter, in which he entreated the king, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to his unfortunate, however innocent, life, and to quiet the tumultuous people by granting them the request for which they were so importunate. After the most violent anxiety and doubt, Charles at last granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. Secretary Carleton was sent by the king to inform Strafford of the final resolution which necessity had extorted from him. The earl seemed surprised, and, starting up, exclaimed, in the words of Scripture, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." He was soon able, however, to collect his courage; and he prepared himself to suffer the fatal sentence. Only three days' interval was allowed him. The king, who made a new effort in his behalf, and sent, by the hands of the young prince, a letter addressed to the Peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the Commons about a mitigation of Strafford's sentence, and begged at least for some delay, was refused in both requests.

Strafford, in passing from his apartment to Tower Hill, where the scaffold was erected, stopped under Laud's windows, with whom he had long lived in intimate friendship, and entreated the

assistance of his prayers in those awful moments which were approaching. His discourse on the scaffold was full of decency and courage; and with one blow a period was put to his life by the executioner (May 12, 1641). Thus perished, in the 49th year of his age, the Earl of Strafford, one of the most eminent personages that has appeared in England. That he was legally convicted may well admit of a question; that he was an enemy of his country can not be doubted. His aim was to establish an absolute monarchy by means of a military force; a scheme to which, in his correspondence with Laud, he gives the significant name of the *Thorough*. Men of different tempers will estimate differently the severity of his sentence; but the sentiments of the age should be taken into the account, and we should endeavor to place ourselves in the situation of those actually engaged in that arduous and violent struggle. It is to be considered that revolutions of government can not be effected by the mere force of argument and reasoning, and that, factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to insure themselves against all exorbitances. Of the conduct of Charles there can hardly be but one opinion; and it is certain that strong compunctions for his consent to Strafford's execution attended him during the remainder of his life.

§ 14. On the same day that the king gave his assent to the execution of Strafford he likewise sanctioned a bill, which had been rapidly carried through both houses, that the Parliament should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned without their own consent. A bill was also passed to abolish the courts of High Commission and Star Chamber,* and in them to annihilate the principal and most dangerous article of the king's prerogative. By the same bill the jurisdiction of the king's council was regulated and its authority abridged. Several other minor reforms were also effected. The Parliament then adjourned to the 20th of October; and a committee of both houses, a thing unprecedented, was appointed to sit during the recess with very ample powers.

A small committee of both houses was appointed to attend the king on his journey into Scotland, in order, as was pretended, to see that the articles of pacification were executed, but really to be spies upon him, and extend still farther the ideas of parliamentary authority, as well as eclipse the majesty of the king. Besides the large pay voted to the Scots for lying in good quarters during a twelvemonth, the English Parliament conferred on them a present of £300,000 for their brotherly assistance. In the articles of pacification they were declared to have ever been good subjects;

* For the history of the Star Chamber, see Notes and Illustrations, p. 366.

and their military expeditions were approved of, as enterprises calculated and intended for his majesty's honor and advantage. In Scotland as in England, the king was obliged to strip himself of his most valued prerogatives. Several of the Covenanters were sworn of the privy council; and the king, while in Scotland, conformed himself entirely to the Established Church, assisting with great gravity at the long prayers and longer sermons with which the Presbyterians endeavored to regale him.

§ 15. While the king was employed in pacifying the commotions in Scotland, he received intelligence of a dangerous rebellion which broke out in Ireland, with circumstances of the utmost horror, bloodshed, and devastation. Strafford had raised the army in Ireland from 3000 to 12,000 men, with the secret design of employing them to assert Charles's power in England. The Parliament insisted on their being reduced to the original number; nor would they forward the king's plan of enlisting 4000 of these disbanded troops in the Spanish service in Flanders, whence indeed they might have been easily diverted to a different object. By this means, however, not only was the standing army in Ireland greatly reduced, but a large body of discontented papists, trained to the use of arms, was suddenly turned loose on society. The old Irish remarked these false steps of the English, and resolved to take advantage of them. A gentleman called Roger More, much celebrated among his countrymen for valor and capacity, formed the project of expelling the English, and engaged all the heads of the native Irish in the conspiracy, especially Sir Phelim O'Neale, the representative of the Tyrone family, and Lord Maguire. The commencement of the revolt was fixed on the approach of winter, that there might be more difficulty in transporting forces from England. An attempt to surprise Dublin Castle was betrayed and failed; but O'Neale and his confederates had already taken arms in Ulster. The Irish, every where intermingled with the English, needed but a hint from their leaders and priests to begin hostilities against a people whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. The houses, cattle, goods, of the unwary English were first seized. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, a universal massacre commenced. No age, no sex, no condition was spared. But death was the slightest punishment inflicted by those rebels; all the tortures which wanton cruelty could devise, all the lingering pains of body, the anguish of mind, the agonies of despair, could not satiate the revenge of the Irish. Amid all these enormities, the sacred name of Religion resounded on every side. The English, as heretics abhorred of God and detestable to all holy men, were marked out by the priests for slaughter; and, of all actions,

to rid the world of these declared enemies to Catholic faith and piety was represented as the most meritorious. The English colonies were totally annihilated in the open country of Ulster, whence the flames of rebellion diffused themselves in an instant over the other three provinces of Ireland. In all places death and slaughter were not uncommon, though the Irish, in these other provinces, pretended to act with moderation and humanity. But cruel and barbarous was their humanity! Not content with expelling the English their houses, with despoiling them of their goodly manors, with wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out, naked and defenseless, to all the severities of the season. The heavens themselves, as if conspiring against that unhappy people, were armed with cold and tempest unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished. The saving of Dublin alone preserved in Ireland the remains of the English name. The number of those who perished by all these cruelties is variously estimated at from 40,000 to 200,000. The English of the Pale, or ancient English planters, who were all Catholics, were probably not at first in the secret, and pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied. By their protestations and declarations they engaged the justices to supply them with arms, which they promised to employ in defense of the government; but in a little time the interests of religion were found more prevalent over them than regard and duty to their mother country. They chose Lord Gormanstone their leader; and, joining the old Irish, rivaled them in every act of violence toward the English Protestants.

§ 16. The king, to whom the Scots could grant no farther aid than to dispatch a small body to support the Scottish colonies in Ulster, sensible of his utter inability to subdue the Irish rebels, found himself obliged, in this exigency, to have recourse to the English Parliament, and depend on their assistance for supply. The Parliament discovered, in every vote, the same dispositions in which they had separated; but the Irish rebellion had increased their animosity against the papists, and many believed, what the Irish rebels pleaded, that they had the king's commission for all their acts of violence; but, though that is altogether incredible, it does not seem improbable that Charles had been privy to the design of seizing Dublin Castle, in order to procure the arms deposited there, with the view of reorganizing the Irish army and using it against the Parliament. The Commons assumed the whole management of Irish affairs; but, while they pretended the utmost zeal against the insurrection, they took no steps toward its suppression, but such as likewise tended to give

them the superiority in those commotions which they foresaw must so soon be excited in England. They levied money under pretense of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for purposes which concerned them more nearly; they took arms from the king's magazines, but still kept them, with a secret intention of employing them against himself. To vindicate their conduct, and to show that their distrust of the king was well founded, the leaders of the popular party thought proper to frame a general REMONSTRANCE on the state of the nation. This memorable document was not addressed to the king, but was openly declared to be an appeal to the people. Whatever invidious, whatever suspicious, whatever tyrannical measure had been embraced by the king, from the commencement of his reign, is insisted on with merciless rhetoric: the unsuccessful expeditions to Cadiz and the isle of Rhé; the sending of ships to France for the suppression of the Huguenots; the forced loans; the illegal confinement of men for not obeying illegal commands; the violent dissolution of four Parliaments; the arbitrary government which always succeeded; the questioning, fining, and imprisoning of members for their conduct in the House; the levying of taxes without consent of the Commons; the introducing of superstitious innovations into the Church without authority of law; in short, every thing which had given offense during the course of 15 years, from the accession of the king to the calling of the present Parliament. And all their grievances, they said, which amounted to no less than a total subversion of the Constitution, proceeded entirely from the formed combination of a popish faction, who had ever swayed the king's counsels, who had endeavored, by an uninterrupted effort, to introduce their superstition into England and Scotland, and who had now at last excited an open and bloody rebellion in Ireland. But the opposition which the remonstrance met with in the House of Commons was great. For above 14 hours the debate was warmly managed, and the vote was at last carried by a small majority of 11 (Nov. 22). Some time after the remonstrance was ordered to be printed and published, without being carried up to the House of Peers for their assent and concurrence.* In this memorable debate, Hyde and Falkland, who had previously acted with the popular party, were the chief leaders in opposition to the Remonstrance.

Every measure pursued by the Commons, and still more every attempt made by their partisans, was full of the most inveterate hatred against the hierarchy, and showed a determined resolution

* The best, and, indeed, the only full and impartial account of the Remonstrance is given by Mr. Foster in his "Historical and Biographical Essays," vol. i., London, 1858.

of subverting the whole ecclesiastical establishment. The majority of the Peers, who had hitherto supported the Commons, now adhered to the king, though a few, as the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Essex, and Lord Kimbolton (soon after the Earl of Manchester), still took the popular side. The Commons professed to be alarmed for their personal safety. The pulpits were called in aid, and resounded with the dangers which threatened religion, from the desperate attempts of papists and malignants. Multitudes flocked toward Westminster, insulted the prelates and such of the lords as adhered to the crown, and threw out insolent menaces against Charles himself. Several reduced officers and young gentlemen of the inns of court, during this time of disorder and danger, offered their service to the king. Between them and the populace there passed frequent skirmishes, which ended not without bloodshed. By way of reproach, these gentlemen gave the rabble the appellation of Roundheads, on account of the short-cropped hair which they wore; the latter called the others Cavaliers; and thus the nation, which was before sufficiently provided with religious as well as civil causes of quarrel, was also supplied with party names, under which the factions might rally and signalize their mutual hatred.

The bishops, being prevented from attending Parliament by the dangerous insults to which they were particularly exposed, drew up a protestation to the king and House of Lords, in which they protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and invalid, which should pass during the time of their constrained absence. The opportunity was seized with joy and triumph by the Commons. An impeachment of high treason was immediately sent up against the bishops, as endeavoring to subvert the fundamental laws, and to invalidate the authority of the Legislature. They were, on the first demand, sequestered from Parliament and committed to custody.

§ 17. A few days after the king was betrayed into an indiscretion to which all the ensuing disorders and civil wars ought immediately and directly to be ascribed. This was the impeachment of Lord Kimbolton and the five members. On Jan. 3, 1642, Herbert, attorney general, appeared in the House of Peers, and in his majesty's name entered an accusation of high treason against Lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons—Hollis, Sir Arthur Hazlerig, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. Men had not leisure to wonder at the indiscretion of this measure before a sergeant at arms, in the king's name, demanded of the House of Commons the five members, and was sent back without any positive answer. Messengers were employed to search for them and arrest them. Their trunks, chambers, and studies were sealed

and locked. The House voted all these acts of violence to be breaches of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. The king, irritated by all this opposition, came next day in person to the House. He was accompanied by his ordinary retinue, to the number of above 200, armed as usual, some with halberts, some with walking-swords. The king left them at the door, and he himself advanced alone through the hall, while all the members rose to receive him. The speaker withdrew from his chair, and the king took possession of it. He then, in a short speech, demanded the accused members, who, having received private intelligence, had absented themselves, and he asked the speaker, who stood below, whether any of these persons were in the House. The speaker, falling on his knee, prudently replied, "I have, sir, neither eyes to see, nor tongue to speak, in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me, whose servant I am; and I humbly ask pardon that I can not give any other answer to what your majesty is pleased to demand of me." The king then said he observed the birds were flown; but he expected the House should send them to him, as they were guilty of foul treason, and he assured them that they should have a fair trial. The Commons were in the utmost disorder; and, when the king was departing, some members cried aloud, so as he might hear them, "Privilege! privilege!" And the House immediately adjourned till next day. By this act of violence the king alienated many who had begun to think more favorably of him. That evening the accused members, to show the greater apprehension, removed into the city, which was their fortress. The citizens were the whole night in arms.

Next morning Charles, attended only by three or four lords, went to Guildhall, and made a speech to the common council containing many gracious expressions; but he departed without receiving the applause which he expected. In passing through the streets he heard the cry, "Privilege of Parliament! privilege of Parliament!" resounding from all quarters. One of the populace, more insolent than the rest, drew nigh to his coach, and threw in a paper on which was written, "To your tents, O Israel!" the words employed by the mutinous Israelites when they abandoned Rehoboam, their rash and ill-counseled sovereign.

When the House of Commons met they affected the greatest dismay; and, adjourning themselves for some days, ordered a committee to sit in Merchant Tailors' Hall in the city. The committee made an exact inquiry into all circumstances attending the king's entry into the House; and an intention of offering violence to the Parliament, and of murdering all who should make resistance, was inferred.

The House again met, and, after confirming the votes of their committee, instantly adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent perils from the violence of their enemies. On the appointed day the accused members were conducted by water to the House. The river was covered with boats and other vessels laden with small pieces of ordnance, and prepared for fight; and on landing, the members were received by 4000 horsemen, who had come up from Buckinghamshire to testify their devotion to Hampden. When the populace, by land and by water, passed Whitehall, they asked, with insulting shouts, "What has become of the king and his Cavaliers? and whither are they fled?" For the king, apprehensive of danger from the enraged multitude, had retired to Hampton Court, deserted by all the world, and overwhelmed with grief, shame, and remorse for the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. His distressed situation he could no longer ascribe to the rigors of destiny or the malignity of enemies; his own precipitancy and indiscretion must bear the blame of whatever disasters should henceforth befall him.

By the flight, or terror, or despondency of the king's party, an undisputed majority remained every where to their opponents; and the bill against the votes of the bishops in Parliament, which had hitherto stopped with the Peers, now passed, and was presented for the royal assent. The king had attempted to procced in his purpose of prosecuting the five members, but found himself obliged first to abandon it, then to pardon the members, and finally to offer the House any reparation for the breach of privilege which he had committed. Petitions of the most threatening and seditious kind were presented to the Commons, among which were some signed by many thousands, from the apprentices, from the porters, and from decayed tradesmen. The very women were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the House, in which they expressed their terror of the papists and prelates, and the dread of like massacres, rapes, and outrages with those which had been committed upon their sex in Ireland. The king's authority was reduced to the lowest ebb. The queen too, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, and finding no resource in her husband's protection, was preparing to retire into Holland.

The Commons were now sensible that the sword alone could guard their acquired power. A large magazine of arms being placed in the town of Hull, they dispatched thither Sir John Hotham, a gentleman of considerable fortune in the neighborhood, and of an ancient family, and they gave him the authority of governor. They sent orders to Goring, Governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the Par-

liament. They never ceased soliciting the king till he had bestowed the command of the Tower on Sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could repose confidence; and after making a fruitless attempt, in which the Peers refused their concurrence, to give public warning that the people should put themselves in a posture of defense against the enterprises of *papists and other ill-affected persons*, they now resolved to seize at once the whole power of the sword, and to confer it entirely on their own creatures and adherents by means of the militia. A bill was introduced and passed the two houses which restored to lieutenants of counties and their deputies the same powers of which the votes of the Commons had bereaved them at the beginning of this Parliament; but, at the same time, the names of all the lieutenants were inserted in the bill, and these consisted entirely of men in whom the Parliament could confide; and for their conduct they were accountable, by the express terms of the bill, not to the king, but to the Parliament.

When this demand was made, Charles was at Dover, attending the queen and the Princess of Orange in their embarkation. He at first attempted to postpone and evade the bill; but the Commons pressed it upon him, and asserted that, unless he speedily complied with their demands, they should be constrained, for the safety of prince and people, to dispose of the militia by the authority of both houses, and were resolved to do it accordingly; and while they thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence at London. Charles replied by a remonstrance; and, lest violence should be used to extort his consent to the militia-bill, he removed by slow journeys to York, taking with him the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York.

§ 18. The king here found marks of attachment beyond what he had before expected. From all quarters of England the prime nobility and gentry, either personally or by messages and letters, expressed their duty toward him, and exhorted him to save himself and them from that ignominious slavery with which they were threatened. Charles, finding himself supported by a considerable party in the kingdom, began to speak in a firmer tone, and persisted in refusing the bill; while the Commons proceeded to frame an ordinance, in which, by the authority of the two houses, without the king's consent, they named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force, of all the guards, garrisons, and forts of the kingdom. Charles issued proclamations against this manifest usurpation; and the Commons, inventing a distinction, hitherto unheard of, between the office and the person of the king, proceeded to levy, in his name and by his authority, those very forces which they employed against him.

Charles entertained hopes that, if he presented himself at Hull before the commencement of hostilities, Hotham, overawed by his presence, would admit him with his retinue, after which he might easily render himself master of the place; but the governor was on his guard. He shut the gates and refused to receive the king, who desired leave to enter with 20 persons only.

The county of York levied a guard for the king of 600 men, which the two houses immediately voted a breach of the trust reposed in him by the people, contrary to his oath, and tending to a dissolution of the government. The armies, which had been every where raised on pretense of the service in Ireland, were henceforth more openly enlisted by the Parliament for their own purposes, and the command of them was given to the Earl of Essex. In London no less than 4000 men enlisted in one day. Within ten days vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers. Such zeal animated the partisans of the Parliament, especially in the city! The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the *good cause* against the malignants. On the other hand, the queen, by disposing of the crown jewels in Holland, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition. Part of these reached the king.

The Parliament now sent the conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement. They required that no man should remain in the council who was not agreeable to Parliament; that no deed of the king's should have validity unless it passed the council, and was attested under their hand; that all the officers of state and principal judges should be chosen with consent of Parliament, and enjoy their offices for life; that none of the royal family should marry without consent of Parliament or council; that the laws should be executed against Catholics; that the votes of popish lords should be excluded; that the reformation of the Liturgy and church government should have place according to advice of Parliament; that the ordinance with regard to the militia be submitted to; that the justice of Parliament pass upon all delinquents; that a general pardon be granted, with such exceptions as should be advised by Parliament; that the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of Parliament; and that no peer be made but with consent of both houses. War on any terms was esteemed by the king and all his counselors preferable to so ignominious a peace. Collecting, therefore, some forces, Charles advanced southward; and at Nottingham he erected his royal standard, the open signal for discord and civil war throughout the kingdom (Aug. 22, 1642).

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

PETITION OF RIGHT.

3 CAR. I., c. 1.

The petition exhibited to his majesty by the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers rights and liberties of the subjects, with the king's majesty's royal answer thereunto in full Parliament.

To the king's most excellent majesty:

Humbly show unto our sovereign lord the king, the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in Parliament assembled, that whereas it is declared and enacted by a statute made in the time of the reign of King Edward I., commonly called *Statutum de tallagio non concedendo*, that no tallage or aid shall be laid or levied by the king or his heirs in this realm without the good-will and assent of the archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, knights, burgesses, and other the freemen of the commonalty of this realm; and by authority of Parliament holden in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III., it is declared and enacted that from thenceforth no person should be compelled to make any loans to the king against his will, because such loans were against reason and the franchise of the land; and by other laws of this realm it is provided that none should be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, nor by such like charge; by which statutes before mentioned, and other the good laws and statutes of this realm, your subjects have inherited this freedom, that they should not be compelled to contribute to any tax, tallage, aid, or other like charge not set by common consent in Parliament.

II. Yet nevertheless of late divers commissions directed to sundry commissioners in several counties, with instructions, have issued, by means whereof your people have been in divers places assembled, and required to lend certain sums of money unto your majesty, and many of them, upon their refusal so to do, have had an oath administered unto them not warrantable by the laws or statutes of this realm, and have been constrained to become bound to make appearance and give utterance before your privy council and in other places, and others of them have been therefore imprisoned, confined, and sundry other ways molested and disquieted; and divers other charges have been laid and levied upon your people in several counties by lord lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, commissioners for musters, justices of peace, and others, by command or direction from your majesty, or your privy council, against the laws and free customs of the realm.

III. And whereas also by the statute called "The Great Charter of the Liberties of England," it is declared and enacted that no freeman may be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold or liberties, or his free customs, or be outlawed or exiled, or in any manner destroyed, but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.

IV. And in the eight-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III. it was declared and enacted by authority of Parliament that no man, of what estate or condition that he be, should be put out of his land or tenements, nor taken, nor imprisoned, nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by due process of law.

V. Nevertheless, against the tenor of the said statutes, and other the good laws and statutes of your realm to that end provided, divers of your subjects have of late been imprisoned without any cause showed; and when for their deliverance they were brought before your justices by your majesty's writs of *habeas corpus*, there to undergo and receive as the court should order, and their keepers commanded to certify the causes of their detainer, no cause was certified, but that they were detained by your majesty's special command, signified by the lords of your privy council, and yet were returned back to several prisons, without being charged with any thing to which they might make answer according to the law.

VI. And whereas of late great companies of soldiers and mariners have been dispersed into divers counties of the realm, and the inhabitants against their wills have been compelled to receive them into their houses, and there to suffer them to sojourn, against the laws and customs of this realm, and to the great grievance and vexation of the people.

VII. And whereas also by authority of Parliament, in the five-and-twentieth year of the reign of King Edward III., it is declared and enacted that no man should be forejudged of life or limb against the form of the Great Charter and the law of the land; and by the said Great Charter, and other the laws and statutes of this your realm, no man ought to be adjudged to death but by the laws established in this your realm, either by the customs of the same realm, or by acts of Parliament; and whereas no offender of what kind soever is exempted from the proceedings to be used, and punishments to be inflicted by the laws and statutes of this your realm; nevertheless, of late time divers commissions under your majesty's great seal have issued forth, by which certain persons have been assigned and appointed commissioners with power and authority to proceed within the land, according to the justice of martial law, against such soldiers or mariners, or other dissolute persons joining with them, as should commit any murder, robbery, felony, mutiny, or other outrage or misdemeanor whatsoever, and by such summary course and order as is agreeable to martial law, and as is used in armies in time of war, to proceed to the trial and condemnation of such offenders, and them to cause to be executed and put to death according to the law martial.

VIII. By pretext whereof some of your

majesty's subjects have been by some of the said commissioners put to death, when and where, if by the laws and statutes of the land they had deserved death, by the same laws and statutes also they might, and by no other ought to have been judged and executed:

IX. And also sundry grievous offenders, by color thereof claiming an exemption, have escaped the punishments due to them by the laws and statutes of this your realm, by reason that divers of your officers and ministers of justice have unjustly refused or forborne to proceed against such offenders according to the same laws and statutes, upon pretense that the said offenders were punishable only by martial law, and by authority of such commissions as aforesaid; which commissions, and all other of like nature, are wholly and directly contrary to the said laws and statutes of this your realm.

X. They do therefore humbly pray your most excellent majesty that no man hereafter be compelled to make or yield any gift, loan, benevolence, tax, or such like charge, without common consent by act of Parliament; and that none be called to make answer, or to take such oath, or to give attendance, or be confined, or otherwise molested or disquieted concerning the same, or for refusal thereof; and that no freeman, in any such manner as is before mentioned, be imprisoned or detained; and that your majesty would be pleased to remove the said soldiers and mariners, and that your people may not be so burdened in time to come; and that the aforesaid commissions for proceeding by martial law may be revoked and annulled; and that hereafter no commissions of like nature may issue forth to any person or persons whatsoever to be executed as aforesaid, lest by color of them any of your majesty's subjects be destroyed or put to death contrary to the laws and franchise of the land.

XI. All which they most humbly pray of your most excellent majesty as their rights and liberties, according to the laws and statutes of this realm; and that your majesty would also vouchsafe to declare that the awards, doings, and proceedings, to the prejudice of your people in any of the premises, shall not be drawn hereafter into consequence or example; and that your majesty would be also graciously pleased, for the farther comfort and safety of your people, to declare your royal will and pleasure that in the things aforesaid all your officers and ministers shall serve you according to the laws and statutes of this realm, as they tender the honor of your majesty and the prosperity of this kingdom.

Quâ quidem petitione lectâ et plenius intellectâ per dictum dominum regem taliter est responsum in pleno parliamento, viz. Soit droit fait comme est desiré.



"Oxford Crown" of Charles I.

Obv.: CAROLVS . D : G : MAG : BRIT : FRAN : ET . HIBER . REX. The king mounted, to left. Beneath his horse a view of Oxford, with the name OXON and the letter R, the initial of the name of the artist, Rawlins. Rev.: EXVRGAT DEVS DISSIPENTVR INIMICI. Across the field RELIG . PROT . LEG ANG . LIBER . PARL : above, V, for the value and below, 1644 OXON.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHARLES I. CONTINUED. FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF THE KING. A.D. 1642–1649.

§ 1. Commencement of the Civil War. State of the Kingdom. § 2. Battle of Edge Hill. Negotiation at Oxford. § 3. Campaign of 1643. Death of Hampden. Siege of Gloucester. Waller's Plot. Battle of Newbury. Actions in the North. § 4. Proceedings in Scotland. The solemn League and Covenant. Troops sent from Ireland. § 5. Parliaments at Westminster and Oxford. Campaign of 1644. Battle of Marston Moor. Second Battle of Newbury. § 6. Independents and Presbyterians. Cromwell accuses the Earl of Manchester. The self-denying Ordinance. § 7. Execution of Laud. § 8. Campaign of 1645. Montrose's Victories. The "New Model." Battle of Naseby. Surrender of Bristol and other Places. § 9. Negotiations with the Parliament. Glamorgan's Commission in Ireland. The King flies to the Scottish Camp. He is delivered up by the Scots. § 10. Mutiny of the Army. The King seized by Joyce. § 11. The Army subdue the Parliament. The King flies to the Isle of Wight. § 12. Cromwell restores the Discipline of the Army. Deliberations respecting the King. § 13. Displeasure of the Scots. Commotions in England. Treaty of Newport. Civil Wars. § 14. Pride's "Purge." Trial of the King. § 15. Execution and Character of the King.

§ 1. WHEN two names so sacred in the English Constitution as those of KING and PARLIAMENT were placed in opposition, no wonder the people were divided in their choice, and were agitated with the most violent animosities and factions. The nobility and more considerable gentry, dreading a total confusion of rank from the fury of the populace, enlisted themselves in defense of the monarch, from whom they received, and to whom they communicated,

their lustre. The city of London, on the other hand, and most of the great corporations, took part with the Parliament, and adopted with zeal those democratic principles on which the pretensions of that assembly were founded. The devotees of Presbytery became, of course, zealous partisans of the Parliament; the friends of the Episcopal Church valued themselves on defending the rights of monarchy; but, though the concurrence of the Church undoubtedly increased the king's adherents, it may safely be affirmed that the high monarchical doctrines, so much inculcated by the clergy, had never done him any real service. The bulk of that generous train of nobility and gentry who now attended the king in his distresses breathed the spirit of liberty as well as of loyalty; and in the hopes alone of his submitting to a legal and limited government were they willing, in his defense, to sacrifice their lives and fortunes; and all those who aspired to nothing but an easy enjoyment of life, amid the jovial entertainment and social intercourse with their companions, flocked to the king's standard, where they breathed a freer air, and were exempted from that rigid preciseness and melancholy austerity which reigned among the Parliamentary party. On the whole, however, the torrent of general affection ran to the Parliament. The neighboring states of Europe, being engaged in violent wars, little interested themselves in these civil commotions; and this island enjoyed the singular advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out its own quarrels without the interposition of foreigners. The king's condition, when he appeared at Nottingham, was not very encouraging to his party. His artillery, though far from numerous, had been left at York for want of horses to transport it. Besides the trained bands of the county, raised by Sir John Digby, the sheriff, he had not got together above 300 infantry. His cavalry, in which consisted his chief strength, exceeded not 800, and were very ill provided with arms. The forces of the Parliament lay at Northampton, within a few days' march of him, and consisted of above 6000 men, well armed and well appointed. Had these troops advanced upon him, they must soon have dissipated the small force which he had assembled, and perhaps forever prevented his collecting an army; but the Earl of Essex, the Parliamentary general, had not yet received any orders from his masters. In this situation, by the unanimous desire of Charles's counselors, the Earl of Southampton, with Sir John Colepeper and Sir William Uvedale, was dispatched to London with offers of a treaty. Both houses replied that they could admit of no treaty with the king till he took down his standard and recalled his proclamations, in which the Parliament supposed themselves to be declared traitors. A second attempt at negotiation had no better success.

The courage of the Parliament was increased both by their great superiority of force and by two recent events which had happened in their favor. They had obtained possession of Portsmouth, the best fortified town in the kingdom, through the negligence of Goring, the governor (Sept. 20); and the Marquis of Hertford, a nobleman of the greatest quality and character in the kingdom, who had drawn together some appearance of an army in Somersetshire, had been obliged to retire into Wales on the approach of the Earl of Bedford with the Parliamentary forces. All the dispersed bodies of the Parliamentary army were now ordered to march to Northampton; and the Earl of Essex, who had joined them, found the whole amount to 15,000 men. The king, sensible that he had no army that could cope with so formidable a force, thought it prudent to retire to Derby, and thence to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, a day's march from Shrewsbury, he made a solemn declaration before his army, in which he promised to maintain the Protestant religion, to observe the laws, and to uphold the just privileges and freedom of Parliament. On the appearance of commotions in England, the Princes Rupert and Maurice, sons of the unfortunate palatine, had offered their service to the king; and the former at that time commanded a body of horse which had been sent to Worcester to watch the motions of Essex. Here Prince Rupert began the civil wars by routing a body of cavalry near that city. The rencounter, though in itself of small importance, mightily raised the reputation of the Royalists, and acquired for Prince Rupert the character of promptitude and courage, qualities which he eminently displayed during the whole course of the war.

The king, on mustering his army, found it amount to 10,000 men. The Earl of Lindsay, who in his youth had sought experience of military service in the Low Countries, was general; Prince Rupert commanded the horse, Sir Jacob Astley the foot, Sir Arthur Aston the dragoons, Sir John Heydon the artillery.

§ 2. With this army the king left Shrewsbury, and directed his march toward the capital, with the intention of bringing on an action. He fell in with the Parliamentary forces at Edge Hill, near Kineton, in the county of Warwick (Oct. 23, 1642). Though the day was far advanced, the king resolved upon the attack. After a desperate struggle, in which great mistakes were committed on both sides, the battle ended without either party obtaining any decisive advantage. All night the two armies lay under arms, and next morning found themselves in sight of each other. General, as well as soldier, on both sides, seemed averse to renew the battle. Essex first drew off, and retired to Warwick. The king returned to his former quarters. About 1200 men are said to

have fallen; and the loss of the two armies, as far as we can judge by the opposite accounts, was nearly equal. Lindsay, the general, was mortally wounded and taken prisoner.

The king, except the taking of Banbury a few days after, had few marks of victory to boast of. He continued his march, and took possession of Oxford, the only town in his dominions which was altogether at his devotion. Hence he proceeded to Reading, of which Martin was appointed governor by the Parliament. Both governor and garrison were seized with panic, and fled with precipitation to London. The Parliament, alarmed at the near approach of the royal army, while their own forces lay at a distance, voted an address for a treaty, and the king named Windsor as the place of conference. Meanwhile Essex, advancing by hasty marches, had arrived at London; but neither the presence of his army, nor the precarious hope of a treaty, retarded the king's approaches. Charles attacked at Brentford three regiments quartered there, and after a sharp action beat them from that village, and took about 500 prisoners (Nov. 12). The city trained-bands joined the army under Essex, which now amounted to above 24,000 men, and was much superior to that of the king. After both armies had faced each other for some time, Charles drew off and retired to Reading, and thence to Oxford.

During the winter negotiations for a treaty were continued at Oxford. The king insisted on the re-establishment of the crown in its legal powers, and on the restoration of his constitutional prerogative. The Parliament required, besides other concessions, that the king should abolish episcopacy, and acquiesce in their settlement of the militia. But the conferences went no farther than the first demand on each side. The Parliament, finding that there was no likelihood of coming to any agreement, suddenly recalled their commissioners.

§ 3. The campaign of 1643 was opened by the taking of Reading by the Earl of Essex (April 27). In the north, where Lord Fairfax commanded for the Parliament, and the Earl of Newcastle for the king, the latter nobleman united in a league for Charles the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and the bishopric, took possession of York, and established the king's authority in all the northern provinces. In the south and west, Sir William Waller, who now began to distinguish himself among the generals of the Parliament, took Winchester, Chichester, Hereford, and Tewkesbury; but, on the other hand, all Cornwall was reduced by Sir Ralph Hopton to peace and to obedience under the king.

Essex, finding that his army fell continually to decay after the siege of Reading, was resolved to remain upon the defensive; and

the weakness of the king, and his want of all military stores, had also restrained the activity of the royal army. No action had happened in that part of England, except one skirmish at Chalgrave Field in Bedfordshire, which of itself was of no great consequence, and was rendered memorable only by the death of the famous Hampden. He was seen riding off the field before the action was finished, his head hanging down, and his hands leaning upon his horse's neck. He was shot in the shoulder with a brace of bullets, and the bone broken; and some days after he died, in exquisite pain, of his wound (June 24); nor could his whole party, had their army met with a total overthrow, have been struck with greater consternation. The king himself so highly valued him, that, either from generosity or policy, he intended to have sent him his own surgeon to assist at his cure.

The west now became the principal scene of action. The king sent thither the Marquis of Hertford and Prince Maurice with a re-enforcement of cavalry, who, having joined the Cornish army, soon overran the county of Devon, and, advancing into that of Somerset, began to reduce it to obedience. On the other hand, the Parliament having supplied Sir William Waller with a complete army, dispatched him westward After some skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought at Lansdown, near Bath (July 5), with great loss on both sides, but without any decisive event; and shortly after another near Devizes (July 13), in which Waller was completely defeated, and forced to retire to Bristol. This city surrendered to Prince Rupert a few days afterward (July 27); and Charles having now joined the army in the west, Gloucester was invested on the 10th of August.

The rapid progress of the Royalists threatened the Parliament with immediate subjection; the factions and discontents among themselves, in the city, and throughout the neighboring counties, prognosticated some dangerous division or insurrection. In the beginning of this summer a conspiracy had been discovered to oblige the Parliament to accept of reasonable conditions, and restore peace to the nation. Edmund Waller, the celebrated poet, and a member of the House of Commons, was at the head of it, with Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and Chaloner, his friend. Being seized, and tried by a court-martial, they were all three condemned, and the two latter executed on gibbets erected before their own doors. Waller saved his life only by his abject and almost frantic submission, but was fined £10,000.

The news of the siege of Gloucester renewed the cry for peace, and the Parliament seemed disposed to consent to more moderate terms; but the zealous Puritans redoubled their efforts, and the Parliament was persuaded to make preparations for the relief of

this city. Essex, carrying with him a well-appointed army of 14,000 men, took the road of Bedford and Leicester, and on his approach to Gloucester the king was obliged to raise the siege; but, being deficient in cavalry, Essex would willingly have avoided an engagement, and therefore proceeded toward London; but when he reached Newbury, in Berkshire, he was surprised to find that the king, by hasty marches, had arrived before him. An action was now unavoidable, and was fought on both sides with desperate valor and a steady bravery (Sept. 20). The militia of London especially, though utterly unacquainted with action, equaled on this occasion what could be expected from the most veteran forces. While the armies were engaged with the utmost ardor, night put an end to the action, and left the victory undecided. Next morning Essex proceeded on his march, and reached London in safety. In the battle of Newbury fell, among others on the king's side, Lord Falkland, secretary of state. Falkland had at first stood foremost in all attacks on the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed that masculine eloquence and undaunted love of liberty which, from his intimate acquaintance with the sublime spirits of antiquity, he had greedily imbibed; but when civil convulsions proceeded to extremities, and it became requisite for him to choose his side, he embraced the defense of those limited powers which remained to monarchy, and which he deemed necessary for the support of the English Constitution. From the commencement of the war his natural cheerfulness and vivacity became clouded; and among his intimate friends, often, after a deep silence and frequent sighs, he would with a sad accent reiterate the word "Peace." On the morning of the battle he had observed, "I am weary of the times, and foresee much misery to my country, but believe that I shall be out of it ere night." The loss sustained on both sides in the battle of Newbury, and the advanced season, obliged the armies to retire into winter quarters.

In the north, during the summer, appeared two men on whom the event of the war finally depended, and who began about this time to be remarked for their valor and military conduct. These were Sir Thomas Fairfax, son of the lord of that name, and Oliver Cromwell, son of a gentleman of Huntingdon. The former gained a considerable advantage at Wakefield over a detachment of Royalists; the latter obtained a victory at Gainsborough over a party commanded by the gallant Cavendish, who perished in the action; but both these defeats of the Royalists were more than sufficiently compensated by the total rout of Lord Fairfax at Atherton Moor, near Bradford, and the dispersion of his army. After this victory the Marquis of Newcastle, with an army of

15,000 men, sat down before Hull, but was ultimately obliged to abandon the siege. Hotham was no longer governor of this place. That gentleman and his son, being detected in a conspiracy to deliver it to Newcastle, were arrested and sent prisoners to London, where, without any regard to their former services, they were executed.

§ 4. While the military enterprises were carried on with vigor in England, and the event became every day more doubtful, both parties cast their eye toward the neighboring kingdoms. The Parliament had recourse to Scotland, the king to Ireland. The Scots beheld with the utmost impatience a scene of action of which they could not deem themselves indifferent spectators. The struggle in England was the topic of every conversation among them; and the famous curse of Meroz, that curse so solemnly denounced and reiterated against neutrality and moderation resounded from all quarters. Charles having refused to assemble a Scottish Parliament, the conservators of the peace, an office newly erected in Scotland, resolved to summon, in the king's name, but by their own authority, a convention of states, an assembly which, though it meets with less solemnity, has the same authority as a Parliament in raising money and levying forces. The English Parliament, which was at that time fallen into great distress by the progress of the royal arms, gladly sent to Edinburgh commissioners with ample powers to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation. In this negotiation the man chiefly trusted was Vane, who, in eloquence, address, capacity, as well as in art and dissimulation, was not surpassed by any one, even during that age so famous for active talents. By his persuasion was framed at Edinburgh that SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT which effaced all former protestations and vows taken in both kingdoms, and long maintained its credit and authority. In this covenant the subscribers, besides engaging mutually to defend one another against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavor, without respect of persons, the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of Parliaments, together with the king's authority; and to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants. The English Parliament, having first subscribed it themselves, ordered it to be received by all who lived under their authority (Sept. 25); and the Scots, having received £100,000 from England, and having added to their other forces the troops which they had recalled from Ireland, were ready about the end of the year to enter England, under the command of their old general the Earl of Leven, with an army of above 20,000 men.

The king, foreseeing this tempest which was gathering upon

him, cast his eye toward Ireland. The army in that country, by re-enforcements from England and Scotland, now amounted to 50,000 men. The justices and council of Ireland had been engaged, chiefly by the interest and authority of Ormond, the commander-in-chief, to support the king's cause; and a committee of the English House of Commons, which had been sent over to Ireland in order to conduct the affairs of that kingdom, had been excluded the council. Ormond now sent over to England considerable bodies of troops, most of which continued in the king's service; but a small part, having imbibed in Ireland a strong animosity against the Catholics, and hearing the king's party universally reproached with popery, soon after deserted to the Parliament.

§ 5. The king, that he might make preparations during winter for the ensuing campaign, summoned to Oxford all the members of either House who adhered to his interests; and endeavored to avail himself of the name of Parliament, so passionately cherished by the English nation. The House of Peers was pretty full, and contained more members than that which sat at Westminster. The House of Commons amounted not to above half of the other House of Commons. The Parliament at Westminster having voted an *excise* on beer, wine, and other commodities, those at Oxford imitated the example, and conferred that revenue on the king. This impost had been hitherto unknown in England. This winter the famous Pym died, a man as much hated by one party as respected by the other. He had been so little studious of improving his private fortune in those civil wars of which he had been one principal author, that the Parliament thought themselves obliged, from gratitude, to pay the debts which he had contracted. The military operations were carried on with vigor in several places, notwithstanding the severity of the season. The forces brought from Ireland were landed at Mostyn, in North Wales, and reduced Cheshire; but Fairfax, by an unexpected attack, defeated and captured a great part of them at Nantwich (Jan. 25, 1644), and the Parliamentary party revived in those northwest counties of England. The invasion from Scotland was attended with consequences of much greater importance. The Marquis of Newcastle at first succeeded in keeping the Scots at bay; but Sir Thomas Fairfax, returning from Cheshire with his victorious forces, routed Colonel Bellasis and a considerable body of troops at Selby, in Yorkshire. Afraid of being inclosed between two armies, the Marquis of Newcastle, the commander of the royal forces in the north, retreated; and Leven having joined Lord Fairfax, they sat down before York, to which the army of the Royalists had retired. On the whole, the winter campaign had

been unfavorable to the king in all quarters. On the approach of summer, the Earl of Manchester, having taken Lincoln, united his army to that of Leven and Fairfax; and York was now closely besieged by their combined forces. That town, though vigorously defended by Newcastle, was reduced to extremity, when on a sudden Prince Rupert advanced to its relief with an army of 20,000 men. The Scottish and Parliamentary generals raised the siege, and, drawing up on Marston Moor, purposed to give battle to the Royalists. Prince Rupert approached the town by another quarter, and, interposing the River Ouse between him and the enemy, safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle. The marquis endeavored to persuade him not to hazard an engagement; but the prince, having positive orders from the king, immediately issued orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston Moor (July 2). Prince Rupert, who commanded the right wing of the Royalists, was opposed to Cromwell, who conducted the choice troops of the Parliament, inured to danger, animated by zeal, and confirmed by the most rigid discipline. After a sharp combat the cavalry of the Royalists gave way, and such of the infantry as stood next them were likewise borne down and put to flight. Newcastle's regiment alone, resolute to conquer or to perish, obstinately kept their ground, and maintained, by their dead bodies, the same order in which they had at first been ranged. Lucas, who commanded the Royalists on the other wing, made a furious attack on the Parliamentary cavalry, threw them into disorder, pushed them upon their own infantry, and put that whole wing to rout. When ready to seize on their carriages and baggage, he perceived Cromwell, who was now returned from pursuit of the other wing. Both sides were not a little surprised to find that they must again renew the combat for that victory which each of them thought they had already obtained. The front of the battle was now exactly counterchanged, and each army occupied the ground which had been possessed by the enemy at the beginning of the day. This second battle was equally furious and desperate with the first; but, after the utmost efforts of courage by both parties, victory wholly turned to the side of the Parliament. The prince's train of artillery was taken, and his whole army driven off the field of battle.

This event was in itself a mighty blow to the king, but proved more fatal in its consequences. The Marquis of Newcastle, either disgusted with the rejection of his advice, or despairing of the king's cause, went to Scarborough, where he found a vessel which carried him beyond sea. During the ensuing years, till the Restoration, he lived abroad in great necessity, and saw with indifference his opulent fortune sequestered by those who assumed the

government of England. Prince Rupert, with equal precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired into Lancashire. York surrendered a few days afterward; and Fairfax, remaining in the city, established his government in that whole county. The town of Newcastle was taken by the Scottish army on October 29.

While these events passed in the north, the king's affairs in the south were conducted with more success and greater abilities. Ruthven, a Scotchman who had been created Earl of Brentford, acted under the king as general. Waller was routed by the Royalists at Cropredy Bridge, near Daventry (June 29), and pursued with considerable loss. Stunned and disheartened with this blow, his army decayed and melted away by desertion; and the king thought he might safely leave it, and march westward against Essex. That general, having retreated into Cornwall, and being surrounded on all sides by the Royalists, escaped in a boat to Plymouth. Balfour, with his horse, passed the king's outposts in a thick mist, and got safely to the garrisons of his own party; but the foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, baggage, and ammunition. The Parliament, however, soon collected another army, which they placed under the command of the Earl of Manchester, who gained a victory, though not of a very decisive kind, over Charles at Newbury (Oct. 27), and compelled him to retire to Oxford.

§ 6. During these operations contests had arisen among the Parliamentary generals, which were renewed in London during the winter season. There had long prevailed in the Parliamentary party a secret distinction, which now began to discover itself with high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first taken shelter and concealed themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now evidently appeared a distinct party, and betrayed very different views and pretensions. The Independents rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, no interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns, no fixed encouragement annexed to any system of doctrines or opinions. According to their principles, each congregation, united voluntarily and by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church, and exercised a jurisdiction, but one destitute of temporal sanctions, over its own pastor and its own members. Of all Christian sects, this was the first which, during its prosperity as well as its adversity, always adopted the principle of toleration. Popery and prelacy alone, whose genius seemed to tend toward superstition, were treated by the Independents with rigor. The political system of the Independents kept pace with their religious.

They aspired to a total abolition of the monarchy, and even of the aristocracy, and projected an entire equality of rank and order in a republic quite free and independent. In consequence of this scheme, they were declared enemies to all proposals for peace, except on such terms as they knew it was impossible to obtain; and they adhered to that maxim, which is in the main prudent and political, that whoever draws the sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. Sir Harry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, the solicitor general, were regarded as the leaders of the Independents. In the Parliament a considerable majority, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the Presbyterian party; and it was only by cunning and deceit at first, and afterward by military violence, that the Independents could entertain any hopes of success.

Cromwell, in the public debates, accused the Earl of Manchester of having willfully neglected at Dennington Castle, after Charles's retreat from Newbury, a favorable opportunity of finishing the war by refusing him permission to charge the king's army in their retreat. Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the Parliament that at another time, Cromwell having proposed some scheme to which it seemed improbable that Parliament would agree, he insisted and said, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law to both king and Parliament." So full, indeed, was Cromwell of these republican projects, that, notwithstanding his habits of profound dissimulation, he could not so carefully guard his expressions but that sometimes his favorite notions would escape him. Cromwell was persuaded that the only mode of carrying them out was by remodeling the army, but how to effect this project was the difficulty. The authority as well as merits of Essex were very great with the Parliament. Manchester, Warwick, and the other commanders had likewise great credit with the public; nor were there any hopes of prevailing over them but by laying the plan of an oblique and artificial attack, which would conceal the real purpose of their antagonists. Accordingly, at the instance of Cromwell, a committee was chosen to frame what was called the "Self-denying Ordinance," by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments, except a few offices which were specified. After great debate it passed the House of Commons; the Peers, though the scheme was in part leveled against their order, and though they even ventured once to reject it, durst not persevere in their opposition. The ordinance, therefore, having passed both houses (April 3, 1645), Essex, Warwick, Manchester, Denbigh, Waller, Brereton, and many others, resigned their commands, and received the

thanks of Parliament for their good services. A pension of £10,000 a year was settled on Essex.

It was agreed to recruit the army to 22,000 men, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general. It is remarkable that his commission did not run, like that of Essex, in the name of the king and Parliament, but in that of the Parliament alone; and the article concerning the safety of the king's person was omitted. Cromwell, being a member of the lower House, should have been discarded with the others; but he was saved by that political craft in which he was so eminent. At the time when the other officers resigned their commissions, care was taken that he should be sent into the west with a body of horse; and shortly afterward, at the earnest entreaty of Fairfax, who represented his services as indispensable, his commission was renewed for a short period, and ultimately for the whole campaign. Thus the Independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the Presbyterians, and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance, upon Fairfax—in reality upon Cromwell.



Obverse of medal of Sir Thomas Fairfax. GENER . THO : FAIRFAX . MILES . MILIT : PARLI : DVX. Bust to left.

Nevertheless, a conference between the king and the Parliament was opened at Uxbridge, June 30, 1645. The subjects of debate were the three important articles, *religion*, the *militia*, and *Ireland*; but it was soon found impracticable to come to any agreement with regard to any of them. In the summer of 1643, an assembly at Westminster, consisting of 121 divines and 30 laymen, had altered the Thirty-nine Articles, and instead of the Liturgy had established a new directory for worship, by which, suitably to the spirit of the Puritans, the utmost liberty, both in praying and preaching, was indulged to the public teachers. By the Solemn League and Covenant episcopacy was abjured as destructive of all true piety, and the king's commissioners were not therefore surprised to find the establishment of Presbytery and the directory positively demanded, together with the subscription of the Covenant both by the king and kingdom; but Charles, though willing

to make some concessions, was not disposed to go such lengths; and, as the Parliament would abate nothing, the negotiations on this head fell to the ground. Still less could parties now in a state of open warfare agree upon a militia-bill, by which the power of the sword must necessarily have been transferred to one of them.

§ 7. A little before the enactment of the Self-denying Ordinance, Archbishop Laud, the most favorite minister of the king, was brought to the scaffold. From the time that Laud had been committed, the House of Commons, engaged in enterprises of great moment, had found no leisure to finish his impeachment; but they now resolved to gratify their vengeance in the punishment of this prelate. He was accused of high treason in endeavoring to subvert the fundamental laws, and of other high crimes and misdemeanors. After a long trial, and the examination of above 150 witnesses, whose evidence, however, the Commons had not heard, they found so little likelihood of obtaining a judicial sentence against him that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away the life of this aged prelate. Notwithstanding the low condition into which the House of Peers was fallen, there appeared some intention of rejecting this ordinance; and the popular leaders were again obliged to apply to the multitude, and to extinguish, by threats of new tumults, the small remains of liberty possessed by the upper House. Seven peers alone voted in this important question; the rest, either from shame or fear, took care to absent themselves. Laud, who had behaved during his trial with the spirit and vigor of genius, sunk not under the horrors of his execution; but, though he had usually professed himself apprehensive of a violent death, he found all his fears to be dissipated before that superior courage by which he was animated. "No one," said he, "can be more willing to send me out of life than I am desirous to go." He quietly laid his head on the block, and it was severed from the body at one blow (Jan. 10, 1645). Sincere he undoubtedly was, and, however misguided, actuated by pious motives in all his pursuits; and it is to be regretted that he had not entertained more enlarged views, and embraced principles more favorable to the general happiness of society.

§ 8. While the king's affairs declined in England, the numerous victories of the Earl of Montrose in Scotland seemed to promise him a more prosperous issue of the quarrel. That young nobleman had entirely devoted himself to the king's service, and with the aid of a few adherents, and a small body of troops brought over from Ireland, achieved on a small scale a series of brilliant victories over the Covenanters in the north of Scotland.

Meanwhile, in England, Fairfax, or, more properly speaking, Cromwell, under his name, introduced at last the *new model* into the army. From the same men new regiments and new companies were formed, different officers appointed, and the whole military force put into such hands as the Independents could rely on. At the same time a new and more exact plan of discipline was introduced. Never surely was a more singular army assembled. To the greater number of the regiments chaplains were not appointed; the officers assumed the spiritual duty, and united it with their military functions. The private soldiers, seized with the same spirit, employed their vacant hours in prayer, in perusing the Holy Scriptures, and in spiritual conferences, where they compared the progress of their souls in grace, and mutually stimulated each other to farther advances in the great work of their salvation. When they were marching to battle the whole field resounded as well with psalms and spiritual songs adapted to the occasion as with the instruments of military music, and every man endeavored to drown the sense of present danger in the prospect of that crown of glory which was set before them. The forces assembled by the king at Oxford, in the west, and in other places, were equal, if not superior, in number to their adversaries, but actuated by a very different spirit. That license which had been introduced by want of pay had risen to a great height among them, and rendered them more formidable to their friends than to their enemies.

The English campaign of 1645 also opened with some advantage to the Royalists. In the west, the Parliamentarians, indeed, under Weldon succeeded in relieving Taunton, but were afterward shut up in that place by Granville. Farther north the king in person gained more distinguished successes. After compelling the army of the Parliament to raise the siege of Chester, he assaulted and took Leicester, a garrison of the Parliament's, on his march back to Oxford. Meanwhile, the last town, exposed by the king's absence, had been invested by Fairfax; but, alarmed at Charles's success, Fairfax abandoned the siege, and marched toward the king with an intention of offering him battle. The king was advancing toward Oxford in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was now begun; and both armies, ere they were aware, had advanced within six miles of each other. The boiling ardor of Prince Rupert persuaded an engagement; and at Naseby, near Market Harborough, in Northamptonshire, was fought, with forces nearly equal, a decisive and well-disputed action between the king and Parliament. The main body of the Royalists was commanded by the king himself, who displayed all the conduct of a prudent general and all the valor of a stout soldier. The battle was

chiefly lost through a mistake of Prince Rupert, who, having routed the enemy's left wing under Ireton, was so inconsiderate as to lose time in summoning and attacking the artillery of the enemy, which had been left with a good guard of infantry. Meanwhile, the Royalists were hard pressed by the valor and conduct of Fairfax and Cromwell; and when Rupert rejoined the king he found the infantry totally discomfited. Charles exhorted this body of cavalry not to despair, and cried aloud to them, "One charge more, and we recover the day." But the disadvantages under which they labored were too evident, and they could by no means be induced to renew the combat. Charles was obliged to quit the field, and leave the victory to the enemy. The Parliament lost 1000 men; Charles not above 800; but Fairfax made 500 officers prisoners, and 4000 private men; took all the king's artillery and ammunition, and totally dissipated his infantry, so that scarcely any victory could be more complete than that which he obtained. Among the other spoils was seized the king's cabinet, with the copies of his letters to the queen, which the Parliament afterward ordered to be published.

After the battle the king retreated with that body of horse which remained entire, first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny, and remained some time in Wales, from the vain hope of raising a body of infantry in those harassed and exhausted quarters. In the beginning of the campaign he had sent the Prince of Wales, then 15 years of age, to the west, with the title of general, and had given orders, if he were pressed by the enemy, that he should make his escape into a foreign country, and save one part of the royal family from the violence of the Parliament. Prince Rupert had thrown himself into Bristol with an intention of defending that important city, while Goring was besieging Taunton. Thither Fairfax directed his march, on whose approach the Royalists raised the siege and retired to Lamport, an open town in the county of Somerset. Fairfax, having beaten them from this post, and taken successively Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, laid siege to Bristol. Much was expected from the reputation of Prince Rupert, but a poorer defense was not made by any town during the whole war. No sooner had the Parliamentary forces entered the lines by storm than the prince capitulated, and surrendered the city to Fairfax (Sept. 10). Charles, who was forming schemes and collecting forces for the relief of Bristol, was astonished at so unexpected an event, which was little less fatal to his cause than the defeat at Naseby. Full of indignation, he instantly recalled all Prince Rupert's commissions, and sent him a pass to go beyond sea.

The king's affairs now went fast to ruin in all quarters. The

Scots, having made themselves masters of Carlisle after an obstinate siege, marched southward and laid siege to Hereford, but were obliged to raise it on the king's approach; and this was the last glimpse of success which attended his arms. Having marched to the relief of Chester, which was anew besieged by the Parliamentary forces, he was defeated, with the loss of 600 slain and 1000 prisoners. The king, with the remains of his broken army, fled to Newark, and thence escaped to Oxford, where he shut himself up during the winter season. Before the expiration of the winter Fairfax reduced all the west, and completely dispersed the king's army in that quarter, while Cromwell brought all the middle counties of England to obedience under the Parliament. The Prince of Wales, in pursuance of the king's orders, retired to Scilly, and thence to Jersey, whence he joined the queen at Paris. News too arrived that Montrose himself, after some more successes, was at last routed at Philip-haugh, near Selkirk, and this only remaining hope of the royal party finally extinguished.

§ 9. The condition of the king during this whole winter was to the last degree disastrous and melancholy. The Parliament deigned not to make the least reply to several of his messages, in which he desired a passport for commissioners to treat of peace. At last, after reproaching him with the blood spilled during the war, they told him that they were preparing bills for him, and his passing them would be the best pledge of his inclination toward peace; in other words, he must yield at discretion. He desired a personal treaty, and offered to come to London upon receiving a safe-conduct for himself and his attendants; they absolutely refused him admittance, and issued orders for the guarding—that is, the seizing of his person in case he should attempt to visit them. A new incident which happened in Ireland served to inflame the minds of men. The king being desirous of concluding a final peace with the Irish rebels, and obtaining their assistance in England, accordingly authorized Ormond, the lord lieutenant, to promise them an abrogation of all the penal laws enacted against Catholics; but, as the Irish might probably demand farther concessions than could be openly granted them, the king privately gave to the Earl of Glamorgan a commission to levy men and to coin money, and employ the revenues of the crown for their support, and engaged to ratify any treaty he might make, even if contrary to law. But the commission was purposely drawn up and sealed in an informal manner, in order that the king might have a pretense to disclaim it if necessary, which indeed took place. Glamorgan concluded a peace with the rebels, and agreed, in the king's name, that they should enjoy all the churches of which they had ever been in possession since the commencement of their

insurrection on condition that they should assist the king in England with a body of 10,000 men. The articles of the treaty were found among the baggage of the titular Archbishop of Tuam, who was killed by a sally of the garrison of Sligo, and were immediately published every where, and copies of them sent over to the English Parliament. The discovery of this treaty tended much to render abortive the king's negotiations with the Parliament. To save appearances, Glamorgan was thrown into prison, but soon released.

The king seemed to be now threatened with immediate destruction. Fairfax was approaching with a powerful and victorious army, and was taking the proper measures for laying siege to Oxford, which must infallibly fall into his hands. In this desperate extremity, Charles began to entertain thoughts of leaving Oxford, and flying to the Scottish army, which at that time lay before Newark. He considered that the Scottish nation had been fully gratified in all their demands, and had no farther concessions to exact from him, while, on the other hand, they were disgusted with the English Parliament. The progress of the Independents gave them great alarm, and they were scandalized to hear their beloved Covenant spoken of every day with less regard and reverence. The king hoped, too, that in their present disposition the sight of their native prince flying to them in this extremity of distress would rouse every spark of generosity in their bosoms, and procure him their favor and protection. With these views he left Oxford in the night of April 26, 1646, accompanied by none but Dr. Hudson and Mr. Ashburnham, and went out of that gate which leads to London. He rode before a portmanteau, calling himself Ashburnham's servant, and arrived at the Scottish camp before Newark (May 5). The Scottish general and commissioners affected great surprise on the appearance of the king; and though they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, they instantly set a guard upon him, under color of protection, and made him, in reality, a prisoner. They informed the English Parliament of this unexpected incident, and assured them that they had entered into no private treaty with the king; but, hearing that the Parliament laid claim to the entire disposal of the king's person, they thought proper to retire northward, and to fix their camp at Newcastle. Charles had very little reason to be pleased with his situation. The Scots required him to issue orders to Oxford, and all his other garrisons, commanding their surrender to the Parliament; and the king, sensible that their resistance was to very little purpose, immediately complied. Ormond, having received like orders, delivered Dublin and other forts into the hands of the Parliamentary officers.

The Parliament and the Scots laid their proposals before the king, which were little worse than what were insisted on before the battle of Naseby. The power of the sword, instead of 10 years, which the king now offered, was demanded for 20, together with a right to levy whatever money the Parliament should think proper for the support of their armies. The other conditions were in the main the same with those which had formerly been offered to the king, and he was peremptorily required to give his consent or refusal in 10 days. The Parliament now entered into negotiations with the Scots. The Scottish commissioners resolved to keep the king as a pledge for those arrears which they claimed from England. After many discussions, it was at last agreed that, in lieu of all demands, they should accept of £400,000, one half to be paid instantly, another in two subsequent payments. Great pains were taken by the Scots (and the English complied with their pretended delicacy) to make this estimation and payment of arrears appear a quite different transaction from that for the delivery of the king's person, but common sense requires that they should be regarded as one and the same. Thus the Scottish nation incurred the reproach of betraying their prince for money. The king, being delivered over by the Scots to the English commissioners (Jan. 30, 1647), was conducted under a guard to Holmby, in Northamptonshire. On his journey the whole country flocked to behold him, moved partly by curiosity, partly by compassion and affection. The commissioners rendered his confinement at Holmby very rigorous, dismissing his ancient servants, and cutting off all communication with his friends or family. The Parliament, though earnestly applied to by the king, refused to allow his chaplains to attend him, because they had not taken the Covenant. During the time that the king remained in the Scottish army at Newcastle died the Earl of Essex, the discarded but still powerful and popular general of the Parliament. The Presbyterian or the moderate party among the Commons found themselves considerably weakened by his death, and the small remains of authority which still adhered to the House of Peers were in a manner wholly extinguished.

§ 10. The dominion of the Parliament was of short duration. No sooner had they subdued their sovereign than their own servants rose against them, and tumbled them from their slippery throne. Soon after the retreat of the Scots, the Presbyterians, seeing every thing reduced to obedience, began to talk of diminishing the army; and on pretense of easing the public burdens, they leveled a deadly blow at the opposite faction. They purposed to embark a strong detachment for the service of Ireland, and they openly declared their intention of making a great redu-

tion of the remainder. Considerable arrears were due to the army; and many of the private men, as well as the officers, had nearly a twelvemonth's pay still owing them; and, as no plan was pointed out by the Commons for the payment of arrears, the soldiers dreaded that, after they should be disbanded or embarked for Ireland (a most unpopular service), their enemies, who predominated in the two houses, would entirely defraud them of their right, and oppress them with impunity. On this ground or pretense did the first commotions begin in the army. Combinations were formed, and petitions handed about; and few could be found to enlist for Ireland. Their petition to Parliament bore a very imperious air; in a word, they felt their power, and resolved to be masters. The expedient which the Parliament now made use of was the worst imaginable. They sent Skippon, Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, to the head-quarters at Saffron Walden, in Essex, and empowered them to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*. These very generals, at the least the last three, were secretly the authors of all the discontents, and failed not to foment those disorders which they pretended to appease. By their suggestion, a council of the principal officers was appointed, after the model of the House of Peers, and a more free representative of the army was composed by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *adjutators*, afterward called agitators, from each troop or company. This terrible court, when assembled, having first declared that they found no *distempers* in the army, but many *grievances*, under which it labored, immediately voted the offers of the Parliament unsatisfactory; and they presently struck a blow which at once decided the victory in their favor. A party of 500 horse appeared at Holmby, conducted by one Joyce, who had once been a tailor by profession, but was now advanced to the rank of a cornet, and was an active agitator in the army (June 4). Joyce came into the king's presence armed with pistols, and told him that he must immediately go along with him. "Whither?" said the king. "To the army," replied Joyce. Charles appointed to meet him at the door at six o'clock the next morning, where the troopers were drawn up; and in answer to his repeated inquiries for his authority, Joyce pointed to the soldiers, tall, handsome, and well accoutred. "Your warrant," said Charles, smiling, "is written in fair characters, legible without spelling;" and yielding himself up, was safely conducted to the army, who were hastening to their rendezvous at Triplow Heath, near Cambridge. The Parliament were thrown into the utmost consternation. Fairfax himself, to whom this bold measure had never been communicated, was no less surprised at the king's arrival. The Parliamentary leaders, having discov-

ered that the most active officers and agitators were entirely Cromwell's creatures, secretly resolved that next day, when he should come to the House, an accusation should be entered against him, and he should be sent to the Tower. Being informed of this design, Cromwell hastened to the camp, where he was received with acclamation, and was instantly invested with the supreme command, both of general and army. Without farther deliberation, he advanced the army upon the Parliament, and arrived in a few days at St. Alban's. But London still retained a strong attachment to Presbyterianism; and its militia, which had by a late ordinance been put into hands in which the Parliament could entirely confide, was now called out, and ordered to guard the lines which had been drawn round the city in order to secure it against the king. On farther reflection, however, it was thought more prudent to submit. The declaration by which the military petitioners had been voted public enemies was erased from the journal-book. This was the first symptom which the Parliament gave of submission, and the army rose every day in their demands. Having obtained the sequestration of eleven of the chief Presbyterian members, the army, in order to save appearances, removed, at the desire of the Parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed their head-quarters at Reading. They carried the king along with them in all their marches, who now found himself in a better situation than at Holmby. All his friends had access to his presence; his correspondence with the queen was not interrupted; his chaplains were restored to him, and he was allowed the use of the Liturgy; his children were once allowed to visit him, and they passed a few days at Caversham, where he then resided. Cromwell, as well as the leaders of all parties, paid court to him; and fortune, notwithstanding all his calamities, seemed again to smile on him.

§ 11. The impatience of the Londoners brought matters to a crisis between the Parliament and army. At the instance of the latter, the Parliament had voted that the militia of London should be changed, the Presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who, during the course of the war, had constantly exercised it. A petition against this alteration was carried to Westminster, attended by the apprentices and seditious multitude, who besieged the door of the House of Commons, and, by their clamor, noise, and violence, obliged them to reverse that vote which they had passed so lately. No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading than the army was put in motion, to vindicate, they said, against the seditious citizens, the invaded privileges of Parliament. In their way to London they were drawn up on Hounslow Heath—a formidable body 20,000

strong, and determined to pursue whatever measures their generals should dictate to them. Here the most favorable event happened to quicken and encourage their advance. The speakers of the two houses, Manchester and Lenthal, attended by eight peers and about sixty commoners, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves, with their maces and all the ensigns of their dignity, and, complaining of the violence put upon them, applied to the army for defense and protection. They were received with shouts and acclamations; respect was paid to them as to the Parliament of England; and the army, being provided with so plausible a pretense, advanced to chastise the rebellious city, and to reinstate the violated Parliament. Without experiencing the least resistance, the army marched in triumph through the city, but preserved the greatest order, decency, and appearance of humility (Aug. 6). They conducted to Westminster the two speakers, who took their seats as if nothing had happened. The eleven impeached members were expelled; seven peers were impeached; the mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen sent to the Tower; several citizens and officers of the militia committed to prison; every deed of the Parliament annulled, from the day of the tumult till the return of the speakers; the lines about the city leveled; the militia restored to the Independents; and, the Parliament being reduced to a regular formed servitude, a day was appointed of solemn thanksgiving for the restoration of its liberty.

The leaders of the army, having established their dominion over the Parliament and city, ventured to bring the king to Hampton Court, and he lived for some time in that palace with an appearance of dignity and freedom. He entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success. It appears that Cromwell and Ireton really desired to save the king, but that Charles's insincerity and duplicity at last convinced them that they could put no trust in his promises. Charles now took suddenly a resolution of withdrawing himself, and, attended only by three persons, he privately left Hampton Court (Nov. 11). His escape was not discovered till nearly an hour after, when those who entered his chamber found on the table some letters directed to the Parliament, to the general, and to the officer who had attended him. All night he traveled through the forest, and arrived next day at Titchfield, a seat of the Earl of Northampton's, where the countess dowager resided, a woman of honor to whom the king knew he might safely intrust his person. The king could not hope to remain long concealed at Titchfield. He took refuge with Colonel Hammond, the governor of the Isle of Wight, who was nephew to Dr. Hammond, the king's favorite chaplain. By Hammond he was conducted to Carisbrooke Castle, where, though re-

ceived with great demonstrations of respect and duty, he was, in reality, a prisoner.

§ 12. Cromwell, being now entirely master of the Parliament and of the king, applied himself seriously to quell those disorders in the army which he himself had so artfully raised. A party had sprung up in the army called *Levelers*, who were not only in favor of abolishing royalty and nobility, but of leveling all ranks of men. The saints, they said, were the salt of the earth; an entire parity had place among the elect; and, by the same rule that the apostles were exalted from the most ignoble professions, the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the Spirit, was entitled to equal regard with the greatest commander. In order to wean the soldiers from these licentious maxims, Cromwell had issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; but the Levelers, having experienced the sweets of dominion, would not so easily be deprived of it. They secretly continued their meetings; they asserted that their officers, as much as any part of the Church or state, needed reformation. But this distemper was soon cured by the rough but dexterous hand of Cromwell. He chose the opportunity of a review, that he might display the greater boldness and spread the terror the wider. He seized the ringleaders before their companions, held in the field a council of war, shot one mutineer instantly, and struck such dread into the rest that they presently threw down the symbols of sedition which they had displayed, and thenceforth returned to their wonted discipline and obedience.

At the suggestion of Ireton, Cromwell then secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers, in order to deliberate concerning the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person. In this conference, which commenced with devout prayers, poured forth by Cromwell himself and the other officers, was first opened the daring counsel of bringing the king to justice. Charles had offered, by a message sent from Carisbrooke Castle, to resign, during his own life, the power of the militia and the nomination to all the great offices, provided that, after his demise, these prerogatives should revert to the crown. At the instigation of the Independents and army, the Parliament neglected this offer, and framed four proposals, which they sent him as preliminaries: 1. To invest the Parliament with the military power for 20 years; 2. To recall all his proclamations and declarations against the Parliament; 3. To annul all the acts, and void all the patents of peerage, which had passed the great seal since it had been carried from London by Lord Keeper Littleton, and to renounce for the future the power of making peers without consent of Parliament; 4. To give the two houses power to adjourn as they thought proper.

The king having refused his consent to these proposals, it was voted by the Parliament that no more addresses should be made to him, nor any letters or messages received from him; and that it should be treason for any one, without leave of the two houses, to have any intercourse with him (Jan. 13, 1648). By this vote of non-addresses (so it was called) the king was in reality dethroned, and the whole constitution formally overthrown; and, it having been discovered that the king had attempted to escape from Carisbrooke Castle, Hammond, by orders from the army, removed all his servants, cut off his correspondence with his friends, and shut him up in close confinement.

§ 13. The Scots, however, were much displeased with the proceedings adopted toward the king, as well as with the contempt which the Independents displayed for the Covenant, which was profanely called in the House of Commons an almanac out of date. They sent commissioners to London to protest against the four propositions that had been offered to the king; and when they accompanied the English commissioners to the Isle of Wight, they secretly formed a treaty with the king for arming Scotland in his favor. The Duke of Hamilton obtained a vote from the Scottish Parliament to arm 40,000 men in support of the king's authority, and to call over a considerable body under Monro, who commanded the Scottish forces in Ulster; and, though he openly protested that the Covenant was the foundation of all his measures, he secretly entered into correspondence with the English Royalists, Sir Marmaduke Langdale and Sir Philip Musgrave, who had levied considerable forces in the north of England. While the Scots were making preparations for the invasion of England, every part of that kingdom was agitated with tumults, insurrections, conspiracies, discontents. The general spirit of discontent had seized the fleet. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared for the king, and, putting their admiral ashore, sailed over to Holland, where the Prince of Wales took the command of them.

Cromwell and the military council prepared themselves with vigor for defense, and the revolts which had broken out in various parts of England were soon either checked or subdued. A new fleet was manned and sent out, under the command of Warwick, to oppose the revolted ships. But, while the forces were employed in all quarters, the Parliament regained its liberty, and the Presbyterian party recovered the ascendant which it had formerly lost. The vote of non-addresses was repealed; and commissioners (five peers and ten commoners) were sent to Newport, in the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with the king (Sept. 18). When Charles presented himself to this company, a great and sensible

alteration was remarked in his aspect. The moment his servants had been removed, he had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and to hang disheveled and neglected. His hair had become almost entirely gray; and his friends, perhaps even his enemies, beheld with compassion that "gray and discrowned head," as he himself terms it in a copy of verses, which the truth of the sentiment, rather than any elegance of expression, renders very pathetic. As these negotiations produced no result, it is unnecessary to enter into particulars. Religion was the chief obstacle; and so great was the bigotry on both sides, that they were willing to sacrifice the greatest civil interests rather than relinquish the most minute of their theological contentions. The treaty was spun out to such a length that the invasions and insurrections were every where subdued, and the army had leisure to execute their violent and sanguinary purpose.

Hamilton, having entered England with a numerous though undisciplined army, durst not unite his forces with those of Langdale, because the English Royalists had refused to take the Covenant; and the Scottish Presbyterians, though engaged for the king, refused to join them on any other terms. Cromwell, though his forces were not half so numerous as those of the allies, attacked Langdale by surprise, near Preston, in Lancashire. Hamilton was next attacked, put to rout, and pursued to Uttoxeter, where he surrendered himself prisoner (Aug. 20). Cromwell followed his advantage, and, marching into Scotland with a considerable body, joined Argyle, who was also in arms; and having suppressed the moderate Presbyterians, he placed the power entirely in the hands of the violent party. The ecclesiastical authority, exalted above the civil, exercised the severest vengeance on all who had a share in Hamilton's engagement, as it was called. Never in this island was known a more severe and arbitrary government than was generally exercised by the patrons of liberty in both kingdoms. The capture of Colchester by Fairfax (Aug. 28), and the barbarous execution of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, who had bravely defended it, terminated the last struggle for the king.

§ 14. The catastrophe was now approaching. A remonstrance was drawn by the council of general officers and sent to the Parliament. They complained of the treaty with the king, demanded his punishment for the blood spilled during the war, and required a dissolution of the present Parliament. The foremost men in this measure were Colonel Ludlow and Ireton. Fairfax disapproved of it, but had not the courage to oppose it. The Parliament lost not courage, notwithstanding the danger with which they were so nearly menaced. Hollis, the present leader of the Presbyterians, was a man of unconquerable intrepidity, and many

others of that party seconded his magnanimous spirit. It was proposed by them that the generals and principal officers should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the Parliament. But the Parliament was dealing with men who would not be frightened by words, nor retarded by any scrupulous delicacy. The generals, under the name of Fairfax (for he still allowed them to employ his name), marched the army to London, and surrounded the Parliament with their hostile armaments. The Parliament nevertheless proceeded to close their treaty with the king; and, after a violent debate of three days, it was carried, by a majority of 129 against 83, in the House of Commons, that the king's concessions were a foundation for the houses to proceed upon in the settlement of the kingdom. Next day (Dec. 5), when the Commons were to meet, Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had environed the House with two regiments; and, directed by Lord Grey of Groby, he seized in the passage 52 members of the Presbyterian party, and sent them to a low room which passed by the appellation of *hell*, whence they were afterward carried to several inns. Above 160 members more were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most determined of the Independents, and these exceeded not the number of 50 or 60. This invasion of the Parliament commonly passed under the name of *Colonel Pride's Purge*. Cromwell was at this time on his way from Scotland. The remains of the Parliament (often called *the Rump*) instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory; they renewed their former vote of non-addresses, and they committed to prison several leaders of the Presbyterians.

These sudden and violent revolutions held the whole nation in terror and astonishment. To quiet the minds of men, the generals, in the name of the army, published a declaration in which they expressed their resolution of supporting law and justice; and the council of officers took into consideration a scheme called *the agreement of the people*, being the plan of a republic, to be substituted in the place of that government which they had so violently pulled in pieces. To effect this, nothing remained but the public trial and execution of their sovereign. In the House of Commons a committee was appointed to bring in a charge against the king. On their report a vote passed, declaring it treason in a king to levy war against his Parliament, and appointing a HIGH COURT OF JUSTICE to try Charles for this newly-invented treason. The House of Peers, which assembled to the number of sixteen, without one dissenting voice, and almost without deliberation, instantly rejected the vote of the lower House, and adjourned themselves for ten days, hoping that this delay would be able to

retard the furious career of the Commons; but the Commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having declared *that the people are the origin of all just power*, that the Commons of England are the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted by them hath the force of law, without the consent of king or House of Peers, the ordinance for the trial of Charles Stuart, King of England (so they called him), was again read, and unanimously assented to (Jan. 6, 1649); after which Colonel Harrison, the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. He had been transferred from Carisbrooke to Hurst Castle, on the coast of Hampshire, on Nov. 30, and was conducted to St. James's, Dec. 22. From thence he was transferred to Windsor Castle, and was conducted to Whitehall on Jan. 19.

The high court of justice assembled in Westminster Hall on Jan. 20. It consisted of 133 persons, as named by the Commons, but there scarcely ever sat above 70. Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army were members, together with some of the lower House, and some citizens of London. The judges were at first appointed in the number; but as they had affirmed that it was contrary to law to try the king for treason, their names, as well as those of some peers, were struck out. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Cook was appointed solicitor for the people of England. In calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice came from one of the spectators, and cried, "He has more wit than to be here." When the charge was read against the king, "In the name of the people of England," the same voice exclaimed, "Not a tenth part of them." Axtell, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came, it was discovered that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them.

The pomp, the dignity, the ceremony of this transaction, corresponded to the greatest conception that is suggested in the annals of human kind—the delegates of a great people sitting in judgment upon their supreme magistrate, and trying him for his misgovernment and breach of trust. The solicitor, in the name of the Commons, represented that Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and *intrusted* with a limited power, yet, nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an unlimited and tyrannical government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present Parliament, and the people whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the Commonwealth.

The king was then called on for his answer. Though long detained a prisoner, and now produced as a criminal, Charles sustained, by his magnanimous courage, the majesty of a monarch. With great temper and dignity he declined to submit himself to the jurisdiction of the court, on the ground that he was their native hereditary king; nor was the whole authority of the state, though free and united, entitled to try him, who derived his dignity from the Supreme Majesty of Heaven. Three times was he produced before the court, and as often declined their jurisdiction. On the fourth, the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the Parliament, they pronounced sentence against him. He seemed very anxious at this time to be admitted to a conference with the two houses, and it was supposed that he intended to resign the crown to his son, but the court refused compliance.

It is confessed that the king's behavior during this last scene of his life does honor to his memory, and that in all appearances before his judges he never forgot his part, either as a prince or as a man. The soldiers, instigated by their superiors, were brought, though with difficulty, to cry aloud for justice. "Poor souls!" said the king to one of his attendants, "for a little money they would do as much against their commanders." One soldier, seized by contagious sympathy, having demanded from Heaven a blessing on oppressed and fallen majesty, his officer, overhearing the prayer, beat him to the ground in the king's presence. "The punishment, methinks, exceeds the offense." This was the reflection which Charles formed on that occasion.

The Scots protested against the proceedings; the Dutch interceded in the king's behalf; the Prince of Wales sent a blank sheet of paper, subscribed with his name and sealed with his arms, on which his father's judges might write what conditions they pleased as the price of his life. Solicitations were found fruitless with men whose resolutions were fixed and irrevocable.

§ 15. Three days were allowed the king between his sentence and his execution. This interval he passed with great tranquillity, chiefly in reading and devotion. All his family that remained in England were allowed access to him. It consisted only of the Princess Elizabeth and of Prince Henry, afterward Duke of Gloucester, for the Duke of York had made his escape. The palace of Whitehall was destined for the execution; for it was intended, by choosing his own palace, to display more evidently the triumph of popular justice over royal majesty. The scaffold was erected in front of the central window of the banqueting-hall; and when Charles stepped out of the window upon the scaffold,

he found it so surrounded with soldiers that he could not expect to be heard by any of the people: he addressed, therefore, his discourse to the few persons who were about him; justified his own innocence in the late fatal wars, though he acknowledged the equity of his execution in the eyes of his Maker; and observed that an unjust sentence, which he had suffered to take effect, was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself. When he was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxon, who had been allowed to attend him, called to him, "There is, sir, but one stage more, which, though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and there you shall find to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the king, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." At one blow was his head severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner; another, in a like disguise, held up to the spectators the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor!" (Jan. 30, 1649).

Charles was of a comely presence; of a sweet, but melancholy, aspect. His face was regular, handsome, and well-complexioned; his body strong, healthy, and justly proportioned; and being of a middle stature, he was capable of enduring the greatest fatigues. He excelled in horsemanship and other exercises, and possessed all the exterior as well as many of the essential qualities which form an accomplished prince. The greatest blemish in his character was a want of sincerity: "a fault," says Mr. Hallam (*Const. Hist.*, ii., 229), "that appeared in all parts of his life, and from which no one who has paid the subject any attention will pretend to exculpate him."

In a few days the Commons passed votes to abolish the House of Peers and the monarchy, and they ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which their house was represented, with this legend, ON THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING, RESTORED, 1648. The forms of all public business were changed from the king's name to that of the keepers of the liberties of England. And it was declared high treason to proclaim, or any otherwise acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales. The Duke of Hamilton, as Earl of Cambridge in England, Lord Capel, and the Earl of Holland, were condemned and executed for treason.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1625. Accession of Charles I. and marriage with Henrietta of France.
" First Parliament.
1626. Second Parliament.
1627. Buckingham's expedition to the Isle of Rhé.
1628. Third Parliament.
" Petition of Right.
" Buckingham assassinated by Felton.
1637. Trial of Hampden for refusing to pay ship-money.
1638. The Covenant established in Scotland.
1639. War with the Scots.
1640. Fourth Parliament, after 11 years' cessation. Meets April 13, dissolved May 5.
" The Scots invade England. Battle of Newburn.
" Meeting of the Long Parliament, Nov. 3.

A.D.
1640. Impeachment of Strafford.
1641. Triennial act. Attainder and execution of Strafford. The Star Chamber and High Commission Court abolished. Irish rebellion. The "Remonstrance."
1642. Accusations of Lord Kimbolton and the five members. The king sets up his standard at Nottingham.
" Battle of Edge Hill.
1643. Hampden killed at Chalgrave Field.
1644. Battle of Marston Moor.
1645. Archbishop Laud executed.
" Battle of Naseby.
1647. The king given up by the Scots.
1648. Colonel Pride "purges" the House of Commons.
1649. Trial and execution of the king.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

ICON BASILIKÉ.

Shortly after the execution of Charles I. appeared a work entitled "Icon Basilikè (εἰκὼν βασιλικὴ, *kingly image*), or a Portraiture of His Sacred Majesty in his Solitude and Sufferings," which made a great impression on the public, and is said by Lord Shaftesbury (*Characteristics*, I., 193) to have contributed in no small degree to obtain for Charles the titles of saint and martyr. It consists of meditations or soliloquies on the king's calamities, and was generally believed at the time to be the composition of Charles himself. Hence it met with a great sale, and in the middle of last century it was computed that 47 editions, or 48,500 copies, had been issued (Jos. Ames, in *London Magazine* for 1756). In 1649, Milton was commissioned by the Parliament to answer it, which he did in a treatise called "Iconoclastes" (εἰκονοκλάστης, *the image breaker*). In this piece Milton treats the "Icon Basilikè" as a genuine work, though in the preface he intimates a doubt respecting its authorship. Charles appears, at all events, to have seen the work in manuscript when a prisoner in Carisbrooke Castle, and to have revised some passages of it with his own hand; but the revised copy is not that which has been printed. It is now pretty generally allowed that the "Icon" is not the work of King Charles, but of Dr. Gauden, a clergyman of Bocking, and author of a Life of Hooker. Lord Anglesey left a memorandum in his handwriting that he was told in 1675, both by Charles II. and by the Duke of York, that the work was not written by their father (Wagstaff's *Vindication of King Charles*, p. 3). Burnet was also told by James, in 1673, that the book was the composition of Dr. Gauden (*Works*, vol. I., p. 76). It is remarkable, too, that Lord Clarendon, in his long and labored panegyric of King Charles, says not a word about this production; and it would seem, from a passage in his correspondence, that he was aware it was not genuine. After the Restoration, Dr. Gauden made known at court his claims to the authorship of the book, and received as the price of his secrecy, first the bishopric of Exeter, and afterward that of Worcester. Nevertheless, Dr. C. Wordsworth has undertaken to vindicate the authorship of King Charles, in a work published in 1824, entitled, *Who wrote Eikon Basilike?* Those who desire to enter more fully into this subject of literary controversy are referred to that work, and to Harris, *Life of Charles I.*, ii., 124; Lingard, *Hist. of England*, viii., app. R. R. R.; Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ii., 290.



Pattern for a crown of the Protector Oliver Cromwell. Obv.: OLIVAR . D . G . R . P . ANG . SCO . HIB &c PRO. Bust of Protector to left. Rev.: PAX . QVÆRITVR . BELLO. Crowned shield with arms of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the coat of Cromwell in an escutcheon of pretense; above, 1658.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE COMMONWEALTH. 1649–1660.

§ 1. State of England, Scotland, and Ireland. § 2. Cromwell's Campaign in Ireland. § 3. Charles II. in Scotland. Cromwell's Campaign in Scotland. Battle of Dunbar. § 4. Charles crowned at Scone. He advances into England. Battle of Worcester. Flight and Escape of Charles. § 5. Settlement of the Commonwealth. § 6. Dutch War. Blake and Van Tromp. § 7. Cromwell expels the Parliament. § 8. Barebone's Parliament. Cromwell Protector. § 9. Defeat of the Dutch and Peace with Holland. § 10. Cromwell's Administration. His first Parliament. Royalist Insurrection. War with Spain. § 11. Blake's naval Exploits. Jamaica conquered. Death of Blake. § 12. Cromwell's vigorous Government. His Character. § 13. His second Parliament. He refuses the Crown. The "humble Petition and Advice." § 14. Dunkirk taken. Discontents and Insurrections. § 15. Cromwell's Sickness, Death, and Character. § 16. Richard Cromwell Protector. His Deposition. § 17. Long Parliament restored and expelled. Committee of Safety. § 18. General Monk declares for the Parliament. The Parliament restored. Monk enters London. Long Parliament dissolved. § 19. A new Parliament. The Restoration.

§ 1. THE death of the king was followed by a dissolution of all authority, both civil and ecclesiastical. Every man had framed the model of a republic; every man had adjusted his own system of religion. The Millenarians, or Fifth Monarchy men, required that government itself should be abolished, and all human powers be laid in the dust, in order to pave the way for the dominion of Christ, whose second coming they suddenly expected. One party declaimed against tithes and a hireling priesthood; another inveighed against the law and its professors. The Royalists, consisting of the nobles and more considerable gentry, were inflamed

with the highest resentment and indignation against those ignoble adversaries who had reduced them to subjection. The Presbyterians, whose credit at first supported the arms of the Parliament, were enraged to find that, by the treachery or superior cunning of their associates, the fruits of all their successful labors were ravished from them. The young king, poor and neglected, living sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, sometimes in Jersey, comforted himself amid his present distresses with the hopes of better fortune.

The only solid support of the Republican independent faction was an army of nearly 50,000 men. But this army, formidable from its discipline and courage as well as its numbers, was actuated by a spirit that rendered it dangerous to the assembly which had assumed the command over it. Cromwell alone was able to guide and direct all these unsettled humors. But, though he retained for a time all orders of men under a seeming obedience to the Parliament, he was secretly paving the way to his own unlimited authority.

The Parliament began gradually to assume more the air of a legal power. They admitted a few of the excluded and absent members, but on condition that they should sign an approbation of whatever had been done in their absence with regard to the king's trial. They issued some writs for new elections in places where they hoped to have interest enough to bring in their own friends and dependents. They named an executive council of state, 38 in number; and as soon as they should have settled the nation, they professed their intention of restoring the power to the people, from whom they acknowledged they had entirely derived it.

The situation alone of Scotland and Ireland gave any immediate disquietude to the new republic. After the successive defeats of Montrose and Hamilton, and the ruin of their parties, the whole authority in Scotland fell into the hands of Argyle and the rigid Churchmen. Though invited by the English Parliament to model their government into a republican form, they resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which, by the express terms of their covenant, they had engaged to defend. After the execution, therefore, of the king, they immediately proclaimed his son and successor Charles II. (Feb. 5), but upon condition of his strict observance of the Covenant. The affairs of Ireland demanded more immediate attention. When Charles I. was a prisoner among the Scots, he sent orders to Ormond, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and accordingly, the lord lieutenant, being reduced to extremities, delivered up Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other garrisons, to

Colonel Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English Parliament. Ormond himself went over to England, and after some time joined the queen and the Prince of Wales in France. Meanwhile, the Irish Catholics, disgusted with the indiscretion and insolence of Rinuccini, the papal nuncio, and dreading the power of the English Parliament, saw no resource or safety but in giving support to the declining authority of the king. The Earl of Clanricarde secretly formed a combination among the Catholics; he attacked the nuncio, whom he chased out of the island; and he sent to Paris a deputation, inviting the lord lieutenant to return and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, had at first to contend with many difficulties. But in the distractions which attended the final struggle in England, the Republican faction totally neglected Ireland, and allowed Jones, and the forces in Dublin, to remain in the utmost weakness and necessity. The lord lieutenant, having at last assembled an army of 16,000 men, advanced upon the Parliamentary garrisons. Dundalk, Drogheda, and several other towns surrendered or were taken. Dublin was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lieutenant appeared in so prosperous a condition, that the young king entertained thoughts of coming in person into Ireland.

When the English commonwealth was brought to some tolerable settlement, men began to cast their eyes toward the neighboring island. After the execution of the king, Cromwell himself began to aspire to a command where so much glory, he saw, might be won, and so much authority acquired; and he was appointed by the Parliament lord lieutenant and general of Ireland.

§ 2. The new lieutenant immediately applied himself, with his wonted vigilance, to make preparations for his expedition. He sent a re-enforcement of 4000 men to Colonel Jones, who unexpectedly attacked Ormond near Dublin; chased his army off the field; seized all their tents, baggage, ammunition; and returned victorious to Dublin, after killing 1000 men, and taking above 2000 prisoners (Aug. 2). This loss, which threw some blemish on the military character of Ormond, was irreparable to the royal cause. Cromwell soon after arrived with fresh forces in Dublin, where he was welcomed with shouts and rejoicings (Aug. 18). He hastened to Drogheda, which, though well fortified, was taken by assault, Cromwell himself, along with Ireton, leading on his men. A cruel slaughter was made of the garrison, orders having been issued to give no quarter (Sept. 12). Cromwell pretended to retaliate, by this severe execution, the cruelty of the Irish massacre; but he well knew that almost the whole garrison was English; and his justice was only a barbarous policy, in order to terrify all

other garrisons from resistance. His policy, however, had the desired effect. Wexford was taken, and the same severity exercised as at Drogheda. Every town before which Cromwell presented himself now opened its gates without resistance. Next spring, having received a re-enforcement from England, he made himself master of Kilkenny and Clonmel, the only places where he met with any vigorous resistance. Ormond soon after left the island, and delegated his authority to Clanricarde, who found affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy. The Irish were glad to embrace banishment as a refuge. Above 40,000 men passed into foreign service; and Cromwell, well pleased to free the island from enemies who never could be cordially reconciled to the English, gave them full liberty and leisure for their embarkation.

§ 3. While Cromwell proceeded with such uninterrupted success in Ireland, which in the space of nine months he had almost entirely subdued, fortune was preparing for him a new scene of victory and triumph in Scotland. Charles, by the advice of his friends, who thought it ridiculous to refuse a kingdom merely from regard to Episcopacy, had been induced to accept the crown of Scotland on the terms offered by the commissioners of the Covenanters. But what chiefly determined him to comply was the account brought him of the fate of Montrose, which blasted all his hopes of recovering his inheritance by force. That gallant but unfortunate nobleman, having received some assistance from a few of the northern powers, had landed in the Orkneys with about 500 men, most of them Germans. He armed several of the inhabitants of the Orkneys, and carried them over with him to Caithness, but was disappointed in his hopes that affection to the king's service, and the fame of his former exploits, would make the Highlanders flock to his standard. Strahan, one of the generals of the Covenanters, fell unexpectedly on Montrose, who had no horse to bring him intelligence. The Royalists were put to flight, all of them either killed or taken prisoners, and Montrose himself, having put on the disguise of a peasant, was perfidiously delivered into the hands of his enemies by a friend to whom he had intrusted his person. In this disguise he was carried to Edinburgh, amid the insults of his enemies, when he was tried and condemned by the Parliament, and hanged with every circumstance of ignominy and cruelty (May 21, 1650).

The king, after the defeat of Montrose, assured the Scotch Parliament that he had forbidden his enterprise, though there can be no doubt that he had sanctioned it. He then set sail for Scotland, but before he was permitted to land he was required to sign the Covenant; and many sermons and lectures were made him, exhorting him to persevere in that holy confederacy. He soon

found that he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and that the few remains of royalty which he possessed served only to draw on him the greater indignities. He was constrained by the Covenanters to issue a declaration, wherein he desired to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit because of his father's opposing the Covenant and shedding the blood of God's people throughout his dominions; lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house; and professed that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the Covenant. Still, the Covenanters and the clergy were diffident of his sincerity; and he found his authority entirely annihilated, as well as his character degraded. He was consulted in no public measure; and his favor was sufficient to discredit any pretender to office or advancement.

As soon as the English Parliament found that the treaty between the king and the Scots would probably terminate in an accommodation, they made preparations for a war, which, they saw, would in the end prove inevitable. Cromwell, having broken the force and courage of the Irish, was sent for, and he left the command of Ireland to Ireton. It was expected that Fairfax, who still retained the name of general, would continue to act against Scotland. But he entertained insurmountable scruples against invading the Scots, whom he considered as united to England by the sacred bands of the Covenant; and he accordingly resigned his commission, which was bestowed on Cromwell, who was declared captain general of all the forces in England. Cromwell crossed the Tweed on July 16, and entered Scotland with an army of 16,000 men. Lesley, the Scotch general, intrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, and took care to remove every thing from the country which could serve for the subsistence of the English army. Cromwell, having advanced to the Scottish camp, and vainly endeavored to bring Lesley to a battle, began to be in want of provisions, which reached him only by sea. He therefore retired to Dunbar. Lesley followed him, and he encamped on Down Hill, which overlooked that town. There lay many difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick, and of these Lesley had taken possession. The English general was reduced to extremities. He had even embraced a resolution of sending by sea all his foot and artillery to England, and of breaking through, at all hazards, with his cavalry. The madness of the Scottish ecclesiastics saved him from this loss and dishonor. Night and day the ministers had been wrestling with the Lord in prayer, as they termed it, and they fancied that the sectarian and heretical army, together with Agag, meaning Cromwell, was delivered into their hands. Upon the faith of these visions, they

forced their general, in spite of his remonstrances, to descend into the plain, with a view of attacking the English in their retreat. Cromwell, looking through a glass, saw the enemy's camp in motion, and foretold, without the help of revelations, that the Lord had delivered them into *his* hands. He gave orders immediately for an attack (Sept. 3). The Scots, though double in number to the English, were soon put to flight, and pursued with great slaughter. No victory could be more complete. About 3000 of the enemy were slain, and 9000 taken prisoners. Cromwell pursued his advantage, and took possession of Edinburgh and Leith. The remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling. The approach of the winter season, and an ague which seized Cromwell, kept him from pushing the victory any farther.

§ 4. The defeat of the Scots was regarded by the king as a fortunate event, as the vanquished were now obliged to give *him* more authority, and apply to him for support. He was crowned at Scone Jan. 1, 1651, with great pomp and solemnity. But, amid all this appearance of respect, Charles remained in the hands of the most rigid Covenanters, and was little better than a prisoner. As soon as the season would permit, the Scottish army was assembled under Hamilton and Lesley, and the king was allowed to join the camp before Stirling. Cromwell, having failed to bring the Scottish generals to an engagement, crossed the frith, and took Perth, the seat of government.

Charles now embraced a resolution worthy of a young prince contending for empire. Having the way open, he resolved immediately to march into England, and persuaded most of the generals to enter into the same views. But Argyle obtained permission to retire to his own home. The army, to the number of 14,000 men, rose from their camp, and advanced by great journeys toward the south. Cromwell was surprised at this movement of the royal army; but he quickly repaired his oversight by his vigilance and activity, and, leaving Monk with 7000 men to complete the reduction of Scotland, he followed the king with all the expedition possible.

Charles found himself disappointed in his expectations of increasing his army. The Scots, terrified at the prospect of so hazardous an enterprise, fell off in great numbers. The English Presbyterians and Royalists, having no warning given them of the king's approach, were not prepared to join him. When he arrived at Worcester he found that his forces, extremely harassed by a hasty and fatiguing march, were not more numerous than when he rose from his camp at Stirling. With an army of about 30,000 men, Cromwell fell upon Worcester, and, attacking it on all sides, after a desperate resistance of four or five hours, broke

in upon the disordered Royalists (Sept. 3). The streets of the city were strewed with dead. The whole Scottish army was either killed or taken prisoners. The country people, inflamed with national antipathy, put to death the few that escaped from the field of battle.

The king left Worcester at six o'clock in the afternoon, and, without halting, traveled about 26 miles, in company with 50 or 60 of his friends. To provide for his safety, he thought it best to separate himself from his companions, and he left them without communicating his intentions to any of them. By the Earl of Derby's directions, he went to Boscobel, a lone house in the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderell, a farmer. To this man Charles intrusted himself. The man had dignity of sentiments much above his condition; and, though death was denounced against all who concealed the king, and a great reward promised to any one who should betray him, he professed and maintained unshaken fidelity.* He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honorable with himself, and, having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighboring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting fagots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. For a better concealment, he mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours. He saw several soldiers pass by. All of them were intent in search of the king, and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him. This tree was afterward denominated the *Royal Oak*, and for many years was regarded by the neighborhood with great veneration. Charles passed through many other adventures, assumed different disguises, in every step was exposed to imminent perils, and received daily proofs of uncorrupted fidelity and attachment. The sagacity of a smith, who remarked that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him, and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found, in which he embarked, and, after 41 days' concealment, he arrived safely at Fécamp, in Normandy (Oct. 17). No fewer than 40 men and women, had, at different times, been privy to his concealment and escape.

§ 5. Notwithstanding the late wars and bloodshed, and the present factions, the power of England had never, in any period, appeared so formidable to the neighboring kingdoms as it did at this time, in the hands of the Commonwealth. The power of

* Two of the descendants of this family still receive pensions for their services on this occasion.

peace and war was lodged in the same hands with the power of imposing taxes; a numerous and well-disciplined army was on foot; and excellent officers were formed in every branch of service. The confusion into which all things had been thrown had given opportunity to men of low stations to break through their obscurity, and to raise themselves by their courage to commands which they were well qualified to exercise, but to which their birth could never have entitled them. Blake, a man of great courage and a generous disposition, who had defended Lyme and Taunton with unshaken obstinacy against the late king, was made an admiral; and though he had hitherto been accustomed only to land-service, into which, too, he had not entered till past fifty years of age, he soon raised the naval glory of the nation to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. A fleet was put under his command, with which he chased into the Tagus Prince Rupert, to whom the king had intrusted that squadron which had deserted to him. The King of Portugal having refused Blake admittance, and aided Prince Rupert in making his escape, the English admiral made prize of twenty Portuguese ships richly laden; and he threatened still farther vengeance. The King of Portugal, dreading so dangerous a foe to his newly-acquired dominion, made all possible submission to the haughty republic, and was at last admitted to negotiate the renewal of his alliance with England.

All the settlements in America, except New England, which had been planted entirely by the Puritans, adhered to the royal party, even after the settlement of the republic, but were soon subdued. With equal ease were Jersey, Guernsey, Scilly, and the Isle of Man brought under subjection to the republic; and the sea, which had been much infested by privateers from these islands, was rendered safe to English commerce. The Countess of Derby defended the Isle of Man, and with great reluctance yielded to the necessity of surrendering to the enemy. Ireton, the new deputy of Ireland, at the head of an army 30,000 strong, prosecuted the work of subduing the revolted Irish; and he defeated them in many rencounters, which, though of themselves of no great moment, proved fatal to their declining cause. He died of the plague at Limerick, after he had captured that town by a vigorous siege. The command of the army in Ireland devolved on Lieutenant General Ludlow. The civil government of the island was intrusted to Commissioners.

The successes which attended Monk in Scotland were no less decisive. After taking Stirling Castle (whence the national records and regalia were conveyed to London), and gaining other advantages, he carried Dundee by assault; and, following the ex-

ample and instructions of Cromwell, put all the inhabitants to the sword, in order to strike a general terror into the kingdom. Warned by this example, Aberdeen, St. Andrew's, Inverness, and other towns and forts, yielded, of their own accord, to the enemy. Argyle made his submissions to the English Commonwealth; and Scotland, which had hitherto, by means of its situation, poverty, and valor, maintained its independence, was reduced to total subiection. The English Parliament sent Sir Harry Vane, St. John, and other Commissioners to settle that kingdom.

§ 6. By the total reduction and pacification of the British dominions, the Parliament had leisure to look abroad, and to exert their vigor in foreign enterprises. The Dutch were the first that felt the weight of their arms. After the death (in 1650) of William, Prince of Orange, who had married an English princess, and whose policy had been favorable to the royal cause, the Parliament thought that the time had arrived for cementing a closer confederacy with the Dutch Republican party, which had now gained the ascendant. St. John, chief justice, who was sent over to the Hague, had entertained the idea of forming a kind of coalition between the two republics; but the States offered only to renew the former alliances with England; and the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at many affronts which had been offered him with impunity by the retainers of the palatine and Orange families, and indeed by the populace in general, returned into England, and, by his influence over Cromwell, determined the Parliament to change the purposed alliance into a furious war against the United Provinces. To cover these hostile intentions, the Parliament embraced such measures as they knew would give disgust to the States. They framed the famous Act of Navigation, which prohibited all nations from importing into England in their bottoms any commodity which was not the growth and manufacture of their own country. By this law the Dutch were principally affected, because they subsisted chiefly by being the general carriers and factors of Europe. Letters of reprisal were granted to several merchants, who complained of injuries, and above 80 Dutch ships were made prizes. Tromp, an admiral of great renown, with a fleet of 42 sail, being forced by stress of weather, as he alleged, to take shelter in the road of Dover, there met with Blake, who commanded an English fleet much inferior in number. Who was the aggressor in the action which ensued between these two admirals, both of them men of such prompt and fiery dispositions, it is not easy to determine. Blake, though his squadron consisted of only 15 vessels, re-enforced, after the battle began, by eight under Captain Bourne, maintained the fight with bravery for five hours, and sunk

one ship of the enemy, and took another (May 19, 1652). Night parted the combatants, and the Dutch fleet retired toward the coast of Holland. The Dutch dispatched their Pensionary Paw to conciliate matters; but the imperious Parliament would hearken to no explanations or remonstrances. They demanded that, without any farther delay or inquiry, reparation should be made for all the damages which the English had sustained; and when this demand was not complied with, they dispatched orders for commencing war against the United Provinces (July 8). Several naval engagements followed. Sir George Ayscue, though he commanded only 40 ships, engaged, near Plymouth, the famous De Ruyter, who had under him 40 ships of war, with 30 merchantmen (Aug. 16). Night parted them in the greatest heat of the action. De Ruyter next day sailed off with his convoy. The English fleet had been so shattered in the fight that it was not able to pursue. Near the coast of Kent, Blake, seconded by Bourne and Penn, met a Dutch squadron nearly equal in numbers, commanded by De Witt and De Ruyter (Sept. 28). A battle was fought, much to the disadvantage of the Dutch. Their rear admiral was boarded and taken. Two other vessels were sunk, and one blown up. The Dutch next day made sail toward Holland. On Nov. 28, Tromp, seconded by De Ruyter, met, near the Goodwins, with Blake, whose fleet was inferior to the Dutch, but who had resolved not to decline the combat. In this action the Dutch had the advantage, and Blake himself was wounded. After this victory, Tromp, in a bravado, fixed a broom to his mainmast, as if he were resolved to sweep the sea entirely of all English vessels.

Great preparations were made in England in order to wipe off this disgrace. A gallant fleet of 80 sail was fitted out. Blake commanded, and under him Monk, who had been sent for from Scotland. When the English lay off Portland (Feb. 18, 1653), they descried, near break of day, a Dutch fleet of 76 vessels sailing up the Channel, along with a convoy of 300 merchantmen. Tromp, and under him De Ruyter, commanded the Dutch. This battle was the most furious that had yet been fought between these warlike and rival nations. Three days was the combat continued with the utmost rage and obstinacy; and Blake, who was victor, gained not more honor than Tromp, who was vanquished. The Dutch admiral made a skillful retreat, and saved all the merchant ships except 30. He lost, however, 11 ships of war, had 2000 men slain, and near 1500 taken prisoners. The English, though many of their ships were extremely shattered, had but one sunk. Their slain were not much inferior in number to those of the enemy.

§ 7. Meanwhile, a domestic revolution was preparing. Cromwell saw that the Parliament entertained a jealousy of his power and ambition, and were resolved to bring him to a subordination under their authority. Without scruple or delay he resolved to prevent them. He summoned a general council of officers, in which it was presently voted to frame a remonstrance to the Parliament. After complaining of the arrears due to the army, they desired the Parliament to reflect how many years they had sat, and that it was now full time for them to give place to others. They therefore desired them to summon a new Parliament, and establish that free and equal government which they had so long promised to the people. The Parliament took this remonstrance in ill part, and much altercation ensued. At last Cromwell, being informed that they had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the House by new elections, immediately hastened to the House, and carried a body of 300 soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly, with tears, besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and good of the nation. He then sat down for some time and heard the debate. He beckoned Harrison, and told him that he now judged the Parliament ripe for a dissolution. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general; and thereupon sat still about a quarter of an hour. When the question was ready to be put, he said again to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it." And suddenly starting up, he loaded the Parliament with the vilest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame!" said he to the Parliament; "get you gone; give place to honester men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a Parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a Parliament. The Lord has done with you: he has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! The Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!" Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaster," said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton;" "and thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this bawble? Here,

take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the House, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall, he himself went out the last, and, ordering the doors to be locked, departed to his lodgings in Whitehall (April 20, 1653).

The indignation entertained by the people against such a manifest usurpation was not so violent as might naturally be expected. Congratulatory addresses, the first of the kind, were made to Cromwell by the fleet, by the army, even by many of the chief corporations and counties of England, but especially by the several congregations of saints dispersed throughout the kingdom.

§ 8. Cromwell, however, thought it requisite to establish something which might bear the face of a Commonwealth; and, without any more ceremony, by the advice of his council of officers, he sent summonses to 128 persons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of Ireland. He pretended, by his sole act and deed, to devolve upon these the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during 15 months, and they were afterward to choose the same number of persons who might succeed them in that high and important office. In this assembly, which voted themselves a Parliament (July 4), were many persons of the rank of gentlemen; but the greater part were Fifth Monarchy men, Anabaptists, and Independents. They began with seeking God by prayer. They contemplated some extraordinary schemes of legislation, but had not leisure to finish any, except that which established the legal solemnization of marriage by the civil magistrate alone. Among the fanatics of the House there was an active member, much noted for his long prayers, sermons, and harangues. He was a leather-seller in London: his name, *Praise-God Barebone*. This ridiculous name struck the fancy of the people, and they commonly affixed to this assembly the appellation of Barebone's Parliament. Another name for it was "the Little Parliament."

Cromwell, finding this assembly not so obsequious as he expected, resolved to bring it to a close. Accordingly, on Dec. 13, Sydenham, an Independent, suddenly proposed that the Parliament should, by a formal deed or assignment, resign its power into the hands of Cromwell. Rouse, the speaker, who was one of Sydenham's party, forthwith left the chair, followed by several members, and the few who remained in the House were ejected by Colonel White, with a party of soldiers. Cromwell at first refused the offer; but the resignation of their powers being signed by the majority of the House, he accepted the trust, and a deed

was drawn up, called the *Instrument of Government*, which received the approval of the council of officers. By this instrument Cromwell received the title of "His Highness the Lord Protector," and a council was appointed of not more than 21, nor less than 13 persons, who were to enjoy their office during life or good behavior. The Protector was bound to summon a Parliament every three years, and allow them to sit five months without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills which they passed were to be presented to the Protector for his assent; but if within twenty days it were not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority alone of Parliament. A standing army for Great Britain and Ireland was established of 20,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and funds were assigned for their support. The Protector was to enjoy his office during life, and on his death the place was immediately to be supplied by the council.

§ 9. In spite of the distracted scenes which the civil government exhibited in England, the military force was exerted with vigor, conduct, and unanimity, and never did the kingdom appear more formidable to all foreign nations. The English fleet gained several victories over the Dutch, in the last of which, Van Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, was shot through the heart with a musket ball (July 31, 1653). Monk and Penn commanded



Medal given for service in the action with the Dutch, July 31, 1653. Obv.: a naval battle: above, FOR EMINENT SERVICE IN SAVING Y TRIVMPH FIGHT IN FIGHT WH Y DVCH IN IVLY 1653. Rev.: arms of the three kingdoms suspended on an anchor.

in this engagement, Blake being ill on shore. The States, overwhelmed with the expense of the war, terrified by their losses, and mortified by their defeats, were extremely desirous of an accommodation with an enemy whom they found, by experience, too powerful for them; and a peace was at last signed by Cromwell (April 5, 1654). A defensive league was made between the two republics: the honor of the flag was yielded to the English.

§ 10. The new Parliament, summoned by the Protector, met on Sept. 4, 1654. The elections had been conducted agreeably to the *Instrument of Government*, in a method favorable to liberty. All the small boroughs, places the most exposed to influence and corruption, had been deprived of the franchise. Of 400 members which represented England, 270 were chosen by the counties. The rest were elected by London and the more considerable corporations. The lower populace too, so easily guided or deceived, were excluded from the elections. An estate of £200 value was necessary to entitle any one to a vote. Thirty members were returned from Scotland; as many from Ireland.

Cromwell soon found that he did not possess the confidence of this Parliament. Having heard the Protector's speech, three hours long, and having chosen Lenthal for their speaker, they immediately entered into a discussion of the pretended instrument of government, and of that authority which Cromwell, by the title of Protector, had assumed over the nation. The greatest liberty was used in arraigning this new dignity; and even the personal character and conduct of Cromwell escaped not without censure. The Protector, surprised and enraged at this refractory spirit, sent for them to the painted chamber, with an air of great authority inveighed against their conduct, and told them that nothing could be more absurd than for them to dispute his title, since the same instrument of government which made them a Parliament had invested him with the Protectorship. He forbade them to dispute the fundamentals of the new Constitution, among which the chief was the government of the nation by a single person and a Parliament; he obliged the members to sign an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration; and he placed guards at the door of the House, who allowed none but subscribers to enter. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this condition, but retained the same refractory spirit which they had discovered in their first debates. Cromwell, therefore, dismissed them in a tedious, confused, and angry harangue, on January 31, 1655.

The discontent discovered by this Parliament encouraged the Royalists to attempt an insurrection, which, however, was soon put down, and served only to strengthen Cromwell's government. He issued an edict, with the consent of his council, for exacting the tenth penny from the Royalists, in order, as he pretended, to make them pay the expenses to which their mutinous disposition continually exposed the public. To raise this imposition, which commonly passed by the name of decimation, the Protector instituted 11 major generals, and divided the whole kingdom of England into so many military jurisdictions. These men, assisted

by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the Protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion; nor was there any appeal from them but to the Protector himself and his council. In short, they acted as if absolute masters of the property and person of every subject.

Meanwhile, the resentment displayed by the English Parliament at the protection afforded by France to Charles induced that court to change its measures. Anne of Austria had become regent of France in the minority of her son Louis XIV., and Cardinal Mazarin had succeeded Richelieu in the ministry. Charles was treated by them with such affected indifference that he thought it more decent to withdraw, and prevent the indignity of being desired to leave the kingdom. He went first to Spa, thence he retired to Cologne, where he lived two years on a small pension paid him by the court of France, and on some contributions sent him by his friends in England.

The French ministry deemed it still more necessary to pay deference to the Protector when he assumed the reins of government. They were now at war with Spain, and wished to defeat the intrigues of that court, which, being reduced to greater distress than the French monarchy, had been still more forward in their advances to the prosperous Parliament and Protector. Cromwell resolved for several reasons to unite his arms to those of France. The extensive empire and yet extreme weakness of Spain in the West Indies, the vigorous courage and great naval power of England, made him hope that he might, by some gainful conquest, render forever illustrious that dominion which he had assumed over his country. Should he fail of these durable acquisitions, the Indian treasures, which must every year cross the ocean to reach Spain, were, he thought, a sure prey to the English navy, and would support his military force, without his laying new burdens on the discontented people. These motives of policy were probably seconded by his religious principles; and as the Spaniards were more bigoted papists than the French, and had refused to mitigate on Cromwell's solicitation the rigors of the Inquisition, he hoped that a holy and meritorious war with such idolaters could not fail of protection from Heaven.

§ 11. Actuated by these motives, the Protector equipped two considerable squadrons, one of which, consisting of 30 capital ships, was sent into the Mediterranean under Blake, whose fame was now spread over Europe. Blake sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to restrain his piratical subjects from farther violences on the English. He then presented himself before Tunis, where, incensed

by the insolence of the dey, he destroyed the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, sent a numerous detachment of sailors in their long-boats into the harbor, and burned every ship which lay there. This bold action filled all that part of the world with the renown of English valor.

The other squadron was not equally successful. It was commanded by Penn, and carried on board 4000 men, under the command of Venables. An attack upon St. Domingo was repulsed with loss and disgrace; but Jamaica surrendered to them without a blow. Penn and Venables returned to England, and were both of them sent to the Tower by the Protector, who, though commonly master of his fiery temper, was thrown into a violent passion at this disappointment. He had, however, made a conquest of greater importance than he was himself at that time aware of; and Jamaica has ever since remained in the hands of the English.

As soon as the news of this expedition, which was an unwarrantable violation of treaty, arrived in Europe, the Spaniards declared war against England, and seized all the ships and goods of English merchants of which they could make themselves masters. Blake, to whom Montague was now joined in command, prepared himself for hostilities against the Spaniards, and lay some time off Cadiz in expectation of intercepting the treasure-fleet, but was at last obliged, for want of water, to make sail toward Portugal. Captain Stayner, however, whom he had left on the coast with a squadron of 7 vessels, took two ships, valued at nearly two millions of pieces of eight (Sept. 1656).

The next action against the Spaniards was more honorable, though less profitable to the nation. Blake pursued a Spanish fleet of 16 ships to the Canaries, where he found them in the Bay of Santa Cruz, defended by a strong castle and seven forts. Blake was rather animated than daunted with this appearance. The wind seconded his courage, and, blowing full into the bay, in a moment brought him among the thickest of his enemies. After a resistance of four hours, the Spaniards yielded to English valor, and abandoned their ships, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure. The wind, suddenly shifting, carried the English out of the bay, where they left the Spaniards in astonishment at the happy temerity of their audacious visitors (April 20, 1657). This was the last and greatest action of the gallant Blake. He was consumed with a dropsy and scurvy, and hastened home, that he might yield up his breath in his native country, but expired within sight of land. Never man, so zealous for a faction, was so much respected and esteemed even by the opposite parties. He was by principle an inflexible Republican; and the late usurpations, amid all the trust and caresses which he received from the

ruling powers, were thought to be very little grateful to him. "It is still our duty," he said to the seamen, "to fight for our country, into what hands soever the government might fall." The Protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public charge; but the tears of his countrymen were the most honorable panegyric on his memory.

§ 12. The conduct of the Protector in foreign affairs was full of vigor and enterprise, and drew a consideration to his country which, since the reign of Elizabeth, it seemed totally to have lost. It was his boast that he would render the name of an Englishman as much feared and revered as ever was that of a Roman; and as his countrymen found some reality in these pretensions, their national vanity, being gratified, made them bear with more patience all the indignities and calamities under which they labored. And the Protestant zeal which animated the Presbyterians and Independents was highly gratified by the haughty manner in which the Protector so successfully supported the Vaudois, or persecuted Protestants of Savoy, against whom the duke had commenced a furious persecution.

The general behavior and deportment of Cromwell, who had been raised from a private station, and who had passed most of his youth in the country, was such as might befit the greatest monarch. He maintained a dignity without either affectation or ostentation, and supported with all strangers that high idea with which his great exploits and prodigious fortune had impressed them. Among his ancient friends he could relax himself; and by trifling and amusement, jesting and making verses, he feared not exposing himself to their most familiar approaches. Great regularity, however, and even austerity of manners, were always maintained in his court; and he was careful never by any liberties to give offense to the most rigid of the godly. Some state was upheld, but with little expense, and without any splendor. The nobility, though courted by him, kept at a distance, and disdained to intermix with those mean persons who were the instruments of his government.

Cromwell had reduced Scotland and Ireland to a total subjection, and he treated them entirely as conquered provinces. The civil administration of Scotland was placed in a council, consisting mostly of English. Justice was administered by seven judges, four of whom were English. A long line of forts and garrisons was maintained throughout the kingdom, and an army of 10,000 men kept every thing in peace and obedience. The Protector's administration of Ireland was still more severe and violent. The government of that island was first intrusted to Fleetwood, who had married Ireton's widow; then to Henry Cromwell, second

son of the Protector, a young man of an amiable, mild disposition, and not destitute of vigor and capacity.

§ 13. In summoning a new Parliament in 1656, Cromwell used every art in order to influence the elections, and fill the House with his own creatures; yet, notwithstanding all these precautions, he still found that the majority would not be favorable to him. Accordingly, on their assembling (Sept. 17), he set guards at the door, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council; and the council rejected about 100, who either refused a recognition of the Protector's government, or were on other accounts obnoxious to him. These protested against so egregious a violence, subversive of all liberty; but every application for redress was neglected both by the council and the Parliament. The majority of the Parliament, by means of these arts and violences, was friendly to the Protector, who now began to aspire to the crown; and, in order to pave the way to this advancement, he resolved to sacrifice his major generals, whom he knew to be extremely odious to the nation. Colonel Jephson was employed to sound the inclinations of the House on the subject; and the result appearing favorable, a motion in form was made by Alderman Pack, one of the city members, for investing the Protector with the dignity of king. This motion at first excited great disorder, and divided the whole House into parties. The chief opposition came from the usual adherents of the Protector, the major generals, and such officers as depended on them; and particularly Lambert, a man of deep intrigue, and of great interest in the army, who had long entertained the ambition of succeeding Cromwell in the Protectorship. But the bill, which was entitled *An Humble Petition and Advice*, was voted by a considerable majority, and a committee was appointed to reason with the Protector, and to overcome those scruples which he pretended against accepting so liberal an offer. The conference lasted several days. The difficulty consisted not in persuading Cromwell, whose inclination, as well as judgment, was entirely on the side of the committee. The opposition which Cromwell most dreaded was that which he met with in his own family, and from men who, by interest as well as inclination, were the most devoted to him. Fleetwood had married his daughter; Desborough his sister; yet these men, actuated by principle alone, could by no persuasion, artifice, or entreaty, be induced to consent that their friend and patron should be invested with regal dignity. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers who were in London and the neighborhood; and some sudden mutiny in the army was justly dreaded. Cromwell, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse that crown

which the representatives of the nation, in the most solemn manner, had tendered to him (May 8, 1657). The provisions, however, of the *Humble Petition and Advice* were retained as the basis of the Republican establishment, instead of the former *Instrument of Government*. By the new deed the Protector had the power of nominating his successor; he had a perpetual revenue assigned him; and he had authority to name another House, who should enjoy their seats during life, and exercise some functions of the former House of Peers. Cromwell, as if his power had just commenced from this popular consent, was anew inaugurated in Westminster Hall, after the most solemn and most pompous manner.

Richard, eldest son of the Protector, was now brought to court, introduced into public business, and thenceforth regarded by many as his heir in the Protectorship. Cromwell had two daughters unmarried: one of them he now gave in marriage to the grandson and heir of his great friend the Earl of Warwick, with whom he had, in every fortune, preserved an uninterrupted intimacy and good correspondence. The other he married to the Viscount Fauconberg, of a family formerly devoted to the royal party. The Parliament assembled again on Jan. 20, 1658, consisting, as in the times of monarchy, of two Houses. Cromwell had sent writs to his House of Peers, which consisted of 60 members. They were composed of five or six ancient peers, of several gentlemen of fortune and distinction, and of some officers who had risen from the meanest stations. None of the ancient peers, however, though summoned by writ, would deign to accept of a seat which they must share with such companions as were assigned them. But Cromwell soon found that, by bringing so great a number of his friends and adherents into the other House, he had lost the majority among the national representatives; and, dreading combinations between them and the malcontents in the army, he dissolved the Parliament with expressions of great displeasure (Feb. 4).

§ 14. Cromwell still pursued his schemes of conquest and dominion on the Continent; and he sent over into Flanders 6000 men under Reynolds, who joined the French army commanded by Turenne. In 1658 siege was laid to Dunkirk; and when the Spanish army advanced to relieve it the combined armies of France and England marched out of their trenches, and fought the battle of the Dunes, where the Spaniards were totally defeated. The valor of the English was much remarked on this occasion (June 4). Dunkirk, being soon after surrendered, was by agreement delivered to Cromwell. This acquisition was regarded by the Protector as the means only of obtaining, in con-

cert with the French court, the final conquest and partition of the Low Countries.

But the situation in which Cromwell stood at home kept him in perpetual uneasiness and inquietude. His military enterprises had exhausted his revenue, and involved him in considerable debt. The Royalists, he heard, had renewed their conspiracies for a general insurrection. Ormond had come over to England, and Lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, and many heads of the Presbyterians, had secretly entered into the engagement. Even the army was infected with the general spirit of discontent, and some sudden and dangerous eruption was every moment to be dreaded from it. This conspiracy, however, was discovered, and promptly suppressed. Ormond was obliged to fly, and he deemed himself fortunate to have escaped so vigilant an administration. Great numbers were thrown into prison. A high court of justice was anew erected for the trial of those criminals whose guilt was most apparent, as the Protector could not as yet trust to an unbiased jury. Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. Hewitt were condemned and beheaded.

The conspiracy of the Millenarians in the army struck Cromwell with still greater apprehensions, and he lived in the continual dread of assassination. The death of Mrs. Claypole, his favorite daughter, a lady endued with many humane virtues and amiable accomplishments, depressed his anxious mind, and poisoned all his enjoyments. All composure of mind was now forever fled from the Protector. He never moved a step without strong guards attending him; he wore armor under his clothes, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons, a sword, falchion, and pistols, which he always carried about him. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went. Every journey he performed with hurry and precipitation. Seldom he slept above three nights together in the same chamber; and he never let it be known beforehand what chamber he intended to choose.

§ 15. Cromwell's body also, from the contagion of his anxious mind, began to be affected, and his health seemed sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week no dangerous symptoms appeared, and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the symptoms began to wear a more fatal aspect, and the physicians were obliged to break silence, and to declare that the Protector could not survive the next fit with which he was threatened. The council was alarmed. A deputation was sent to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone, and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son,

Richard, should succeed him in the Protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be, extorted from him. Soon after, on the 3d of September (1658), the very day on which he had gained the victories of Dunbar and Worcester, and which he had always considered as the most fortunate for him, he expired. A violent tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the vulgar, his partisans and his enemies endeavoring by forced inferences to interpret it as a confirmation of their particular prejudices.

The administration of Cromwell, though it discovers great abilities, was conducted without any plan either of liberty or arbitrary power; perhaps his difficult situation admitted of neither. The great principle of his foreign policy was alliance with the Protestant states, and the support of Protestantism throughout Europe. If we survey his moral character with that indulgence which is due to the blindness and infirmities of the human species, we shall not be inclined to load his memory with such violent reproaches as those which his enemies usually throw upon it. The murder of the king, the most atrocious of all his actions, was to him covered under a mighty cloud of republican and religious illusions; and it is not impossible but he might believe it, as many others did, the most meritorious action that he could perform. His subsequent usurpation was the effect of necessity, as well as of ambition; nor is it easy to see how the various factions could at that time have been restrained without a mixture of military and arbitrary authority. His private deportment, as a son, a husband, a father, a friend, merits the highest praise.

Cromwell was in the sixtieth year of his age when he died. He was of a robust frame of body, and of a manly, though not of an agreeable aspect. He left only two sons, Richard and Henry; and three daughters—one married to general Fleetwood, another to Lord Fauconberg, a third to Lord Rich. His father died when he was very young. His mother lived till after he was Protector, and, contrary to her orders, he buried her with great pomp in Westminster Abbey. To educate her numerous family she had been obliged to set up a brewery at Huntingdon, which she managed to good advantage. Hence Cromwell, in the invectives of that age, is often stigmatized with the name of the brewer. She was of a good family, of the name of Stuart, remotely allied, as is by some supposed, to the royal family.

§ 16. When that potent hand was removed which conducted the government, every one expected a sudden dissolution of the unwieldy and ill-jointed fabric. Cromwell's eldest son, Richard, a young man of no experience, educated in the country, possessed only the virtues of private life, which in his situation were so

many vices; indolence, incapacity, irresolution, attended his facility and good-nature. The council, however, recognized the succession of Richard. Fleetwood, in whose favor it was supposed Cromwell had formerly made a will, renounced all claim or pretension to the Protectorship. Henry, Richard's brother, who governed Ireland with popularity, insured him the obedience of that kingdom. Monk, whose authority was well established in Scotland, being much attached to the family of Cromwell, immediately proclaimed the new Protector. The army and the fleet acknowledged his title; and above ninety addresses, from the counties and most considerable corporations, congratulated him on his accession, in all the terms of dutiful allegiance. A new Parliament (Jan. 29, 1659) proceeded to examine the *Humble Petition and Advice;* and, after great opposition and many vehement debates, it was at length, with much difficulty, carried by the court party to confirm it. On the other hand, the most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood, brother-in-law to the Protector, were entering into cabals against him; and the whole Republican party in the army, which was still considerable, united themselves to that general. Above all, the intrigues of Lambert inflamed all those dangerous humors, and threatened the nation with some great convulsion. Richard, who possessed neither resolution nor penetration, was prevailed to give an unguarded consent for calling a general council of officers, who proposed that the whole military power should be intrusted to some person in whom they might all confide.

The Parliament, no less alarmed than the Protector at the military cabals, voted that there should be no meeting or general council of officers, except with the Protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought affairs immediately to a rupture. The officers hastened to Richard and demanded of him the dissolution of the Parliament. Desborough threatened him if he should refuse compliance. The Protector wanted the resolution to deny, and possessed little ability to resist. The Parliament was dissolved; and by the same act the Protector was, by every one, considered as effectually dethroned (April 22). Soon after he signed his demission in form. Henry, the deputy of Ireland, though he possessed more vigor and capacity than his brother Richard, quietly resigned his command, and retired to England. Thus fell suddenly, and from an enormous height, but by a rare fortune without any hurt or injury, the family of the Cromwells. Richard, after the restoration, traveled abroad some years, and on his return to England lived a peaceful and quiet life, and died in extreme old age at the latter end of Queen Anne's reign (1712). Henry retired into Cambridgeshire, where he died in 1674.

§ 17. The council of officers, now possessed of supreme authority, resolved, after much debate, on restoring the Long Parliament. Its numbers were small, little exceeding 70 members; but, being all of them men of violent ambition, some of them men of experience and capacity, they were resolved, since they enjoyed the title of the supreme authority, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They voted that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and be assigned by him in the name of the House. These precautions gave great disgust to the general officers, and their discontent would immediately have broken out in some resolution fatal to the Parliament had it not been checked by the apprehensions of danger from the common enemy.

The dominion of the pretended Parliament had ever been to the last degree odious to the Presbyterians as well as to the Royalists. A secret reconciliation, therefore, was made between the rival parties, and it was agreed that, burying former enmities in oblivion, all efforts should be used for the overthrow of the Rump Parliament, as it was called. In many counties a resolution was taken to rise in arms; but the plans of the Royalists were betrayed, and the only project which ever took effect was that of Sir George Booth for the seizing of Chester. He was, however, soon routed and taken prisoner by Lambert, and the Parliament had no farther occupation than to fill all the jails with their open or secret enemies. This success hastened the ruin of the Parliament. Alarmed at the proceedings of Lambert and his faction, they voted that they would have no more general officers. Thereupon Lambert and the other officers expelled the Parliament (Oct. 23), and elected a committee of 23 persons, whom they invested with sovereign authority, under the name of a *Committee of Safety*. Throughout the three kingdoms there prevailed nothing but the melancholy fears, to the nobility and gentry, of a bloody massacre and extermination; to the rest of the people, of perpetual servitude beneath the military; while the condition of Charles seemed totally desperate. But amid all these gloomy prospects, fortune, by a surprising revolution, was paving the way for the king to mount in peace and triumph the throne of his ancestors.

§ 18. General Monk, as we have seen, held the supreme military command in Scotland. After the army had expelled the Parliament, Monk protested against the violence, and resolved, as he pretended, to vindicate their invaded privileges. Deeper designs, either in the king's favor or his own, were from the beginning suspected to be the motive of his actions. How early he entertained designs for the king's restoration we know not with certainty. It is likely that as soon as Richard was deposed he foresaw

that, without such an expedient, it would be impossible ever to bring the nation to a regular settlement. But his conduct was full of dissimulation, and no less was requisite for effecting the difficult work which he had undertaken. All the officers in his army of whom he entertained any suspicion he immediately cashiered; and, hearing that Lambert was marching northward with a large army, he amused the committee with offers of negotiation.

Meanwhile these military sovereigns found themselves surrounded on all hands with inextricable difficulties. While Lambert's forces were assembling at Newcastle, Hazlerig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the Parliament. The city assumed a kind of separate government, and assumed the supreme authority within itself. Admiral Lawson, with his squadron, came into the river, and declared for the Parliament. Hazelrig and Morley, hearing of this important event, left Portsmouth and advanced toward London. The regiments near that city, being solicited by their old officers, who had been cashiered by the committee of safety, revolted again to the Parliament. Lenthal, the speaker, being invited by the officers, again assumed authority and summoned together the Parliament, which twice before had been expelled with so much reproach and ignominy (Dec. 26). Monk now advanced into England with his army. In all counties through which he passed the gentry flocked to him with addresses, expressing their earnest desire that he would be instrumental in restoring the nation to peace and tranquillity. He entered London without opposition (Feb. 3, 1660), was introduced to the House, and thanks were given him by Lenthal for the eminent services which he had done his country. Monk's conduct was at first ambiguous. He appeared ready to obey all the commands of the Parliament, and marched into the city to seize several leading citizens who had refused obedience to the commands of the House; but two days afterward he wrote a letter to the Parliament, requiring them, in the name of the citizens, soldiers, and whole commonwealth, to issue writs within a week for the filling of their House, and to fix the time for their own dissolution and the assembling of a new Parliament. The excluded members, upon the general's invitation, went to the House, and immediately appeared to be the majority; most of the Independents left the place. The restored members renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers; and, after passing some other measures for the present composure of the kingdom, they dissolved themselves, and issued writs for the immediate assembling of a new Parliament. A council of state was established, consisting of men of character and moderation, who conferred on Montague, a Royalist, in conjunction with Monk, the command of the fleet, and se-

cured the naval as well as military force in hands favorable to the public settlement. Notwithstanding all these steps, Monk still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth, and had hitherto allowed no channel of correspondence between himself and the king to be opened; but he now sent a verbal message by Sir John Grenville, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories and retire into Holland. He was apprehensive lest Spain might detain him as a pledge for the recovery of Dunkirk and Jamaica. Charles, who was at Brussels, followed these directions, and very narrowly escaped to Breda. Had he protracted his journey a few hours, he had certainly, under pretense of honor and respect, been arrested by the Spaniards.

§ 19. The elections for the new Parliament went every where in favor of the king's party. The Presbyterians and the Royalists, being united, formed the voice of the nation, which, without noise, but with infinite ardor, called for the king's restoration. When the Parliament met (April 25)—which, from its not being regularly summoned, was called the Convention Parliament—they chose Sir Harbottle Grimstone speaker. On the 27th of April a motion for the restoration of the king was made by Colonel King and Mr. Finch. On the 1st of May Monk gave directions to Annesley, president of the council, to inform them that one Sir John Grenville, a servant of the king's, had been sent over by his majesty, and was now at the door with a letter to the Commons. The loudest acclamations were excited by this intelligence. Grenville was called in; the letter, with a declaration, greedily read; without one moment's delay, and without a contradictory vote, a committee was appointed to prepare an answer; and, in order to spread the same satisfaction throughout the kingdom, it was voted that the letter and declaration should immediately be published. It offered a general amnesty, without any exceptions but such as should afterward be made by Parliament; it promised liberty of conscience; it submitted to the arbitration of the same assembly the inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations; and it assured the soldiers of all their arrears, and promised them, for the future, the same pay which they then enjoyed. Such was the celebrated declaration from Breda.

The Lords, perceiving the spirit by which the kingdom, as well as the Commons, was animated, had hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient authority, and to take their share in the settlement of the nation. Soon afterward the two Houses attended, while the king was proclaimed with great solemnity, in Palace Yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple Bar (May 8, 1660). A committee of Lords and Commons was then dispatched to invite his

majesty to return and take possession of the government. Charles embarked at Scheveling on board a fleet commanded by the Duke of York. At Dover he was met by Monk, whom he cordially embraced. The king entered London on the 29th of May, which was also his birthday. The fond imaginations of men interpreted as a happy omen the concurrence of two such joyful periods.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1649. Charles II. proclaimed at Edinburgh.
" England declared a commonwealth.
" Cromwell's victories in Ireland.
1650. Charles II. lands in Scotland.
" Cromwell invades Scotland and gains the battle of Dunbar.
1651. Charles II. crowned at Scone. He invades England, is defeated at Worcester, and escapes to France.
1652. War with Holland. Several actions between Blake and Van Tromp and De Ruyter.
1653. Long Parliament expelled. Cromwell's first Parliament (Barebone's Parliament).
" Cromwell made Protector.

A.D.
1653. Defeat of the Dutch. Death of Van Tromp.
1655. Peace with Holland. Cromwell's second Parliament.
" Naval expeditions of Blake. War with Spain. Capture of Jamaica.
1656. Cromwell's third Parliament.
1657. Cromwell refuses the crown.
1658. Dunkirk taken. Death of Cromwell. His son Richard declared Protector.
1659. Committee of safety. Richard Cromwell resigns the Protectorate.
1660. General Monk enters London. Convention Parliament. Restoration of Charles II.



Medal of Charles II. and Catherine, probably relating to the queen's dowry. Obv.: CAROLVS . ET . CATHARINA . REX . ET . REGINA. Busts of king and queen to right. Rev.: DIFFVSVS . IN . ORBE . BRITANNVS . 1670. A globe.

CHAPTER XXIV.

CHARLES II. FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN. A.D. 1660–1678.

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§ 1. CHARLES II., when he ascended the throne of his ancestors, was thirty years of age. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, a manly figure, a graceful air; and, though his features were harsh, yet was his countenance in the main lively and engaging. To a ready wit and quick comprehension he united a just understanding and a general observation both of men and things. The easiest manners, the most unaffected politeness, the most engaging gayety accompanied his conversation and address. Accustomed during his exile to live among his courtiers rather like a companion than a monarch, he retained,

even while on the throne, that open affability which was capable of reconciling the most determined Republicans to his royal dignity.

Into his council were admitted the most eminent men of the nation, without regard to former distinctions: the Presbyterians, equally with the Royalists, shared this honor. The Earl of Manchester was appointed lord chamberlain, and Lord Say privy seal: Calamy and Baxter, Presbyterian clergymen, were even made chaplains to the king. Admiral Montague, created Earl of Sandwich,* was entitled, from his recent services, to great favor, and he obtained it. Monk, created Duke of Albemarle,† had performed such signal services that, according to a vulgar and malignant observation, he ought rather to have expected hatred and ingratitude; yet was he ever treated by the king with great marks of distinction. But the king's principal ministers and favorites were chosen among his ancient friends and supporters. Sir Edward Hyde, created Earl of Clarendon, was chancellor and prime minister; the Marquis, created Duke, of Ormond, was steward of the household; the Earl of Southampton, high treasurer; Sir Edward Nicholas, secretary of state. Agreeable to the present prosperity of public affairs was the universal joy and festivity diffused throughout the nation. The melancholy austerity of the Puritans fell into discredit, together with their principles. The Royalists, who had ever affected a contrary disposition, found in their recent success new motives for mirth and gayety; and it now belonged to them to give repute and fashion to their manners.

One of the king's first acts was to grant a general pardon and indemnity; but he issued a proclamation declaring that such of the late king's judges as did not yield themselves prisoners within fourteen days should receive no pardon. Nineteen surrendered themselves; some were taken in their flight; others escaped beyond sea. Those who had an immediate hand in the late king's death were excepted in the act of indemnity; even Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw, and others now dead, were attainted, and their estates forfeited. Vane and Lambert, though none of the regicides, were also excepted. All who had sat in any illegal high court of justice were disabled from bearing offices.

The Parliament voted that the settled revenue of the crown, for all charges, should be £1,200,000 a year, a sum greater than any English monarch had ever before enjoyed. They abolished the feudal tenure of knights' service and its incidents, as marriage, re-

* He was the ancestor of the present Earl of Sandwich.

† This title became extinct upon the death of the second duke in 1668. The present Earl of Albemarle is a descendant of Keppel, created Earl of Albemarle in 1696.

lief, and wardship (see p. 131, 132), and also purveyance, and in lieu thereof settled upon the king an hereditary excise duty.* Indeed, it would have been impossible to restore these onerous burdens after their disuse during the time of the Commonwealth. Tonnage and poundage were granted to the king during life.

During the recess of Parliament the object which chiefly interested the public was the trial and condemnation of the regicides. They were arraigned before 34 commissioners appointed for the purpose. Six of the late king's judges, Harrison, Scot, Carew, Clement, Jones, and Scroope, were executed. Axtel, who had guarded the high court of justice; Hacker, who commanded on the day of the king's execution; Cook, the solicitor for the people of England; and Hugh Peters, the fanatical preacher—all these were tried and condemned, and suffered with the king's judges. On the anniversary of Charles I.'s execution, the bodies of Cromwell, Ireton, and Bradshaw were disinterred, hanged on the gallows at Tyburn, then decapitated, and the heads fixed on Westminster Hall.

After a recess of nearly two months the Parliament met; and having dispatched the necessary business, the king, in a speech full of the most gracious expressions, thought proper to dissolve them (Dec. 29, 1660). By the advice of Clarendon the army was disbanded. No more troops were retained than a few guards and garrisons, about 1000 horse and 4000 foot. This was the first appearance, under the monarchy, of a regular standing army in this island.

§ 2. Clarendon was now nearly allied to the royal family, his daughter, Ann Hyde, having been married to the Duke of York soon after the restoration. By his advice prelacy was restored. Nine bishops still remained alive, and these were immediately restored to their sees; all the ejected clergy recovered their livings; the Liturgy was again admitted into the churches; but, at the same time, a declaration, containing a promise of some reforms, was issued, in order to give contentment to the Presbyterians, and preserve an air of moderation and neutrality.

Affairs in Scotland hastened with still quicker steps than those in England toward a settlement and a compliance with the king. The lords of articles were restored, with some other branches of prerogative; and royal authority, fortified with more plausible claims and pretenses, was in its full extent re-established in that kingdom. The prelacy likewise, by the abrogating of every statute enacted in favor of Presbytery, was thereby tacitly restored.

* The principal excise duties were upon liquors and beer. Tea was also an excisable article, but did not yield much to the revenue in the reign of Charles II.

Charles, though he had no such attachment to prelacy as had influenced his father and grandfather, had suffered such indignities from the Scottish Presbyterians that he ever after bore them a hearty aversion. He said to Lauderdale that Presbyterianism, he thought, was not a religion for a gentleman, and he could not consent to its farther continuance in Scotland. Sharp, who had been commissioned by the Presbyterians in Scotland to manage their interest with the king, was persuaded to abandon that party, and, as a reward for his compliance, was created Archbishop of St. Andrew's. Charles had not promised to Scotland any such indemnity as he had insured to England by the declaration of Breda; and as some examples, after such a bloody and triumphant rebellion, seemed necessary, the Marquis of Argyle, and one Guthry, a preacher, were pitched on as the victims. Two acts of indemnity (one passed by the late king in 1641, another by the present in 1651) formed, it was thought, invincible obstacles to the punishment of Argyle, and nothing remained but to try him for his compliance with the usurpation, a crime common to him with the whole nation. Some letters of his to Monk were produced, which could not, by any equitable construction, imply the crime of treason. The Parliament, however, scrupled not to pass sentence upon him, and he died with great constancy and courage.

§ 3. Meanwhile, in England prelacy and Presbytery struggled for the superiority, and the hopes and fears of both parties kept them in agitation. A conference was held in the Savoy (April 15—July 25, 1661) between 12 bishops and 12 leaders among the Presbyterian ministers, with an intention, at least on pretense, of bringing about an accommodation between the parties; but they separated more inflamed than ever, and more confirmed in their several prejudices. The temper of the new Parliament, which assembled in May, 1661, hastened the decision of the question. Not more than 56 members of the Presbyterian party had obtained seats in the lower House, and these were not able *either* to oppose or retard the measures of the majority. The Covenant, together with the act for erecting the high court of justice, that for subscribing the engagement, and that for declaring England a commonwealth, was ordered to be burnt by the hands of the hangman. The bishops were restored to their seats in Parliament. A few months afterward the Parliament formally renounced the power of the sword, and acknowledged that neither one house, *nor* both houses, independent of the king, were possessed of any military authority. The preamble to this statute went so far as to renounce all right even of *defensive* arms against the king. The CORPORATION ACT passed in this session compelled all corporate

officers to receive the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England, to renounce the Covenant, and to take the oath of *Non-resistance.**

In the following year (1662) the ACT OF UNIFORMITY was passed. By this act it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the Book of Common Prayer; should take the oath of canonical obedience; should abjure the Solemn League and Covenant; and should renounce the principle of taking arms, on any pretense whatsoever, against the king. This act, which received the royal assent on May 19, and was to come into operation on St. Bartholomew's day (Aug. 24), reinstated the Church in the same condition in which it stood before the commencement of the civil wars; and as the old persecuting laws of Elizabeth still subsisted in their full rigor, and new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and indulgence to tender consciences were thereby eluded and broken.† The Church party added insult to injury. The Puritans objected to saints' days and to apocryphal lessons; the Church party added St. Barnabas to the calendar, and inserted among the daily lessons the apocryphal story of Bel and the Dragon.

§ 4. On the king's restoration advances were made by Portugal for the renewal of the alliance which the Protector had made with that country; and, in order to bind the friendship closer, an offer was made of the Portuguese princess, Catherine of Braganza, and a portion of £500,000, together with two fortresses, Tangiers in Africa, and Bombay in the East Indies; and thus was concluded (May 21, 1662) the inauspicious marriage with Catherine, a princess of virtue, but who was never able, either by the graces of her person or humor, to make herself agreeable to the king. They were married in a private room at Portsmouth, according to the Roman Catholic rites. The attention of the public was much engaged at this time by the trial of two distinguished criminals, Lambert and Vane. These men, though none of the late king's judges, had been excepted from the general indemnity, and committed to prison. The indictment of Vane did not comprehend any of his actions during the war between the king and Parliament: it extended only to his behavior after the late king's death, as member of the council of state, and secretary of the navy, where fidelity to the trust reposed in him required his opposition to monarchy. Vane wanted neither courage nor capacity to avail himself of this advantage. He pleaded the famous statute

* For farther details, see Notes and Illustrations (A).

† For farther details, see Notes and Illustrations (B).

of Henry VII., in which it was enacted that no man should ever be questioned for his obedience to the king *de facto;* urged that, whether the established government were a monarchy or a commonwealth, the reason of the thing was still the same; and maintained that the Commons were the root, the foundation of all lawful authority. But this bold defense only hastened his destruction. Vane's courage deserted him not upon his condemnation. Lest pity for a courageous sufferer should make impression on the populace, drummers were placed under the scaffold, whose noise, as he began to launch out in reflections on the government, drowned his voice (June 14). By this execution Charles shamefully violated his promise to the last Parliament. Lambert, though also condemned, was reprieved at the bar; and the judges declared that, if Vane's behavior had been equally dutiful and submissive, he would have experienced like lenity in the king. Lambert survived his condemnation nearly thirty years. He was confined to the Isle of Guernsey, where he amused himself with painting and botany. He died a Roman Catholic.

§ 5. The fatal St. Bartholomew approached (Aug. 24), the day when the clergy were obliged, by the late law, either to relinquish their livings or to sign the articles required of them. About 2000 of the clergy in one day relinquished their cures, and, to the astonishment of the court, sacrificed their interest to their religious tenets. Bishoprics were offered to Calamy, Baxter, and Reynolds, leaders among the Presbyterians; the last only could be prevailed on to accept. Deaneries and other preferments were refused by many.

The king, during his exile, had imbibed strong prejudices in favor of the Catholic religion, and, according to the most probable accounts, had already been secretly reconciled in form to the Church of Rome. His brother, the Duke of York, had zealously adopted all the principles of Catholicism, though he had not yet made an open declaration of his belief. The two brothers saw with pleasure so numerous and popular a body of the clergy refuse conformity, and it was hoped that, under shelter of their name, the small and hated sect of the Catholics might meet with favor and protection. Under pretense of mitigating the rigors of the Act of Uniformity, a declaration was issued on the 26th of December, 1663, in which the king mentioned the promises of liberty of conscience contained in the declaration of Breda; and he notified that, with a view to carry them out, he should make it his special care to incline the Parliament to concur with him in making some such act for that purpose as might enable him to exercise, with a more universal satisfaction, that power of dispensing with the penalties of the law which he conceived to be

inherent in him.* The declared intention of easing the Dissenters, and the secret purpose of favoring the Catholics, were, however, equally disagreeable to the Parliament; and the king did not think proper, after a remonstrance which they made, to insist any farther at present on the project of indulgence.

Notwithstanding the supplies voted to Charles, his treasury was still very empty and very much indebted. The forces sent over to Portugal, and the fleets maintained in order to defend it, had already cost the king nearly double the money which had been paid as the queen's portion. The time fixed for payment of his sister's portion to the Duke of Orleans was approaching. Tangiers was become an additional burden to the crown, and Dunkirk cost £120,000 a year. Clarendon advised the accepting of a sum of money in lieu of a place which he thought the king, from the narrow state of his revenue, was no longer able to retain, and a bargain was at length concluded with France for £400,000. The artillery and stores were valued at a fifth of the sum. The impolicy of this sale consisted principally in its having been made to France.

§ 6. At the instance of the king, the Parliament, next session (March, 1664), repealed the Triennial Act; and, in lieu of all the securities formerly provided, satisfied themselves with a general clause, "that Parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at the most." Before the end of Charles's reign the nation had occasion to feel very sensibly the effects of this repeal. By the Act of Uniformity, every clergyman who should officiate without being properly qualified was punishable by fine and imprisonment; but this security was not thought sufficient for the Church, and the CONVENTICLE ACT was accordingly passed, by which it was enacted that, wherever five persons above those of the same household should assemble in a religious congregation, every one of them was liable, for the first offense, to be imprisoned three months, or pay £5; for the second, to be imprisoned six months, or pay £10; and for the third, to be transported seven years, or pay £100. The Commons likewise presented an address to the king, complaining of the wrongs offered to the English trade by the Dutch, and promising to assist the king with their lives and fortunes in asserting the rights of his crown against all opposition

* The *Dispensing and Suspending Powers*, as they are called, were claimed both by Charles II. and James II. The *Dispensing Power* consisted in the exemption of particular persons, under special circumstances, from the operation of penal laws; the *Suspending Power* in nullifying the entire operation of any statute or any number of statutes. (For details, see Amos, "The English Constitution in the Reign of Charles II.," p. 19, *seqq.*) Charles II. made a second attempt in 1672 to suspend the penal laws against Nonconformists. See below, p. 493.



Medal of James, Duke of York, afterward James II., commemorating the naval victory over the Dutch, June 3, 1665.

Obverse: IACOBVS . DVX . EBOR . ET . ALBAN . DOM . MAGN . ADMIRALLVS . ANGLIÆ . &c. Bust to the right.

whatsoever. This was the first open step toward the Dutch war. The rivalship of commerce had produced among the English a violent enmity against the neighboring republic. The English merchants had the mortification to find that all attempts to extend their trade were still turned by the vigilance of their rivals to their loss and dishonor, and their indignation increased when they considered the superior naval power of England. The Duke of York was eagerly in favor of the war with Holland. He desired an opportunity of distinguishing himself, and was at the head of a new African company, the trade of which was checked by the settlements of the Dutch. The king yielded to the wishes of his brother and the nation; and, after various acts of hostility, Parliament was called upon in the autumn to redeem the promise they had made to the king. They cheerfully responded to the appeal, and voted two millions and a half, the largest supply that had ever yet been given to a king of England. This tax was imposed alike on the clergy and laity. Hitherto the clergy had taxed themselves in convocation, which had usually sat at the same time as the Parliament. By reason of ecclesiastical preferments



Reverse: NEC MINOR IN TERRIS. A naval engagement: in front the admiral's ship; beneath, 3 IVNII, 1665.

which he could bestow, the king's influence over the Church was more considerable than over the laity, so that the subsidies granted by the convocation were commonly greater than those which were voted by Parliament. The Church, therefore, was not displeased to depart tacitly from the right of taxing herself, and allow the Commons to lay impositions on ecclesiastical revenues as on the rest of the kingdom.

War was declared against Holland, Feb. 22, 1665. The English fleet, consisting of 98 sail, was commanded by the Duke of York, and under him by Prince Rupert and the Earl of Sandwich. Opdam was admiral of the Dutch navy, of nearly equal force. A battle was fought off the coast of Suffolk. In the heat of action, when engaged in close fight with the Duke of York, Opdam's ship blew up. This accident much discouraged the Dutch, who fled toward their own coast. The vanquished had 19 ships sunk and taken; the victors lost only one. In this war the method of fighting in line was first introduced into naval tactics by the Duke of York. The French monarch, alarmed lest the English should establish an uncontrollable dominion over the sea and over commerce, resolved to support the Dutch in that unequal contest in

which they were engaged. The King of Denmark also declared war against England.

In this year the plague broke out in London with great violence. In July the weekly deaths were 1100, in September they increased to 10,000 a week; and not less than 100,000 persons were computed to have perished in the course of the year. In consequence of the plague the king summoned the Parliament at Oxford, who voted him £1,250,000, to be levied in two years by monthly assessments. By the influence of the Church the FIVE-MILE ACT was passed, by which it was enacted that any dissenting teacher who had not subscribed the declaration required by the Act of Uniformity, and also had not taken and subscribed a specified oath of non-resistance, should not, except in traveling, come within five miles of any corporate town, or of any place where he had formerly preached. The penalty was a fine of £40, and six months' imprisonment. By ejecting the non-conforming clergy from their churches, and prohibiting all separate congregations, they had been rendered incapable of gaining any livelihood by their spiritual profession; and now, under color of removing them from places where their influence might be dangerous, an expedient was fallen upon to deprive them of all means of subsistence.

§ 7. After France had declared war England was evidently over-matched in force. Louis had given orders to the Duke of Beaufort, his admiral, to sail from Toulon, and the French squadron, under his command, consisting of above 40 sail, was now commonly supposed to be entering the Channel. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert commanded the English fleet, which exceeded not 74 sail. Albemarle detached Prince Rupert with 20 ships in order to oppose the Duke of Beaufort. It had been reported that the Dutch fleet was not ready for sea; but Albemarle, to his great surprise, descried off the North Foreland the Dutch fleet of more than 80 sail, under De Ruyter and Tromp, son of the famous admiral. Nevertheless, he gave orders to attack. The battle that ensued is one of the most memorable that we read of in story, whether we consider its long duration or the desperate courage with which it was fought (June 1–4, 1666). Albemarle made here some atonement by his valor for the rashness of the attempt. On the first day darkness parted the combatants before any decided result had been achieved. On the second day 16 fresh ships joined the Dutch fleet during the action; and the English were so shattered that their fighting ships were reduced to 28, and they found themselves obliged to retreat toward their own coast. Next morning the English were compelled to continue their retreat. About 2 o'clock the Dutch had come up and were ready to renew the fight, when a new fleet was de-

scried from the south, crowding all sail to reach the scene of action. It was Prince Rupert's fleet; and Albemarle, who had received intelligence of the prince's approach, bent his course toward him. Unhappily, the Prince Royal, a ship of 100 guns, the largest in the fleet, ran on the Galloper Sands, and was obliged to strike. Next morning the battle began afresh, with more equal force than ever, and with equal valor. After long cannonading, the fleets came to a close combat, which was continued with great violence till parted by a mist. The English retired first into their harbors, and it is somewhat uncertain who obtained the victory. It was the conjunction alone of the French that could give a decisive superiority to the Dutch. In order to facilitate this conjunction, De Ruyter, having repaired his fleet, posted himself at the mouth of the Thames. The English, under Prince Rupert and Albemarle, were not long in coming to the attack (July 25). The numbers of each fleet amounted to about 80 sail; and the valor and experience of the commanders, as well as of the seamen, rendered the engagement fierce and obstinate. The battle ended in the defeat of the Dutch; and De Ruyter, full of indignation at yielding the superiority to the enemy, frequently exclaimed, "My God! what a wretch am I! Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" All that night and next day the English pressed upon the rear of the Dutch, and it was chiefly by the redoubled efforts of De Ruyter that the latter saved themselves in their harbors. The English now rode incontestable masters of the sea, and insulted the Dutch in their harbors.

During this war a calamity happened in London which threw the people into great consternation. A fire, breaking out in a baker's house near the bridge, spread itself on all sides with such rapidity that no efforts could extinguish it till it had laid in ashes a considerable part of the city. Three days and nights did the fire advance (Sept. 2–5), and it was only by the blowing up of houses that it was at last extinguished. The king and duke used their utmost endeavors to stop the progress of the flames, but all their industry was unsuccessful. About 400 streets and 13,000 houses were reduced to ashes. The causes of this calamity were evident. The narrow streets of London, the houses built entirely of wood, the dry season, and a violent east wind which blew—these were so many concurring circumstances which rendered it easy to assign the reason of the destruction that ensued. But the people were not satisfied with this obvious account. As the papists were the chief objects of public detestation, the rumor which threw the guilt on them was favorably received by the people. No proof, however, or even presumption, after the strictest in-

quiry by a committee of Parliament, ever appeared to authorize such a calumny; yet, in order to give countenance to the popular prejudice, the inscription engraved by authority on the monument ascribed this calamity to that hated sect. The fire proved in the issue beneficial both to the city and the kingdom. Care was taken to make the streets wider and more regular than before, and London became much more healthy. The plague, which used to break out with great fury twice or thrice every century, and, indeed, was always lurking in some corner or other of the city, has scarcely ever appeared since that calamity.

The fruitless and destructive nature of the war, combined with the plague and fire, disposed the English cabinet to make advances for a peace. Conferences were opened at Breda; and Charles, anxious to save the last supply which the Parliament had voted him, neglected to prepare a fleet. De Witt, who governed the Dutch republic at this time, saw that it was a favorable opportunity of striking a blow which might at once restore to the Dutch the honor lost during the war, and severely revenge those injuries which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English. Accordingly, he protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations. The Dutch fleet appeared in the Thames under the command of De Ruyter. Sheerness was soon taken. Having the advantage of a spring-tide and an easterly wind, the Dutch pressed on and broke the chain which had been drawn across the Medway, though fortified by some ships which had been there sunk by orders of the Duke of Albemarle. They burned three ships which lay to guard the chain; and after damaging several vessels, advanced to Chatham, where they burned several ships (June 12). The Dutch fell down the Medway without receiving any considerable damage; and it was apprehended that they might next tide sail up the Thames, and extend their hostilities even to London Bridge. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, four at Blackwall; platforms were raised in many places, furnished with artillery; the train-bands were called out; and every place was in a violent agitation. The Dutch sailed next to Portsmouth, where they made a fruitless attempt; they met with no better success at Plymouth; they insulted Harwich; they sailed again up the Thames as far as Tilbury, where they were repulsed. The whole coast was in alarm; and, had the French thought proper at this time to join the Dutch fleet and to invade England, consequences the most fatal might justly have been apprehended. But Louis had no intention to push the victory to such extremities; his interest required that a balance should be kept between the two maritime powers, not that an uncontrolled superiority should be given to either.

The English government made no attempt to revenge this national disgrace, and a treaty of peace with the Dutch was signed at Breda on July 10, 1667. The acquisition of New York was the chief advantage which the English reaped from a war in which the national character of bravery had shone out with lustre, but where the misconduct of the government, especially in the conclusion, had been no less apparent.

§ 8. To appease the people by some sacrifice seemed requisite before the meeting of Parliament, and the prejudices of the nation pointed out the victim. The sale of Dunkirk,. the bad payment of the seamen, the disgrace at Chatham, the unsuccessful conclusion of the war—all these misfortunes were charged on Clarendon, the chancellor, who, though he had ever opposed the rupture with Holland, thought it still his duty to justify what he could not prevent. The king himself, who had always more revered than loved the chancellor, was now totally estranged from him. He found in Clarendon, it is said, obstacles to his pleasures as well as to his ambition. The great seal was taken from Clarendon, and given to Sir Orlando Bridgeman, by the title of lord keeper. But the fall of the chancellor was not sufficient to gratify the malice of his enemies: his total ruin was resolved on. The Duke of York in vain exerted his interest in behalf of his father-in-law. When the Parliament met, an impeachment against him was opened in the House of Commons by Mr. Seymour. Many of the articles we know to be either false or frivolous; but some could not be disproved, and show him unfit to govern a free country. Clarendon, by command of Charles, retired to the Continent. At Calais he addressed to the House of Lords a defense of his conduct. The Lords transmitted this paper to the Commons under the appellation of a libel, and by a vote of both houses it was condemned to be burned by the hands of the hangman. The Parliament next proceeded to exert their legislative power against Clarendon, and passed an act of banishment, which received the royal assent. He survived his banishment six years, living first at Montpellier and afterward at Rouen; and he employed his leisure chiefly in reducing to order the History of the Civil Wars, for which he had before collected materials: a work of great eloquence, but deficient in veracity.

§ 9. The ministry formed after the dismissal of Clarendon was called the "Cabal," and is usually said to have derived its name from the initial letters of the names of its five principal members: Sir Thomas Clifford, afterward Lord Clifford; Lord Ashley, afterward Earl of Shaftesbury; the Duke of Buckingham; Lord Arlington, previously Sir Henry Bennett; and the Earl of Lauderdale. But this was not the origin of the name, since the word

cabal was used at that period to signify any secret committee, and is equivalent to the cabinet of the present day. These ministers, who have earned a disgraceful notoriety in English history, and who sold their country to the French monarch, commenced their career by a public measure which gained them and the king the favor and approbation of the nation. The ignominious close of the Dutch war, the fall of Clarendon, and the discontents of Parliament convinced them of the necessity of conciliating popular feeling, and the policy which they now adopted equally surprised and delighted the public.

Louis XIV., who now filled the throne of France, surpassed all contemporary monarchs, as in grandeur, so likewise in fame and glory. His ambition, regulated by prudence, not by justice, carefully provided every means of conquest; and, before he put himself in motion, he seemed to have absolutely insured success. The sudden decline and almost total fall of the Spanish monarchy opened an inviting field to so enterprising a prince. Setting up a claim to the Spanish Netherlands in right of his wife, Louis invaded the country with a powerful army; Lisle, Courtray, and several other cities were immediately taken, and it was visible that no force in the Netherlands was able to stop or retard the progress of the French arms. Sir William Temple, the British resident at Brussels, urged upon his government the importance of forming a league with Holland in order to save the Netherlands, and received instructions to go secretly to the Hague, and enter into negotiations with the States. He found in De Witt, then the chief minister of the republic, a man of generous and enlarged sentiments; and in five days' time an alliance was formed between England and Holland to check the ambitious schemes of Louis. This league was joined by Sweden, and hence is known by the name of the TRIPLE ALLIANCE (Jan. 13, 1668). Louis was obliged to give way; the plenipotentiaries of all the powers met shortly afterward at Aix-la-Chapelle, and a treaty was concluded upon the terms agreed upon by Temple and De Witt, by which it was arranged that Spain should resign to France all the towns conquered by the French in the last campaign, but should be guaranteed in the possession of the rest of Flanders.

But the triple alliance, though so popular in England, had always been disliked by Charles. The English king wished to become independent of Parliament, and saw no other means of accomplishing his object except by making himself dependent upon France, and obtaining money and military aid from the French king. Accordingly, soon after the conclusion of the triple alliance, Charles began to make overtures to Louis, offering to abandon the alliance and join the French in making war upon the

Dutch, provided he obtained from the French court sufficient supplies of money to enable him to dispense with the Parliament. The negotiations were chiefly carried on by the Duchess of Orleans, the sister of Charles, by whose means a secret treaty between England and France was signed at Dover on May 22, 1670. By this shameful treaty Charles engaged to make a public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, and to assist Louis in subjugating Holland, and in maintaining the rights of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish monarchy. Louis, in return, agreed to pay Charles 3,000,000 of livres a year for the support of the fleet so long as the war lasted, and to aid him with an army of 6000 men in case of an insurrection in England. It was arranged, however, that Charles should delay, for the present, making the public profession of Catholicism; and Clifford and Arlington were the only two members of the "Cabal" intrusted with the secret.

Louis, who well knew Charles's character, resolved to bind him by the ties of pleasure. The Duchess of Orleans brought with her to England a young lady of the name of Querouaille, whom the king carried to London, and soon after created Duchess of Portsmouth. He was extremely attached to her during the whole course of his life, and she proved a great means of supporting his connections with her native country.

The Parliament had no suspicions of the king's treachery and perfidy; and, accordingly, when they met in the autumn of this year (1670), they voted him considerable supplies upon the representation of the ministers. As soon as the supplies had been voted Parliament was prorogued, and the king and his ministers set to work to carry into effect their nefarious compact with Louis.

It was in this session that the SECOND CONVENTICLE ACT was passed, the first having been temporary. In the same year, however, an important provision was gained for the liberty of the subject by the decision of the Court of Common Pleas in the case of Bushell, that juries are not liable to be fined for their verdicts.*

§ 10. About this time Blood made himself memorable by his daring and his crimes. He was a disbanded officer of the Protector's, and had been attainted for a conspiracy for raising an insurrection in Ireland. The daring villain meditated revenge upon Ormond, the lord lieutenant. Having by artifice drawn off the duke's footmen, he attacked his coach in the nighttime as it drove along St. James's Street in London, and made himself master of his person. He might here have finished the crime had he not meditated refinements in his vengeance; he was resolved to hang

* See Notes and Illustrations (C).

the duke at Tyburn, and for that purpose bound him, and mounted him on horseback behind one of his companions. They were advanced a good way into the fields, when the duke, making efforts for his liberty, threw himself to the ground, and brought down with him the assassin to whom he was fastened. They were struggling together in the mire, when Ormond's servants, whom the alarm had reached, came and saved him. Blood and his companions, firing their pistols in a hurry at the duke, rode off, and saved themselves by means of the darkness (Dec. 6, 1670). Buckingham was at first, with some appearances of reason, suspected to be the author of this attempt; and Ossory, Ormond's son, told him, in the king's presence, that, if his father came to a violent end, he would pistol him, though he stood behind the king's chair. A little after, Blood nearly succeeded in carrying off the crown and regalia from the Tower. He had bound and wounded Edwards, the keeper of the jewel-office, and had got out of the Tower with his prey, but was overtaken and seized, with some of his associates (May 9, 1671). One of them was known to have been concerned in the attempt upon Ormond, and Blood was immediately concluded to be the ringleader. When questioned, he frankly avowed the enterprise, but refused to tell his accomplices. "The fear of death," he said, "should never engage him either to deny guilt or betray a friend." All these extraordinary circumstances made him the general subject of conversation; and the king was moved by an idle curiosity to see and speak with a person so noted for his courage and his crimes. Blood might now esteem himself secure of pardon, and he wanted not address to improve the opportunity. He told Charles that he had been engaged with others in a design to kill him with a carabine above Battersea, where his majesty often went to bathe; that when he had taken his stand among the reeds, full of these bloody resolutions, he found his heart checked with an awe of majesty; and he not only relented himself, but diverted his associates from their purpose; and he warned the king of the danger which might attend his execution, saying that his associates had bound themselves by the strictest oaths to revenge the death of any of the confederacy, and that no precaution or power could secure any one from the effects of their desperate resolutions. Whether these considerations excited fear or admiration in the king, they confirmed his resolution of granting a pardon to Blood. But, not content with pardoning him, he granted him an estate of £500 a year in Ireland, and he encouraged his attendance about his person. Another incident happened this year which infused a general displeasure, and still greater apprehensions, into all men. The Duchess of York died, and in her last sickness she made open

profession of the Roman religion, and finished her life in that communion. This put an end to that thin disguise which the duke had hitherto worn, and he now openly declared his conversion to the Church of Rome.

§ 11. Meanwhile, the English cabinet, by insults and contumelies, endeavored to draw on a war with the Dutch. Temple was declared to be no longer embassador to the States; and Downing, whom the Dutch regarded as the inveterate enemy of their republic, was sent over in his stead. But, before declaring war, it was necessary to raise a large sum of money. The supplies lately voted by the Commons were nearly exhausted, and neither Charles nor his ministers ventured as yet upon levying money without consent of Parliament. In this difficulty either Clifford or Ashley suggested the shameful expedient of seizing all the money which the bankers had intrusted to the Exchequer. It had been usual for the bankers to lend large sums of money to the government upon the security of the taxes, and they were repaid with interest as the latter came in. There were now about £1,300,000 thus advanced to the Exchequer; and it was suddenly announced that the government did not intend to repay the principal, but only the interest, to the depositors (Jan. 2, 1672). A general confusion, and the ruin of many, followed this open violation of public credit. The bankers stopped payment; the merchants could not meet their bills; distrust took place every where, with a stagnation of commerce, by which the public was universally affected. About the same time Charles adopted other arbitrary and unconstitutional measures, though some of them were not objectionable in themselves. Of these the most important was a proclamation, which he issued by virtue of his supreme power in ecclesiastical matters, suspending the penal laws enacted against all nonconformists or recusants whatsoever, and granting to the Protestant Dissenters the public exercise of their religion, to the Catholics the exercise of it in private houses.

England and France declared war against Holland, March 17, 1672. The Dutch fleet, under the command of De Ruyter, sailed against the combined English and French fleets, which lay in Southwold Bay, on the coast of Suffolk. The English fleet was commanded by the Duke of York. A desperate action ensued. The French kept aloof; but both the English and Dutch fleets suffered severely. The Earl of Sandwich, who led the English van, was killed. The fight continued till night, when the Dutch retired (May 28). On land Louis at first carried every thing before him. He crossed the Rhine at the head of an irresistible army; city after city opened their gates to him, and three of the United Provinces were overrun by his arms. The small army of

the republic was commanded by William, Prince of Orange (afterward William III. of England), then in the 22d year of his age.* He gave strong indications of those great qualities by which his life was afterward so much distinguished. Unable to stem the torrent, he retired into the province of Holland, where he expected, from the natural strength of the country, since all human art and courage failed, to be able to make some resistance. Amsterdam alone seemed to retain some courage; and the sluices being opened, the neighboring country, without regard to the damage sustained, was laid under water. All the provinces followed the example, and scrupled not, in this extremity, to restore to the sea those fertile fields which with great art and expense had been won from it. In these unfortunate circumstances, the Dutch, with the exception of Amsterdam, were prepared to make enormous sacrifices; and embassadors were dispatched to implore the pity of the two combined monarchs. The terms proposed by each were of the hardest and most insolent nature; and when both were united they appeared absolutely intolerable, and reduced the Dutch, who saw no means of defense, to the utmost despair. What extremely augmented their distress were the violent factions with which they continued to be every where agitated. De Witt still persevered in opposing the repeal of the perpetual edict by which the Prince of Orange was excluded from the stadtholdership, and from all share in the civil administration. The people rose in insurrection at Dort, and by force constrained their burgomasters to sign the repeal so much demanded. This proved a signal for a general revolt throughout all the provinces. At Amsterdam, the Hague, Middlebourg, Rotterdam, the people flew to arms, and, trampling under foot the authority of their magistrates, obliged them to submit to the Prince of Orange. This movement was followed by the massacre of the brothers De Witt by the populace (Aug. 4), who exercised on the dead bodies of those virtuous citizens indignities too shocking to be recited. But the republic, now firmly united under one leader, began to collect the remains of its pristine vigor. William, worthy of that heroic family from which he sprang, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. Those intolerable conditions demanded by their insolent enemies he exhorted the States to reject with scorn, and by his advice they put an end to negotiations which served only to break the courage of their fellow-citizens and delay the assistance of their allies. The spirit of the young prince infused itself

* His father had been stadtholder of the provinces, but upon his death in 1650, a few days before the birth of his son, the dignity remained in abeyance. Great jealousy was felt of the young prince, and the chief opponent of his party was De Witt, the grand pensionary of the province of Holland.

into his hearers. Those who lately entertained thoughts of yielding their necks to subjection were now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend those last remains of their native soil, of which neither the irruptions of Louis nor the inundation of waters had as yet bereaved them. Should even the ground fail them on which they might combat, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife, but, flying to their settlements in the Indies, erect a new empire in those remote regions. The combined princes, finding at last some appearance of opposition, bent all their efforts to seduce the Prince of Orange, on whose valor and conduct the fate of the commonwealth entirely depended; but all these proposals were generously rejected. When Buckingham urged the inevitable destruction which hung over the United Provinces, and asked him whether he did not see that the commonwealth was ruined, "There is one certain means," replied the prince, "by which I can be sure never to see my country's ruin —I will die in the last ditch." Louis, finding that his enemies gathered courage behind their inundations, and that no farther success was likely for the present to attend his arms, retired to Versailles.

§ 12. In February, 1673, the English Parliament met after prorogations continued for nearly two years. It was evident how much the king dreaded their assembling; and the discontents universally excited by the bold measures entered into, both in foreign and domestic administration, had given but too just foundation for his apprehensions. Though unwilling to come to a violent breach with the king, the Parliament would not express the least approbation of the war. And they gave him the prospect of a supply, only that they might have permission to proceed peaceably in the redress of the other grievances of which they had such reason to complain. Of these, none were more alarming, both on account of the secret views from which it proceeded, and the consequences which might attend it, than the Declaration of Indulgence. A remonstrance was immediately framed against that exercise of prerogative. It is evident that Charles was now come to that delicate crisis which he ought at first to have foreseen when he embraced those desperate counsels, and his resolutions, in such an event, ought long ago to have been entirely fixed and determined. Besides his usual guards, he had an army encamped at Blackheath, under the command of Marshal Schomberg, a foreigner; and his ally, the French king, he might expect would second him, if force became requisite for restraining his discontented subjects. But the king was startled when he approached so dangerous a precipice as that which lay before him; and, after taking the opinion of the House of Peers, who advised him to comply

with the Commons, he sent for the declaration, and with his own hands broke the seals. But the Parliament, though satisfied with the king's compliance, had not lost all those apprehensions to which the measures of the court had given so much foundation. A law was passed, known as the TEST ACT, which continued in force till the reign of George IV.* By this act all persons holding any public office were compelled to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, to receive the sacrament in the Established Church, and to abjure all belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation. In consequence of this act, the Duke of York resigned all his commands, and was succeeded in the command of the fleet by Prince Rupert. He fought several battles with the Dutch this summer, but the victory was generally doubtful. The French alliance, and the war against Holland, became more and more unpopular, and when the Parliament met in the autumn they discovered great symptoms of ill-humor. They expressed great indignation at the marriage of the Duke of York with a princess of the house of Modena, then in close alliance with France. They voted the standing army a grievance, and declared that they would grant no more supplies unless it appeared that the Dutch were so obstinate as to refuse all reasonable conditions of peace. To cut short these disagreeable attacks, the king prorogued the Parliament amid scenes of great confusion (Nov. 4).

The "Cabal" ministry was now at an end. Lord Shaftesbury, foreseeing the coming storm, had deserted the court, and become the chief leader of the opposition. Directly after the prorogation he was dismissed from the office of chancellor, to which he had been elevated in the preceding year. The great seal was given to Sir Heneage Finch, afterward Earl of Nottingham. The test had incapacitated Clifford, and the white staff was conferred on Sir Thomas Osborne, soon after created Earl of Danby,† a minister of abilities, who had risen by his parliamentary talents. The king's necessities soon obliged him again to assemble the Parliament (1674), and by some popular acts he paved the way for the session. But all his efforts were in vain. The disgust of the Commons was fixed in foundations too deep to be easily removed. They made an attack on the remaining members of the Cabal, to whose pernicious counsels they imputed all their present grievances. The king plainly saw that he could expect no supply from the Commons for carrying on a war so odious to them, and that he must defer to a more convenient time the execution of his se-

* For farther particulars, see Notes and Illustrations (A).

† He was created by William III. Marquess of Carmarthen in 1689, and Duke of Leeds in 1694, and from him the present duke is lineally descended.

cret treaty with Louis. He therefore concluded a separate treaty with the Dutch (Feb. 9, 1674). The honor of the flag was yielded to the English; all possessions were restored to the same condition as before the war; and the States agreed to pay to the king nearly £300,000. Charles, though obliged to make a separate peace, still kept up connections with the French monarch. He apologized for deserting his ally by representing to him all the real, undissembled difficulties under which he labored, and Louis admitted the validity of his excuses.

§ 13. Considerable alterations were about this time made in the English ministry. Buckingham was dismissed, who had long, by his wit and entertaining humor, possessed the king's favor: he now became, like Shaftesbury, a leader of the opposition. The Earl of Danby, the lord treasurer, obtained the chief direction of public affairs. He was a man of honor, and a declared enemy to the French alliance; but he never possessed authority enough to overcome the prepossessions which the king retained toward it, and Charles continued to draw annual supplies from the French court. But, while Danby scorned the idea of making the king absolute by the assistance of a foreign court, he had the highest notions of the king's prerogative, and endeavored to augment the power of the crown. Accordingly, in 1675, he caused a bill to be introduced into the House of Lords, by which all members of either house, and all who possessed any office, were required to swear that it was not lawful, upon any pretense whatever, to take arms against the king; that they abhorred the traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person; and that they would not at any time endeavor to alter the Protestant religion, or the established government either in Church or state. Great opposition was made to this bill; during 17 days the debates were carried on with much zeal, and it was carried only by two voices in the House of Peers. The Parliament was prorogued before its discussion by the House of Commons.

Meantime the war continued on the Continent. The Prince of Orange, supported by the emperor and the German states, continued manfully the struggle against Louis. The Earl of Danby and the nation urged Charles to join the Dutch, and put an effectual curb upon the ambition of the French monarch; but when Charles seemed disposed to yield to the wishes of his minister and his subjects, and began to levy troops, the Commons took the alarm and opposed the levy. Such was the distrust of the king, that the Commons, though anxious for a war with France, feared to intrust their sovereign with troops, lest he should employ them against their own liberties. Nor was their distrust unfounded; for at the very time that he pledged his royal word to the Commons to carry on war against France with the supplies which he begged of

them, he had signed a secret treaty with France, and had obtained a pension on the promise of his neutrality; a fact which renders his *royal word*, solemnly given to his subjects, one of the most dishonorable and most scandalous acts that ever proceeded from a throne. But Charles was distrusted by Louis as well as by his own subjects. The French embassador entered into secret negotiations with the popular party; bribed even some of the popular leaders to resist the war against France, and gave them proofs of the king's treachery. Charles, however, was sincerely anxious for peace; for he was sensible that, so long as the war continued abroad, he should never enjoy peace at home. As a means to this end, he was persuaded by the Earl of Danby and Sir William Temple to entertain proposals for marrying the Princess Mary, the elder daughter of the Duke of York, to the Prince of Orange, who came over to England at the close of the campaign of 1677. The marriage was celebrated on Nov. 4, and gave general satisfaction; but it occasioned no alteration in the policy of Charles, except that he exerted himself more vigorously in arranging the terms of a peace. In the following year (1678) peace was signed at Nimeguen between France and Holland. Louis resigned the city of Maestricht to the Dutch, but retained possession of Franche-Comté, together with Valenciennes, Cambray, and other towns in the Low Countries. The French king thus obtained considerable accession of territory at the expense of Spain. The King of Spain and the emperor were indignant at this treaty, but were obliged to accept of the terms prescribed to them.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. TEST AND CORPORATION ACTS.

The *Corporation Act* was passed in 1661. In it a religious test was combined with a political test. All corporate officers were required to have taken the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, "according to the rites of the Church of England," within one year before their elections, and, upon being elected, to take the oaths of allegiance and of supremacy, and the following oath: "I, A. B., do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any pretense whatsoever, to take arms against the king, and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissioned by him;" besides subscribing a declaration against the Solemn League and Covenant. The Corporation Oath of *non-resistance* was abolished, not indeed at the Revolution, though it most probably became a dead letter at that epoch, but at the accession of the house of Brunswick, by the "Act for quieting and establishing Corporations." (5 Geo. I., c. 6, s. 2.)

The *Test Act* was passed in 1673, with the object of preventing political power being placed in the hands of papists. The title of the Act is, "An Act for preventing dangers which may happen from Popish Recusants." Under the provisions of the act, all persons holding any office or place of trust, civil or military, or admitted of the king's or Duke of York's household, were to receive the sacrament according to the usage of the Church of England, and to make and subscribe the following declaration: "I, A. B., do declare that I believe there is not any *transubstantiation* in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, or in the elements of bread and wine, at or after the consecration thereof by any person whatsoever." The Dissenters entertained such fears of the papists that they actively supported the passing of this act, though it included them not less than papists, by reason of the requisition of taking the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England.

The *Parliamentary Test* was imposed in the year 1678, five years after the first test. In this interval, the alarm in the country of the designs of papists had been greatly increased by the discovery of the supposed Popish Plot. The title of the act is "An Act for the more effectual preserving the King's person and government, by disabling

Papists from sitting in either House of Parliament." Under the provisions of the act, "No peer or member of the House of Commons shall sit or vote without taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and a declaration repudiating the doctrine of transubstantiation, the adoration of the Virgin, and the sacrifice of the Mass. Peers and members offending are to be deemed and adjudged *Popish Recusants convict*, and are to forfeit £500," besides suffering numerous disabilities. These acts were repealed in the reign of Geo. IV. The preceding account is abridged from Amos, "The English Constitution in the reign of Charles II.," p. 135, *seq.*

B. THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY.

This act is entitled "An Act for Uniformity of Public Prayers, and administration of Sacraments and other rites and ceremonies: and for establishing the form of making, ordaining, and consecrating bishops, priests, and deacons in the Church of England." In treating of the act, it will be convenient to notice, I., those persecuting clauses which have been repealed; and, II., those clauses touching assent and consent to the Book of Common Prayer and episcopal ordination, which continue in force in the present day.

I. By the 84th section, all former statutes relating to the uniformity of prayer and administration of the sacraments were re-enacted. The Act of Uniformity in force previously to the statute of Charles II. was the 1st of Elizabeth, c. 2, which incorporates, by reference, penal clauses in the earlier Uniformity Act of 5th and 6th Edward VI., c. 1, which, again, incorporates by reference similar clauses in the Uniformity Act of the 2d and 3d Edward VI., c. 1. These obscure references will be found to include "the declaring or speaking any thing in the derogation, depraving, or despising of the Book of Common Prayer, or of any thing therein contained, or any part thereof," the punishment of which, for the third offense, is forfeiture of goods and chattels and imprisonment for life. Among other clauses included, by reference, in the Uniformity Act of Charles II., are the compelling attendance at parish churches, and the offense of whoever shall "willingly and wittingly hear or be present at any other manner or form of Common Prayer than is mentioned and set forth in the Book of Common Prayer," provisions which have been repealed by statutes of Victoria (7 & 8 Vict., c. 102; 9 & 10 Vict., c. 59).

By the 14th section of the act, it is enacted "that no person shall presume to *administer the holy sacrament* of the Lord's Supper before such time as he shall be ordained priest, according to the form and manner in and by the said book prescribed, unless he have formerly been made priest by episcopal ordination, upon pain to forfeit for the said offense the sum of £100." The £100 penalty was repealed by the Toleration Act of William and Mary.

The 9th section of the act contained the following declaration: "I, A. B., do declare that it is not lawful, on any pretense whatsoever, to take arms against the king; and that I do abhor that traitorous position of taking arms by his authority against his person, or against those that are commissionated by him; *and* that I will conform to the Liturgy of the Church of England as it is now by law established." This declaration was required to be subscribed not only by every person in holy orders, but also by public and private schoolmasters, who were likewise required to take out a license from the bishop of the diocese, under penalty of three months' imprisonment. The Declaration, so far as it relates to non-resistance, was abrogated at the Revolution (1 W. and M., c. 8). The *license* of private tutors continued, though latterly a dead letter, till it was abolished by a statute of Victoria (9 and 10 Vict., c. 59).

A declaration, repudiating of the Solemn League and Covenant, was, by the Act of Uniformity, to be taken until the 25th of March, 1682, a period allowed for the extinction of Covenanters by the course of nature.

II. With respect to the *permanent clauses* of the Act of Uniformity: these are, 1st, the Declaration of *assent* and *consent* to the Book of Common Prayer; and, 2d, a provision requiring *Episcopal Ordination*. Abridged from Amos, "The English Constitution in the reign of Charles II.," p. 87, *seq.*

C. IMMUNITY OF JURIES.

Previous to the year 1670, juries were frequently fined if they gave a verdict contrary to the dictation of the judge. But in that year this pernicious practice was finally abolished by the decision of Vaughan, chief justice of the Common Pleas. The Recorder of London had set a fine of 40 marks upon each of the jury who had acquitted the Quakers Penn and Mead on an indictment for an unlawful assembly. Bushell, the foreman, refused to pay, and being committed to prison, obtained his writ of Habeas Corpus from the court of Common Pleas; and on the return made, that he had been committed for finding a verdict against full and manifest evidence, and against the direction of the court, Chief Justice Vaughan held the ground to be insufficient, and discharged the prisoner. Erskine, in his famous speech for the Dean of St. Asaph, observed that the country was almost as much indebted to Bushell as to Hampden in resisting ship-money.

In earlier times, when juries were also witnesses [see p. 154], they were liable to be punished by the terrible writ of *Attaint** if a second jury, consisting of 24 jurors, found them guilty of giving a false verdict. The ancient punishment was, in such a case, that the jurors should be deprived of all their property, be imprisoned, and become forever infamous; and that the plaintiff should be restored to all he had lost by reason of the unjust verdict. This odious proceeding, though obsolete even in the time of Elizabeth, was not abolished till the 5th of George IV. See Hallam's Constitutional History, iii., p. 9; Amos, English Constitution in the reign of Charles II., p. 279, *seq.*; Kerr's Blackstone, iii., p. 433.

* *Attinctus*, stained or blackened.



Medal relating to the Rye House Plot. Obv.: PERIRVNT FVLMINIS ICTV 1683. The king as Hercules menaced by a hydra-like monster, having seven human heads, which represent those of the supposed conspirators; above, a hand in the clouds holding a thunderbolt.

CHAPTER XXV.

CHARLES II. CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF NIMEGUEN TO THE DEATH OF THE KING. A.D. 1678–1685.

§ 1. The Popish Plot. Oates's Narrative. Godfrey's Murder. § 2. Zeal of the Parliament. Bedloe's Narrative. Bill for a new Test. § 3. Accusation of Danby. Dissolution of Parliament. § 4. Trial and Execution of Coleman and others. The Duke of Monmouth. § 5. A new Parliament. Danby's Impeachment. New Council. § 6. The Exclusion Bill. Habeas Corpus Act. § 7. Prosecutions of Papists. Affairs of Scotland. Murder of Archbishop Sharpe. § 8. Meal-tub Plot. Whig and Tory. § 9. Violence of the new Parliament. Exclusion Bill rejected in the Lords. Trial and Execution of Lord Stafford. Parliament dissolved. § 10. The new Parliament dissolved. Turn of the popular Feeling. Court Prosecutions. § 11. Trial of Shaftesbury. London and other Cities deprived of their Charters. § 12. Rye House Plot. Trial and Execution of Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney. § 13. State of the Nation. Monmouth banished. § 14. Marriage of Prince George of Denmark and the Princess Anne. The King's Indolence and Subserviency. His Death and Character.

§ 1. THE English nation, ever since the fatal league with France, had entertained violent jealousies against the court. Some mysterious design was still suspected in every enterprise and profession. Arbitrary power and popery were apprehended as the scope of all projects. Each breath or rumor made the people start with anxiety: their enemies, they thought, were in their very bosom, and had gotten possession of their sovereign's confidence. While in this timorous, jealous disposition, the cry of a *plot* all on a sudden struck their ears. They were wakened from their slumber, and, like men affrighted and in the dark,



Rev.: DEVS NOBIS HAEC OTIA FECIT. A shepherd, the king, keeping his flock, in the midst of which two wolves hanging: in the distance a view of London.

took every figure for a spectre. The terror of each man became the source of terror to another; and a universal panic being diffused, reason, and argument, and common sense, and common humanity, lost all influence over them. From this disposition of men's minds we are to account for the progress of the POPISH PLOT, and the credit given to it; an event which would otherwise appear prodigious and altogether inexplicable. On the 12th of August, 1678, one Kirby, a chemist, accosted the king as he was walking in the park: "Sir," said he, "keep within the company; your enemies have a design upon your life, and you may be shot in this very walk." Being asked the reason of these strange speeches, he said that two men, called Grove and Pickering, had engaged to shoot the king, and Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, to poison him. This intelligence, he added, had been communicated to him by Dr. Tonge, whom, if permitted, he would introduce to his majesty. Tonge was rector of St. Michael's, Wood Street; a man active, restless, full of projects, void of understanding. He brought papers to the king which contained information of a plot, and were digested into 43 articles. Tonge said that they had been secretly thrust under his door, and that, though he suspected, he did not certainly know who was the author. The king gave no credit to the story; but the Duke of York, hearing that priests and Jesuits, and even his own confessor, had been accused, was desirous that a thorough inquiry should be made by the council into the pretended conspiracy. Kirby and Tonge were inquired after, and were now found to be living in close connection with Titus Oates, the person who was said to have conveyed the first intelligence to Tonge. Oates was a man of infamous character. He had been originally an Anabaptist, had become a

clergyman of the Established Church at the Restoration, and subsequently went abroad, pretending to be a convert to Romanism. He had been expelled from the English college at St. Omer, where he had become acquainted with the names of the leading Romanists. As this man expected more encouragement from the public than from the king or his ministers, he thought proper, before he was presented to the council, to go with his two companions to Sir Edmondsbury Godfrey, a noted and active justice of peace, and to give evidence before him of the conspiracy. The main articles of this wonderful intelligence were, that the Pope had delegated the sovereignty of Great Britain to the Jesuits, who had proceeded to name a government and fill up the dignities of the Church; that the king, whom they named "the Black Bastard," was to be put to death as a heretic; that Père la Chaise, the celebrated confessor of Louis XIV., had remitted £10,000 to London as a reward for the king's assassination, and other foreign ecclesiastics had offered farther sums; that London was to be fired in several places by means of fire-balls, which they called Tewkesbury mustard-pills; the Protestants were to be massacred all over the kingdom; the crown was to be offered to the duke on condition of his receiving it as a gift from the Pope, and utterly extirpating the Protestant religion; if he refused these conditions, he himself was immediately to be poisoned or assassinated. *To pot James must go*, according to the expression ascribed by Oates to the Jesuits.

Oates, when examined before the council, betrayed his impostures in the grossest manner. While in Spain, he had been carried, he said, to Don John, who promised great assistance to the execution of the Catholic designs. The king asked him what sort of a man Don John was: he answered, a tall, lean man—directly contrary to truth, as the king well knew. He totally mistook the situation of the Jesuits' college at Paris, and failed to identify persons whom he pretended to know.

Notwithstanding these objections, the violent animosity which had been excited against the Catholics in general made the public swallow the grossest absurdities when they accompanied an accusation of those religionists; and the more diabolical any contrivance appeared, the better it suited the tremendous idea entertained of a Jesuit. Danby, likewise, who stood in opposition to the French and Catholic interest at court, was willing to encourage every story which might serve to discredit that party. By his suggestion a warrant was signed for arresting Coleman, who had been secretary to the late Duchess of York, and whom Oates had implicated in his evidence. Coleman's papers were seized, among which were copies of letters to Père la Chaise and other

eminent foreign Catholics. These did indeed betray a scheme for the conversion of the nation to popery; but, instead of the king being murdered, he was to be bribed by the King of France, and the design was altogether different from Oates's pretended discovery. Yet his plot and Coleman's were universally confounded together; and the evidence of the latter being unquestionable, the belief of the former, aided by the passions of hatred and of terror, took possession of the whole people. The murder of Godfrey completed the general delusion. The body of this magistrate was found lying in a ditch at Primrose Hill; the marks of strangling were thought to appear about his neck, and some contusions on his breast; his own sword was sticking in the body; he had rings on his fingers, and money in his pocket; it was therefore inferred that he had not fallen into the hands of robbers. Without farther reasoning, the cry rose that he had been assassinated by the papists, on account of his taking Oates's evidence. The dead body of Godfrey was carried into the city, attended by vast multitudes. The funeral pomp was celebrated with great parade. Yet the murder of Godfrey, in all likelihood, had no connection, one way or other, with the Popish Plot; and, as he was a melancholy man, there is some reason, notwithstanding the pretended appearances to the contrary, to suspect that he fell by his own hands.

§ 2. When the Parliament met (Oct. 21), Danby, who hated the Catholics and courted popularity, opened the matter in the House of Peers. The king was extremely displeased with this temerity, and told his minister that he had given the Parliament a handle to ruin himself, and that he would surely live to repent it. Danby had afterward sufficient reason to applaud the sagacity of his master. The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from one house to the other. The authority of Parliament gave sanction to that fury with which the people were already agitated. A solemn fast was appointed; addresses were voted for the removal of popish recusants from London, and for appointing the train-bands of London and Westminster to be in readiness. The Catholic lords Powys, Stafford, Arundel, Petre, and Belasyse were committed to the Tower, and were soon after impeached for high treason; and both houses, after hearing Oates's evidence, voted that there had been, and still is, a damnable and hellish plot. Oates, though an infamous villain, was by every one applauded, caressed, and called the savior of the nation; was recommended by the Parliament to the king; was lodged in Whitehall, protected by guards, and encouraged by a pension of £1200 a year. It was not long before such bountiful encouragement brought forth a new witness, William Bedloe, a man, if possible, more infamous

than Oates. When he appeared before the council he gave intelligence of Godfrey's murder only, which, he said, had been perpetrated in Somerset House, where the queen lived, by papists, some of them servants in her family. He at first pretended ignorance of Oates's plot, but afterward gave a narrative of it, making it to tally, as well as he could, with that of Oates, which had been published. But, that he might make himself acceptable by new matter, he added some absurd circumstances of vast invasions projected by France and Spain. Lord Carrington and Lord Brudenell, with all other persons mentioned by Bedloe as concerned in the conspiracy, were immediately committed to custody by the Parliament.

The king, though he scrupled not, wherever he could speak freely, to throw the highest ridicule on the plot, and on all who believed it, yet found it necessary to adopt the popular opinion. In his speech to both houses, he told them that, provided the right of succession were preserved, he would consent to any laws for restraining a popish successor; exhorted them to think of effectual means for the conviction of popish recusants; and highly praised the duty and loyalty of all his subjects who had discovered such anxious concern for his safety.

A bill for a PARLIAMENTARY TEST passed the Commons without much opposition; but in the upper House the Duke of York moved that an exception might be admitted in his favor. With great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he told them that he was now to cast himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern which he could have in the world; and he protested that, whatever his religion might be, it should only be a private thing between God and his own soul, and never should appear in his public conduct. Notwithstanding this strong effort in so important a point, he prevailed only by two voices. By this *bill* no peer or member of the House of Commons could sit or vote without making a declaration repudiating the doctrine of transubstantiation, the adoration of the Virgin, and the sacrifice of the Mass. Thus all Roman Catholics were excluded from both houses of Parliament till the repeal of this act in the reign of George IV.*

Encouraged by this general fury, Oates and Bedloe were now so audacious as to accuse the queen herself of entering into *the* design against the life of her husband. The Commons, in an address to the king, gave countenance to this scandalous accusation; but the Lords would not be prevailed with to join in the address. Charles had the generosity to protect his injured consort. "They think," said he, "I have a mind to a new wife; but for all that, I will not see an innocent woman abused."

* See Notes and Illustrations, p. 498.

§ 3. The present ferment and credulity of the nation engaged even persons of rank and condition to become informers. Montague, the king's embassador at Paris, without obtaining or asking the king's leave, suddenly came over to England. Charles, suspecting his intention, ordered his papers to be seized; but Montague had taken care to secrete two papers, which he laid before the House of Commons. One was a letter from the Treasurer Danby, written during the negotiations at Nimeguen. Montague was there directed to make a demand of money from France; or, in other words, the king was willing secretly to sell his good offices to Louis, contrary to the general interests of the confederates, and even to those of his own kingdoms. Danby was so unwilling to engage in this negotiation, that the king, to satisfy him, subjoined, with his own hand, these words: "This letter is writ by my order, C. R." The Commons were inflamed with this intelligence against Danby, and immediately voted an impeachment of high treason against that minister. Danby made it appear to the House of Lords not only that Montague, the informer against him, had all along promoted the money negotiations with France, but that he himself was ever extremely averse to the interests of that crown, which he esteemed pernicious to his master and to his country. The Peers plainly saw that Danby's crime fell not under the statute of Edward III., and could not subject him to the penalties annexed to treason. They refused, therefore, to commit him; the Commons insisted on their demand; and a great contest was likely to arise when the king prorogued, and then dissolved the Parliament (Jan. 24, 1679). Thus came to an end the Parliament which had sat during the whole course of this reign. Being elected during the joy and festivity of the restoration, it consisted almost entirely of Royalists, who were disposed to support the crown by all the liberality which the habits of that age would permit. Alarmed by the alliance with France, they gradually withdrew their confidence from the king, and finding him still to persevere in foreign interest, they proceeded to discover symptoms of the most refractory and most jealous disposition. The Popish Plot pushed them beyond all bounds of moderation; and before dissolution they seemed to be treading fast in the footsteps of the last Long Parliament, on whose conduct they threw at first such violent blame.

§ 4. During the sitting of the Parliament, and after its prorogation and dissolution, the trials of the pretended criminals were carried on, and the courts of judicature, places which, if possible, ought to be kept more pure from injustice than even national assemblies themselves, were strongly infected with the same party rage and bigoted prejudices. Coleman, the most obnoxious of the

conspirators, was first brought to his trial. His letters were produced. Oates and Bedloe deposed against him, and he was condemned and executed, persisting to the last in the strongest protestations of innocence. The same fate attended Grove, Pickering, and Father Ireland, who, it is pretended, had signed, together with 50 Jesuits, the great resolution of murdering the king. All these men, before their arraignment, were condemned in the opinion of the judges, jury, and spectators; and to be a Jesuit, or even a Catholic, was of itself a sufficient proof of guilt.

Bedloe still remained a single evidence against the persons accused of Godfrey's murder; but at last means were found to complete the legal evidence. One Prance, a silversmith and a Catholic, had been accused by Bedloe of being an accomplice in the murder; and, upon his denial, being thrown into prison, loaded with heavy irons, and confined to the condemned hole, a place cold, dark, and full of nastiness, was at length wrought upon, by terrors and sufferings, to make a confession. Upon his evidence, three servants of the queen were condemned and executed for the murder.

As the army could neither be kept up nor disbanded without money, the king found himself obliged to summon a new Parliament. The Popish Plot had a great influence upon the elections, and, in spite of the exertions of the government, all the zealots of the former Parliament were rechosen; new ones were added; and it was apprehended that the new representatives would, if possible, exceed the old in their refractory opposition to the court and furious persecution of the Catholics. The king was alarmed when he saw so dreadful a tempest arise from such small and unaccountable beginnings. In order to gratify and appease his people and Parliament, he desired the duke to withdraw beyond sea, that no farther suspicion might remain of the influence of popish counsels. The duke complied, and retired to Brussels; but first required an order, signed by the king, lest his absenting himself should be interpreted as a proof of fear or of guilt. He also desired that his brother should satisfy him, as well as the public, by a declaration of the illegitimacy of the Duke of Monmouth. That person was the king's natural son by Lucy Waters, and born about ten years before the Restoration. He possessed all the qualities which could engage the affections of the populace; a distinguished valor, an affable address, a thoughtless generosity, a graceful person. But his capacity was mean, his temper pliant; so that, notwithstanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous, had he not implicitly resigned himself to the guidance of Shaftesbury, a man of such a restless temper, such subtle wit, and such abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered

Monmouth with the hope of succeeding to the crown. The story of a contract of marriage passed between the king and Monmouth's mother, and secretly kept in a certain *black box*, had been industriously spread abroad, and was greedily received by the multitude.

§ 5. The new Parliament assembled March 6, 1679. The refractory humor of the lower House appeared in the first step which they took. It had ever been usual for the Commons, in the election of their speaker, to consult the inclinations of the sovereign, and even the Long Parliament in 1641 had not thought proper to depart from so established a custom. The king now desired that the choice should fall on Sir Thomas Meres; but Seymour, speaker to the last Parliament, was instantly called to the chair by a vote which seemed unanimous. The king, when Seymour was presented to him for his approbation, rejected him, and ordered the Commons to proceed to a new choice. A great contest ensued, till, by way of compromise, it was agreed to set aside both candidates. Gregory, a lawyer, was chosen, and the election was ratified by the king. It has ever since been understood that the choice of the speaker lies in the House, but that the king retains the power of rejecting any person disagreeable to him. The impeachment of Danby was revived. The king had beforehand taken the precaution to grant a pardon to Danby; and, in order to screen the chancellor from all attacks by the Commons, he had taken the great seal into his own hands, and had himself affixed it to the parchment. But the Commons maintained that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment, though the prerogative of mercy had hitherto been understood to be altogether unlimited in the king; and James had remitted the sentence on Lord Bacon. On the other hand, if such a principle were allowed, there was an end of the pretended responsibility of the advisers of the crown, and any minister might set the Parliament at defiance.* The Commons persisted, and the Peers ordered Danby to be taken into custody. Danby absconded; but a bill having been passed for his attainder in default of his appearance, he surrendered, and was immediately committed to the Tower.

In order to allay the jealousy displayed by the Parliament and people, the king, by the advice of Sir William Temple, laid the plan of a new privy council, without whose advice he declared himself determined for the future to take no measure of import-

* This question was not finally decided till the Act of Settlement in 1701 (13 Will. III., c. 2), which provides that no pardon under the Great Seal can be pleaded in bar of an impeachment of the Commons.—Hallam, *Const. Hist.*, ii., 417.

ance. This council was to consist of 30 persons; 15 of the chief officers of the crown were to be continued; and the other half was to be composed either of men of character detached from the court, or of those who possessed chief credit in both houses. The Earl of Essex, a nobleman of the popular party, was created treasurer in the room of Danby; the Earl of Sunderland, a man of intrigue and capacity, was made secretary of state; Viscount Halifax, a fine genius, possessed of learning, eloquence, industry, but subject to inquietude and fond of refinements, was admitted into the council. These three, together with Temple, who often joined them, though he kept himself more detached from public business, formed a kind of cabinet council, from which all affairs received their first digestion. Shaftesbury was made president of the council, contrary to the advice of Temple, who foretold the consequence of admitting a man of so dangerous a character into any part of the public administration.

§ 6. As Temple foresaw, it happened. Shaftesbury, finding that he possessed no more than the appearance of court favor, was resolved still to adhere to the popular party, by whose attachment he enjoyed an undisputed superiority in the lower house, and possessed great influence in the other. By his advice the celebrated Exclusion Bill was brought into Parliament, the object of which was to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the throne. It was carried by a majority of 79 votes in the House of Commons, but its farther progress was stopped by the dissolution of Parliament (May 27). Before its dissolution, the king had, though reluctantly, given his consent to the *Habeas Corpus* Act, for the enactment of which this Parliament is entitled to the gratitude of posterity. The great charter had provided against arbitrary imprisonment, and the Petition of Right renewed and extended the principle; but some provisions were still wanting to render it complete, and prevent all evasion or delay from ministers and judges. By the act of *habeas corpus* it is prohibited to send any one to a prison beyond sea; no judge, under severe penalties, must refuse to any prisoner a writ of *habeas corpus*, by which the jailer was directed to produce in court the body of the prisoner (whence the writ had its name), and to certify the cause of his detainer and imprisonment; every prisoner must be indicted the first term after his commitment, and brought to trial in the subsequent term; and no man, after being enlarged by order of court, can be recommitted for the same offense.*

§ 7. But even during the recess of Parliament there was no interruption to the prosecution of the Catholics accused of the plot. Whitebread, provincial of the Jesuits, and four others of the same

* For farther details, see Notes and Illustrations, p. 522.

order, were condemned and executed. Langhorne, an eminent lawyer, by whom all the concerns of the Jesuits were managed, was the next victim. Oates and Bedloe, as in the former cases, were the chief witnesses against him. When the verdict was given against the prisoner, the spectators expressed their savage joy by loud acclamations. So high, indeed, had the popular rage mounted, that the witnesses for this unhappy man, on approaching the court, were almost torn in pieces by the rabble. The first check which the informers received was on the trial of Sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, whom they accused of an intention to poison the king. Oates, on his examination before the council, had said that he knew nothing against Sir George, yet on the trial positively deposed to his guilt. The chief justice himself, who had hitherto favored the witnesses, gave a favorable charge to the jury, for which Oates and Bedloe had the assurance to attack him to his face, and even to accuse him of partiality before the council.

During these transactions serious disturbances occurred in Scotland. Lauderdale had ruled that country with great severity, and an incident at last happened which brought on an insurrection. The Covenanters were much enraged against Sharpe, the primate, whom they considered as an apostate from their principles, and whom they experienced to be an unrelenting persecutor of all those who dissented from the established worship. A body of them falling in with him by accident on the road near St. Andrew's, dragged him from his coach, tore him from the arms of his daughter, who interposed with cries and tears, and, piercing him with redoubled wounds, left him dead on the spot, and immediately dispersed themselves (May 3). This atrocious action served the ministry as a pretense for a more violent persecution. The officers quartered in the west received strict orders to find out and disperse all conventicles; and for that reason the Covenanters, instead of meeting in small bodies, were obliged to celebrate their worship in numerous assemblies, and to bring arms for their security. Graham of Claverhouse having attacked a great conventicle at Drumclog, near Loudon Hill, was repulsed with the loss of 30 men. The Covenanters, finding that they were unwarily involved in such deep guilt, pushed on to Glasgow, made themselves masters of that city, dispossessed the established clergy, and issued proclamations, in which they declared that they fought against the king's supremacy, against popery and prelacy, and against a popish successor. But, though they succeeded in raising an army of 8000 men, they were soon dispersed by Monmouth, whom the king had sent against them, at the battle of Bothwell Bridge (June 22). In consequence of an illness

of the king, the Duke of York returned to England, and shortly afterward went down to Scotland as lord high commissioner, where he was guilty of the most atrocious cruelties upon the Covenanters. He sometimes assisted at their torture, and looked on with tranquillity, as if he were considering some curious experiment.

§ 8. The plan of government recommended by Temple was now abandoned. Shaftesbury was dismissed from the presidency of the council, and became more violent than ever in his opposition to the court. Essex also quitted the ministry and joined the opposition. Temple withdrew to his books and his gardens. But Halifax and Sunderland still continued in office, and the ministry was recruited by two new men who afterward played a conspicuous part in public life. These were Lawrence Hyde, the second son of the Chancellor Clarendon, who succeeded Essex at the treasury, and Sidney Godolphin.

It was the favor and countenance of the Parliament which had chiefly encouraged the rumor of plots; but the nation had got so much into that vein of credulity, and every necessitous villain was so much incited by the success of Oates and Bedloe, that even during the prorogation the people were not allowed to remain in tranquillity. There was one Dangerfield, a fellow who had been burned in the hand for crimes, transported, whipped, pilloried four times, fined for cheats, outlawed for felony, convicted of coining, and exposed to all the public infamy which the laws could inflict on the basest and most shameful enormities. The credulity of the people and the humor of the times enabled even this man to become a person of consequence. He was the author of a new incident called the *Meal-tub Plot*, from the place where some papers relating to it were found. The bottom of this affair it is difficult, and not very material, to discover. It only appears that Dangerfield, under pretense of betraying the conspiracies of the Presbyterians, had been countenanced by some Catholics of condition, and had even been admitted to the duke's presence and the king's; and that, under pretense of revealing new popish plots, he had obtained access to Shaftesbury and some of the popular leaders. Which side he intended to cheat is uncertain, or whether he did not rather mean to cheat both; but he soon found that the belief of the nation was more open to a Popish than a Presbyterian plot, and he resolved to strike in with the prevailing humor; but, though no weight could be laid on his testimony, great clamor was raised, as if the court, by way of retaliation, had intended to load the Presbyterians with the guilt of a false conspiracy.

The country was in a state of the wildest excitement with the elections. Every means was used, every nerve was strained by the

two parties. The Duke of Monmouth, whom the king had sent abroad through the influence of the Duke of York, returned to England, and made a triumphant procession through many parts of the kingdom, extremely caressed and admired by the people. The people clamored for the Exclusion Bill. The elections went against the court; and the king, seeing it hopeless to obtain a majority in the Commons, prorogued the Parliament on the very day it should have met; and afterward, by repeated prorogations, prevented its assembling for a twelvemonth. Notwithstanding a menacing proclamation from the king, petitions came from all parts, earnestly insisting on a session of Parliament. The danger of popery and the terrors of the plot were never forgotten in any of these addresses. The king was obliged to encounter them by popular applications of a contrary tendency. Wherever the Church and court party prevailed, addresses were framed, containing expressions of the highest regard to his majesty, the most entire acquiescence in his wisdom, the most dutiful submission to his prerogative, and the deepest *abhorrence* of those who endeavored to encroach upon it by prescribing to him any time for assembling the Parliament. Thus the nation came to be distinguished into *Petitioners* and *Abhorrers*. Besides these appellations, which were soon forgotten, this year is remarkable for being the epoch of the well-known epithets of WHIG and TORY. The court party reproached their antagonists with their affinity to the fanatical conventiclers in Scotland, who were known by the name of Whigs; the country party found a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of Tory was affixed; and after this manner these foolish terms of reproach came into public and general use.

In order still to keep alive the zeal against popery, the Earl of Shaftesbury appeared in Westminster Hall, attended by several persons of distinction, and presented to the grand jury of Middlesex reasons for indicting the Duke of York as a popish recusant. While the jury were deliberating on this extraordinary presentment, the chief justice sent for them, and suddenly, even somewhat irregularly, dismissed them. Shaftesbury, however, obtained his end by showing to all his followers the desperate resolution which he had embraced, never to admit of any accommodation with the duke.

§ 9. The king at length opened the Parliament (Oct. 21, 1680) with a speech containing many mollifying expressions; but the Commons displayed the most violent and refractory disposition. Great numbers of the Abhorrers, from all parts of England, were seized by their order; and they renewed the vote of the former Parliament, which affirmed the reality of the horrid Popish Plot.

The whole tribe of informers they applauded and rewarded; and their testimony, however frivolous or absurd, met with a favorable reception; the king was applied to in their behalf for pensions and pardons; and Dr. Tonge was recommended for the first considerable Church preferment which should become vacant. So much were the popular leaders determined to carry matters to extremities, that, in less than a week after the commencement of the session, a motion was made for again bringing in the Exclusion Bill, and a committee was appointed for that purpose. Shaftesbury and many considerable men of the party had rendered themselves irreconcilable with the duke, and could find their safety no way but in his ruin. Monmouth's friends hoped that the exclusion of that prince would make way for their patron, and the country party expected that the king would at last be obliged to yield to their demand. Though he had withdrawn his countenance from Monmouth, he was known secretly to retain a great affection for him. On no occasion had he ever been found to persist obstinately against difficulties and importunity; and as his beloved mistress, the Duchess of Portsmouth, had been engaged to unite herself with the popular party, this incident was regarded as a favorable prognostic of their success. Sunderland, secretary of state, who had linked his interest with that of the duchess, had concurred in the same measure. The debates were carried on with great violence on both sides. In the House of Commons the bill passed by a great majority. In the House of Peers the contest was violent. Shaftesbury, Sunderland, and Essex argued for it; Halifax chiefly conducted the debate against it, and displayed an extent of capacity and a force of eloquence which had never been surpassed in that assembly. The king was present during the whole debate, which was prolonged till 11 at night. The bill was thrown out by a considerble majority. The Commons discovered much ill-humor at this disappointment. The impeachment of the Catholic lords in the Tower was revived; and as Viscount Stafford, from his age, infirmities, and narrow capacity, was deemed the least capable of defending himself, it was determined to make him the first victim, that his condemnation might pave the way for a sentence against the rest. The witnesses produced against the prisoner were Oates, Dugdale, and Turberville. The prisoner made a better defense than was expected either by his friends or his enemies. With a simplicity and tenderness more persuasive than the greatest oratory, he still made protestations of his innocence, and could not forbear, every moment, expressing the most lively surprise and indignation at the audacious impudence of the witnesses. The Peers, after a solemn trial of six days, gave sentence against him by a majority

of 24. Stafford received with resignation the fatal verdict. "God's holy name be praised!" was the only exclamation which he uttered. On the day of his execution, the populace, who had exulted at Stafford's trial and condemnation, were melted into tears at the sight of that tender fortitude which shone forth in each feature, and motion, and accent of this aged noble. Their profound silence was only interrupted by sighs and groans. With difficulty they found speech to assent to those protestations of innocence which he frequently repeated. "We believe you, my lord!" "God bless you, my lord!" These expressions, with a faltering accent, flowed from them. The executioner himself was touched with sympathy. Twice he lifted up the axe with an intent to strike the fatal blow, and as often felt his resolution to fail him. A deep sigh was heard to accompany his last effort, which laid Stafford forever at rest. All the spectators seemed to feel the blow; and when the head was held up to them with the usual cry, "This is the head of a traitor!" no clamor of assent was uttered. Pity, remorse, and astonishment had taken possession of every heart, and displayed itself in every countenance (Dec. 29). This was the last blood which was shed on account of the Popish Plot. The execution of Stafford gratified the prejudices of the country party, but it contributed nothing to their power and security; on the contrary, by exciting commiseration, it tended still farther to increase that disbelief of the whole plot which began now to prevail. As the violence of the Commons still continued, the king soon afterward prorogued and then dissolved the Parliament (Jan. 10, 1681).

§ 10. A new Parliament was summoned in the spring; and in order to remove it from the influence of the factious citizens, it was appointed to meet at Oxford (March 21, 1681). The leaders of the Exclusionists came attended not only by their servants, but by numerous bands of their partisans. The four city members in particular were followed by great multitudes, wearing ribbons, in which were woven these words, *No Popery! no Slavery!* The king had his guards regularly mustered; his party likewise endeavored to make a show of their strength; and, on the whole, the assembly at Oxford rather bore the appearance of a tumultuous Polish diet than of a regular English Parliament.

The Commons were not overawed by the magisterial air of the king's speech, who addressed them in a more authoritative manner than usual. They consisted almost entirely of the same members; they chose the same speaker; and they instantly fell into the same measures, the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the Popish Plot, and the Bill of Exclusion. So violent were they on this last article, that, though one of the king's ministers

proposed that the duke should be banished, during life, 500 miles from England, and that on the king's demise the next heir should be constituted regent with regal power, even this expedient, which left the duke only the bare title of king, could not obtain the attention of the House. The past disappointments of the country party, and the opposition made by the court, had only rendered them more united, more haughty, and more determined. No method but their own of excluding the duke could give them any satisfaction. As there were no hopes of a compromise, Charles again dissolved the Parliament after it had sat only seven days. This rigorous measure, though it might have been foreseen, excited such astonishment in the country party as deprived them of all spirit and reduced them to absolute despair. They were sensible, though too late, that the king had finally taken his resolution, and was determined to endure any extremity rather than submit to those terms which they had resolved to impose upon him. They found that he had patiently waited till affairs had come to full maturity; and, having now engaged a national party on his side, had boldly set his enemies at defiance. The violences of the Exclusionists were every where exclaimed against and aggravated, and even the reality of the plot, that great engine of their authority, was openly called in question. The clergy especially were busy in this great revolution: they represented all their antagonists as sectaries and republicans, and rejoiced in escaping those perils which they believed to have been hanging over them. Principles the most opposite to civil liberty were every where enforced from the pulpit and adopted in numerous addresses. The whole gang of spies, witnesses, informers, suborners who had so long been supported and encouraged by the leading patriots, finding now that the king was entirely master, turned short upon their old patrons, and offered their service to the ministers. To the disgrace of the court and of the age, they were received with hearty welcome, and their testimony, or rather perjury, made use of in order to commit legal murder upon the opposite party. One College, a London joiner, who had become extremely noted for his zeal against popery, and who had been in Oxford, armed with a sword and pistol during the sitting of the Parliament, was indicted in that city as being concerned in a conspiracy. The witnesses produced against him were Dugdale, Turberville, Haynes, Smith, men who had before given evidence against the Catholics, and whom the jury, for that very reason, regarded as the most perjured villains. College defended himself with courage, capacity, and presence of mind; yet did the jury, consisting entirely of Royalists, after half an hour's deliberation, bring in a verdict against him, and the inhuman spectators received the verdict with

a shout of applause. Thus the two parties, actuated by mutual rage, but cooped up within the narrow limits of the law, leveled with poisoned daggers the most deadly blows against each other's breast, and buried in their factious divisions all regard to truth, honor, and humanity.

§ 11. The court now aimed their next blow at Shaftesbury, and Turberville, Smith, and others gave information of high treason against their former patron. Shaftesbury was committed to prison, and his indictment was presented to the grand jury; but the sheriffs of London were engaged deeply in the country party, and they took care to name a jury devoted to the same cause. As far as swearing could go, the treason was clearly proved against Shaftesbury; or rather so clearly as to merit no kind of credit or attention. That veteran leader of a party, inured from his early youth to faction and intrigue, to cabals and conspiracies, was represented as opening without reserve his treasonable intentions to these obscure banditti, and throwing out such violent and outrageous reproaches upon the king as none but men of low education, like themselves, could be supposed to employ. The grand jury rejected the indictment, and the people who attended the hall testified their joy by the loudest acclamations, which were echoed throughout the whole city (Nov. 24, 1681).



Medal struck in commemoration of the acquittal of the Earl of Shaftesbury. Obv.: ANTONIO COMITI DE SHAFTESBVRY. Bust to right. Rev.: LÆTAMVR: a view of London, with the sun appearing from behind a cloud: below, 24 NOV., 1681.

About the same time the Earl of Argyle was condemned in Scotland of high treason, at the instance of the Duke of York, for refusing to take an absurd and contradictory test without a qualification. He escaped from prison and succeeded in reaching Holland; but his estate was confiscated and his arms reversed and torn.

In the following year (1682) the Duke of York paid a visit to England. His credit was great at court. Though neither so

much beloved nor esteemed as the king, he was more dreaded, and thence an attendance more exact, as well as a submission more obsequious, was paid to him. Charles, however, who loved to maintain a balance in his counsels, still supported Halifax, whom he created a marquis, and made privy seal, though ever in opposition to the duke. This man, who possessed the finest genius and most extensive capacity of all employed in public affairs during the present reign, maintained a species of neutrality between the parties, and was esteemed the head of that small body known by the denomination of *Trimmers*. Sunderland, who had promoted the Exclusion Bill, and who had been displaced on that account, was again, with the duke's consent, brought into the administration. Hyde, created Earl of Rochester, was first commissioner of the treasury, and was entirely in the duke's interests. In this year the court obtained the support of the mayor and sheriffs of the city of London, and hence could reckon upon obtaining juries subservient to its views. But, though the court had obtained so great a victory in the city, it was not quite decisive, and the contest might be renewed every year at the election of magistrates. An important project, therefore, was formed, not only to make the king master of the city, but by that precedent to gain him uncontrolled influence in all the corporations in England. A writ of *quo warranto* was issued against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of its charter. It was pretended that the city had forfeited all its privileges because the magistrates had imposed a small toll on goods brought to market, in order to defray the expense of rebuilding the market after the fire, and because in the year 1679 they had addressed the king against the prorogation of Parliament in terms which were pretended to contain a scandalous reflection on the king and his measures. The case of the crown evidently rested not on law, but reasons of state; yet the judges condemned the city. The office of judge was at that time held during pleasure, and it was impossible that any cause, where the court bent its force, could ever be carried against it. After sentence was pronounced, the city applied in an humble manner to the king, and he agreed to restore their charter; but, in return, they were obliged to agree that no mayor, sheriff, recorder, common sergeant, town clerk, or coroner, should be admitted to the exercise of his office without his majesty's approbation, as well as to submit to other regulations. Most of the corporations in England, having the example of London before their eyes, were successively induced to surrender their charters into the king's hands. Considerable sums were exacted for restoring the charters, and all offices of power and profit were left at the disposal of the crown.

§ 12. Every friend to liberty must allow that the nation, whose constitution was thus broken in the shock of faction, had a right, by every prudent expedient, to recover that security of which it was so unhappily bereaved. There was, however, a party of malcontents who, even before this last iniquity, which laid the whole constitution at the mercy of the king, had meditated plans of resistance. In the spring of 1681, when the king was seized with a fit of sickness at Windsor, the Duke of Monmouth, Lord William Russell, and others, instigated by the restless Shaftesbury, had agreed, in case it should prove mortal, to rise in arms and to oppose the succession of the duke. Charles recovered, but these dangerous projects were not laid aside. Shaftesbury's imprisonment and trial put an end for some time to these machinations, and it was not till the new sheriffs were imposed on the city that they were revived. Besides the city, the gentry and nobility in several counties of England were solicited to rise in arms. The whole train was ready to take fire, but was prevented by the caution of Lord Russell, who induced Monmouth to delay the enterprise. Shaftesbury, in the mean time, was so much affected with the sense of his danger that he left his house and secretly lurked in the city, meditating all those desperate schemes which disappointed revenge and ambition could inspire, till, enraged at perpetual cautions and delays in an enterprise which he thought nothing but courage and celerity could render effectual, he retired into Holland (1682), where he soon after died.

After Shaftesbury's departure the conspirators with some difficulty renewed the correspondence with the city malcontents, and a regular project of an insurrection was again formed. A council of six was erected, consisting of Monmouth, Russell, Essex,* Lord Howard, Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the great Parliamentary leader. These men entered into an agreement with Argyle and the Scottish malcontents, and insurrections were anew projected in Cheshire and the west, as well as in the city. The conspirators differed extremely in their views. Sidney and Essex were for a commonwealth. Monmouth entertained hopes of acquiring the crown for himself. Russell, as well as Hampden, was much attached to the ancient constitution, and intended only the exclusion of the duke and the redress of grievances. Lord Howard was a man of no principle, and was ready to embrace any party which his immediate interest should recommend to him. While these schemes were concerting among the

* The title of Earl of Essex became extinct on the death of the Parliamentary general in 1646. The Earl of Essex mentioned in the text was the son of Lord Capel, beheaded in 1649 for his loyalty to Charles I. He was created Earl of Essex in 1661, and is the ancestor of the present earl.

leaders, there was an inferior order of conspirators who carried on projects quite unknown to Monmouth and the cabal of six. Rumbold, an old Republican officer, was a maltster, and possessed a farm called the Rye House, which lay on the road to Newmarket, whither the king commonly went once a year for the diversion of the races. A plan was formed by overturning a cart to stop at that place the king's coach, while they might fire upon him from the hedges, and be enabled afterward, through by-lanes and across the fields, to make their escape. The whole, however, was little more than loose discourse; and the scheme was disconcerted by the king leaving Newmarket 8 days sooner than he intended (1683). Some of the conspirators betrayed to the government the Rye House Plot; and Colonel Rumford, who was acquainted with the conspiracy of Monmouth and the others, also informed the government that the latter had been accustomed to hold their meetings at the house of Shephard, an eminent wine-merchant in the city. Shephard was immediately apprehended, and had not courage to maintain fidelity to his confederates. Upon his information, orders were issued for arresting the great men engaged in the conspiracy. Monmouth absconded; Russell was sent to the Tower; Howard was taken while he concealed himself in a chimney, and, being a man of profligate morals as well as indigent circumstances, he scrupled not, in hopes of a pardon and a reward, to reveal the whole conspiracy. Essex, Sidney, and Hampden, were immediately apprehended upon his evidence. Several of the conspirators in the Rye House Plot, were condemned and executed; and from their trial and confession it is sufficiently apparent that the plan of an insurrection had been regularly formed, and that even the assassination had been often talked of, and not without the approbation of many of the conspirators.

Lord Russell was next brought to trial. The witnesses produced against the noble prisoner were Rumsey, Shephard, and Lord Howard. On the whole, it was undoubtedly proved that the insurrection had been deliberated on by the prisoner, and fully resolved; a surprisal of the guards deliberated on, but not fully resolved; and that an assassination had never once been mentioned nor imagined by him. He contented himself with protesting that he never had entertained any design against the life of the king; but his veracity would not allow him to deny the conspiracy for an insurrection. The jury were men of fair and reputable characters, but zealous Royalists: after a short deliberation, they brought in the prisoner guilty. Applications were made to the king for a pardon; even money to the amount of £100,000 was offered to the Duchess of Portsmouth by the old Earl of Bedford, father to Russell. The king was inexorable, and would go no

farther than remitting the more ignominious part of the sentence, which the law requires to be pronounced against traitors. Russell's consort, a woman of virtue, daughter and heir of the good Earl of Southampton, threw herself at the king's feet, and pleaded with many tears the merits and loyalty of her father as an atonement for those errors into which honest, however mistaken, principles had seduced her husband; but, finding all applications vain, she collected courage, and not only fortified herself against the fatal blow, but endeavored by her example to strengthen the resolution of her unfortunate lord. With a tender and decent composure they took leave of each other on the day of his execution. "The bitterness of death is now passed," said he, when he turned from her. The scaffold was erected in Lincoln's Inn Fields, in order probably, by conducting Russell through so many streets, to show the mutinous city their beloved leader exposed to the utmost rigors of the law. Without the least change of countenance he laid his head on the block, and at two strokes it was severed from his body (July 21, 1683).

On the day that Lord Russell was tried, Essex was found in the Tower with his throat cut. The coroner's jury brought in a verdict of self-murder. Essex was subject to fits of deep melancholy; yet the murder was ascribed to the king and the duke, who happened that morning to pay a visit to the Tower.

Algernon Sidney was next brought to his trial. This gallant person, son of the Earl of Leicester, was in principle a Republican, and had entered deeply into the war against the late king. He had been named on the high court of justice which tried and condemned that monarch, but he thought not proper to take his seat among the judges, and had ever opposed Cromwell's usurpation with zeal and courage. After the restoration he went into voluntary banishment; but in 1677, having obtained the king's pardon, he returned to England. When the factions arising from the Popish Plot began to run high, Sidney, full of those ideas of liberty which he had imbibed from the great examples of antiquity, joined the popular party; but his conduct was deficient in practical good sense, and he labors under the imputation of accepting French gold. The only witness who deposed against Sidney was Lord Howard; but, as the law required two witnesses, the deficiency was supplied by producing some of his papers, in which he maintained the lawfulness of resisting tyrants, and the preference of liberty to the government of a single person. The violent and inhuman Jeffreys was now chief justice, and by his direction a partial jury was easily prevailed on to give verdict against Sidney. His execution followed a few days after (Dec. 7); but he had too much greatness of mind to deny those conspiracies with

Monmouth and Russell in which he had been engaged. He rather gloried that he now suffered for that *good old cause* in which from his earliest youth, he said, he had enlisted himself.

Howard was also the sole evidence against Hampden. He was convicted only for a misdemeanor, but the fine imposed was exorbitant—no less than £40,000.

§ 13. Some other memorable causes were tried about this time. Oates was convicted of having called the duke a popish traitor, was condemned in damages to the amount of £100,000, and was adjudged to remain in prison till he should make payment. Sir Samuel Barnardiston was fined £10,000 because, in some private letters, which had been intercepted, he had reflected on the government.

The Duke of Monmouth had absconded on the first discovery of the conspiracy; but Halifax, having discovered his retreat, prevailed on him to write two letters to the king, full of the tenderest and most submissive expressions. The king's fondness was revived; he permitted Monmouth to come to court, and engaged him to give a full account of the plot. Monmouth kept silence till he had obtained his pardon in form; but finding that by taking this step he was entirely disgraced with his party, he instructed his emissaries to deny that he had ever made any such confession as that which was imputed to him, and the party exclaimed that the whole was an imposture of the court. The king, provoked at this conduct, banished Monmouth his presence, and afterward ordered him to depart the kingdom.

§ 14. The king endeavored to increase his present popularity by every art; and knowing that the suspicion of popery was of all others the most dangerous, he judged it proper to marry his niece, the Lady Anne, to Prince George, brother to the King of Denmark. The Duke of York nevertheless exercised great influence over the king. Through his mediation, Danby and the popish lords, who had so long been confined in the Tower, were admitted to bail; a measure just in itself, but deemed a great encroachment on the privileges of Parliament; and the duke, contrary to law, was restored to the office of high admiral without taking the Test. But James's hasty counsels gave the king uneasiness; and he was overheard one day to say, "Brother, I am too old to go again to my travels; you may, if you choose it." Charles was now resolved to govern without calling a Parliament; and after the dismissal of the last one, had returned to his former dangerous connections with Louis.

On the 2d February, 1685, Charles was seized with a sudden fit, which resembled an apoplexy; and though he recovered from it by bleeding, he languished only a few days, and expired on the

6th, in the 55th year of his age and the 25th of his reign. He was so happy in a good constitution of body, and had ever been so remarkably careful of his health, that his death struck as great a surprise into his subjects as if he had been in the flower of his youth. During the king's illness he received the sacrament from a Roman Catholic priest, accompanied with the other rites of the Romish Church. Charles II. was in society the most amiable and engaging of men. This, indeed, is the most shining part of his character; and he seems to have been sensible of it, for he was fond of dropping the formality of state, and of relapsing every moment into the companion. His relations with the other sex were in the highest degree immoral,* and hence his court became a school of vice and profligacy. Yet he was a friendly brother, an indulgent father, and a good-natured master. As a sovereign, his character was dangerous to his people and dishonorable to himself. Negligent of the interests of the nation, careless of its glory, averse to its religion, jealous of its liberty, lavish of its treasure, sparing only of its blood, he exposed it by his measures, which, however, were often the result of mere indolence, to the danger of a furious civil war, and even to the ruin and ignominy of a foreign conquest. It has been remarked of Charles that he never said a foolish thing, nor ever did a wise one; which he explained by observing that his discourse was his own, his actions were the ministry's.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
1662.	The Act of Uniformity passed. Charles marries Catherine of Braganza.
1664.	Conventicle Act.
1665.	War declared against the Dutch.
"	Great Plague at London.
"	Five-mile Act.
1666.	Great sea-fight.
"	Fire of London.
1667.	The Dutch fleet under De Ruyter insults Chatham.
"	Treaty of Breda.
"	Fall of Clarendon.
"	The new ministry, called the Cabal.
1668.	Triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden.
1670.	Secret treaty of Dover.
1672.	War declared against Holland.
1673.	The Test Act.
1674.	Peace with Holland.
"	Earl of Danby prime minister.
1678.	Peace of Nimeguen.
"	The Popish Plot.
1679.	The Habeas Corpus Act.
"	The Exclusion Bill.
"	Meal-tub Plot.
1681.	Trial and acquittal of Shaftesbury.
1683.	Rye House Plot.
"	Trial and execution of Lord William Russell and Algernon Sidney.
1685.	Death of Charles II.

* Some of his illegitimate children were the ancestors of several of the noblest families in the present peerage. His favorite son, the Duke of Monmouth, by Lucy Walters, was beheaded in the following reign, and left no issue. By the Duchess of Cleveland (Barbara Villiers) he had three sons, the Duke of Southampton, the Duke of Grafton (ancestor of the present duke), and the Duke of Northumberland. The Duke of Richmond (the ancestor of the present duke) was his son by the Duchess of Portsmouth (Louise de Querouaille); and the Duke of St. Alban's (also the ancestor of the present duke) was his son by the actress Eleanor Gwynn.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

HABEAS CORPUS ACT.

31 CAR. II., c. 2 (A.D. 1679).

This celebrated statute did not introduce any new principle, but only confirmed and rendered more available a remedy which had long existed. "The writ of *habeas corpus*, requiring a return of the body imprisoned and the *cause* of his detention, and hence anciently called *corpus cum causâ*, was in familiar use between subject and subject in the reign of Henry VI. Its use by a subject against the crown has not been traced during the time of the Plantagenet dynasty; the earliest precedents known being of the date of Henry VII." (See Amos, "The English Constitution in the reign of Charles II.," p. 171, and the authorities there quoted.) The privilege of *habeas corpus* was twice solemnly confirmed in the reign of Charles I., first by the Petition of Right (1628), and secondly by the statute abolishing the Star Chamber and other arbitrary courts (1640), which contained a clause that any person imprisoned by orders of the abolished courts, or by command or warrant of the king or any of his council, should be entitled to a writ of habeas corpus from the courts of King's Bench or Common Pleas, *without delay* upon any pretense whatsoever. But as Charles II. and his ministers still found means to evade these enactments, the celebrated statute was passed in 1679, known as *the* Habeas Corpus Act. Its principal author was Lord Shaftesbury, and it was for many years called "Lord Shaftesbury's Act." It enacts:

"1. That on complaint and request in writing by or on behalf of any person committed and charged with any crime (unless committed for treason or felony expressed in the warrant; or as accessory or on suspicion of being accessory before the fact to any petit treason or felony; or upon suspicion of such petit treason or felony plainly expressed in the warrant; or unless he is convicted or charged in execution by legal process), the lord chancellor, or any of the judges in vacation, upon viewing a copy of the warrant or affidavit that a copy is denied, shall (unless the party has neglected for two terms to apply to any court for his enlargement) award a *habeas corpus* for such prisoner, returnable immediately before himself or any other of the judges; and upon the return made shall discharge the party, if bailable, upon giving security to appear and answer to the accusation in the proper court of judicature. 2. That such writs shall be indorsed as granted in pursuance of this act, and signed by the person awarding them. 3. That the writ shall be returned and the prisoner brought up within a limited time according to the distance, not exceeding in any case twenty days. 4. That officers and keepers neglecting to make due returns, or not delivering to the prisoner or his agent within six hours after demand a copy of the warrant of commitment, or shifting the custody of the prisoner from one to another without sufficient reason or authority (specified in the act), shall for the first offense forfeit £100, and for the second offense £200 to the party grieved, and be disabled to hold his office. 5. That no person once delivered by *habeas corpus* shall be recommitted for the same offense, on penalty of £500. 6. That every person committed for treason or felony shall, if he requires it, the first week of the next term, or the first day of the next session of *oyer* and *terminer*, be indicted in that term or session, or else admitted to bail, unless the king's witnesses can not be produced at that time; and if acquitted, or not indicted and tried in the second term or session, he shall be discharged from his imprisonment for such imputed offense; but that no person, after the assizes shall be open for the county in which he is detained, shall be removed by *habeas corpus* till after the assizes are ended, but shall be left to the justice of the judges of assize. 7. That any such prisoner may move for and obtain his *habeas corpus* as well out of the Chancery or Exchequer as out of the King's Bench or Common Pleas; and the lord chancellor or judges denying the same on sight of the warrant or oath that the same is refused, forfeits severally to the party grieved the sum of £500. 8. That this writ of *habeas corpus* shall run into the counties palatine, cinque ports, and other privileged places, and the islands of Jersey and Guernsey. 9. That no inhabitant of England (except persons contracting or convicts praying to be transported, or having committed some capital offense in the place to which they are sent) shall be sent prisoner to Scotland, Ireland, Jersey, Guernsey, or any places beyond the seas within or without the king's dominions, *on* pain that the party committing, his advisers, aiders, and assistants, shall forfeit to the party aggrieved a sum not less than £500, to be recovered with treble costs; shall be disabled to bear any office of trust or profit; shall incur the penalties of *præmunire*; and shall be incapable of the king's pardon."

The Habeas Corpus Act was confined to criminal cases, but by the 56 Geo. III., c. 100, it was extended not only to cases of illegal restraint by subject on subject, but also to those in which the crown has an interest, as in instances of impressment or smuggling. See Kerr's Blackstone, iii., 137; Amos, *ibid.*, p. 201.



Obverse of Medal of James II. and Mary of Modena. IACOBVS . II . ET . MARIA . D . G . MAG . BRI . FRAN ET . HIB . REX . ET . REGINA. Busts of king and queen to right.

CHAPTER XXVI.

JAMES II. A.D. 1685-1688.

§ 1. Accession of James. His arbitrary Proceedings. Conviction and Punishment of Titus Oates. § 2. Monmouth's Invasion, Defeat, and Execution. § 3. Cruelties of Kirke and Jeffreys. Invasion and Execution of Argyle. § 4. A Parliament. Popish Measures. § 5. Court of High Commission revived. Sentence against the Bishop of London. Penal Laws suspended. Embassy to Rome. § 6. The King's violent Proceedings with Corporations. Affair of Magdalen College. Imprisonment and Trial of the seven Bishops. § 7. Birth of the Prince of Wales. Conduct of the Prince of Orange. § 8. Coalition of Parties in his Favor. The King retracts his Measures. § 9. The Prince of Orange lands at Torbay. The King deserted by the Army and by his Family. § 10. The King's Flight. His Character. § 11. Convention summoned. Debates. Settlement of the Crown. § 12. Review of the Stuart Dynasty. Principles of Government. § 13. Foreign Affairs. § 14. Internal State of England. § 15. Revenue. Army and Navy. § 16. Colonies and Commerce. § 17. Manners, Literature, Art, etc.

§ 1. THE first act of James's reign was to assemble the privy council, where, after some praises bestowed on the memory of his predecessor, he made professions of his resolution to maintain the established government, both in Church and State. The first exercise of his authority, however, showed that either he was not sincere in his professions of attachment to the laws, or that he had entertained so lofty an idea of his own legal power, that even his utmost sincerity would tend very little to secure the liberties of the people. Without waiting for a Parliament, he issued a

proclamation, ordering the customs and excise to be paid as before; and this exertion of power he would not deign to qualify by the least act or even appearance of condescension. He likewise went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal meeting; and by this imprudence he displayed at once his arbitrary disposition and the bigotry of his principles—those two great characteristics of his reign and bane of his administration. Nevertheless, all the chief offices of the crown continued still in the hands of Protestants. Rochester was made treasurer; his brother Clarendon chamberlain; Godolphin chamberlain to the queen; Sunderland secretary of state; Halifax president of the council. On the 23d of April James and his queen were crowned by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Westminster Abbey. The communion and a few minor ceremonies were omitted. The Parliament assembled in May. The new House of Commons consisted almost entirely of zealous Tories and Churchmen, and were, of consequence, strongly biased by their affections in favor of the measures of the crown. In his opening speech the king plainly intimated that he had resources in his prerogative for supporting the government independent of their supplies, and that, so long as they complied with his demands, he would have recourse to them; but that any ill usage on their part would set him free from those measures of government, which he seemed to regard more as voluntary than as necessary. Yet the Commons, besides giving thanks for the king's speech, voted unanimously that they would settle on his present majesty, during life, all the revenue enjoyed by the late king at the time of his demise.

A little before the meeting of Parliament Oates was convicted of perjury on two indictments, was fined 1000 marks on each indictment, and sentenced to be whipped on two different days from Aldgate to Newgate, and from Newgate to Tyburn, to be imprisoned during life, and to be pilloried five times every year. Though the whipping was so cruel that it was evidently the intention of the court to put him to death by that punishment, he was enabled, by the care of his friends, to recover; and he lived to King William's reign.

§ 2. Monmouth, when ordered to depart the kingdom during the late reign, had retired to Holland, where he was well received by the Prince of Orange; but, after the accession of James, the prince thought it necessary to dismiss Monmouth and all his followers. He retired to Brussels; but was pushed on by his followers, and especially the Earl of Argyle, contrary to his judgment as well as inclination, to make a rash and premature attack upon England. He sailed from Holland with three ships, and landed at Lyme, in Dorsetshire, with scarcely 100 followers; yet

so popular was his name that in four days he had assembled above 2000 horse and foot. They were, indeed, almost all of them the lowest of the people; and the declaration which he published was chiefly calculated to suit the prejudices of the vulgar, or the most bigoted of the Whig party. He called the king Duke of York, and denominated him a traitor, a tyrant, an assassin, and a popish usurper. He imputed to him the fire in London, the murder of Godfrey and of Essex, nay, the poisoning of the late king; and he invited all the people to join in opposition to his tyranny.

Monmouth advanced without opposition to Taunton, where twenty young maids of some rank presented him with a pair of colors of their handiwork, together with a copy of the Bible. Monmouth was here persuaded to take upon him the title of king, and assert the legitimacy of his birth. His numbers had now increased to 6000; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss a great many who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, Frome, and was proclaimed in all these places; but, forgetting that such desperate enterprises can only be rendered successful by the most adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to languish, without attempting any considerable undertaking.

The king's forces, under the command of Feversham and Churchill, now advanced against him; and Monmouth, observing that no considerable men joined him, finding that an insurrection which was projected in the city had not taken place, and hearing that Argyle, his confederate, was already defeated and taken, sunk into such despondency that he had once resolved to withdraw himself, and leave his unhappy followers to their fate; but he was encouraged by the negligent disposition made by Feversham, to attack the king's army at Sedgmoor, near Bridgewater, and would at last have obtained a victory had not his own misconduct and the cowardice of Lord Grey, who commanded his cavalry, prevented it. After a combat of three hours the rebels gave way, and were followed with great slaughter (July 6); and thus was concluded, in a few weeks, this enterprise, rashly undertaken and feebly conducted. Monmouth fled from the field of battle above 20 miles, till his horse sank under him. He then changed clothes with a peasant in order to conceal himself. The peasant was discovered by the pursuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their search. At last the unhappy Monmouth was found lying in the bottom of a ditch, covered with fern; his body depressed with fatigue and hunger, his mind, by the memory of past misfortunes and by the prospect of future disasters. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies, and he seemed still to indulge the fond hope and desire of life. He wrote James the most submissive letters,

and conjured him to spare the issue of a brother who had ever been so strongly attached to his interest. James, finding such symptoms of depression and despondency in the unhappy prisoner, admitted him to his presence, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices; but Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he assumed courage from despair, and prepared himself for death with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. This favorite of the people was attended to the scaffold with a plentiful effusion of tears. He warned the executioner not to fall into the error which he had committed in beheading Russell, where it had been necessary to repeat the blow. This precaution served only to dismay the executioner. He struck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who raised his head from the block and looked him in the face, as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a second time, and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He then threw aside the axe, and cried out that he was incapable of finishing the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt, and at two blows more the head was severed from the body (July 15).

§ 3. Such arbitrary principles had the court instilled into all its servants, that Feversham, immediately after the victory, hanged above 20 prisoners; but he was outdone by Colonel Kirke, a soldier of fortune, who had long served at Tangiers, and had contracted, from his intercourse with the Moors, an inhumanity less known in European and in free countries. At his first entry into Bridgewater he hanged 19 prisoners, without the least inquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make sport with death, he ordered a certain number to be executed while he and his company should drink the king's health. Other actions of inhuman barbarity are related of him. His soldiery were let loose to live at free quarters. By way of pleasantry he used to call them *his lambs*, from the device which they bore on their colors, an appellation which was long remembered with horror in the west of England.

The violent Jeffreys succeeded after some interval, and showed the people that the rigors of law might equal, if not exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. This man, who wantoned in cruelty, had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he presided, and he now set out with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death and destruction. He opened his court at Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, and, on the whole, besides those who were butchered by the military commanders, 330 are computed to have fallen by the hand of justice. The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of traitors. The

convictions of Mrs. Gaunt, Lady Lisle, and Alderman Cornish, were particularly cruel and unjust. The last two were reversed after the Revolution. Nothing could satiate the spirit of rigor which possessed the administration. Even those multitudes who received pardon were obliged to atone for their guilt by fines which reduced them to beggary; or where their former poverty made them incapable of paying, they were condemned to cruel whippings or severe imprisonments. Some bought a pardon by bribing the judge, who made a large sum of money by selling his protection. Jeffreys, for those eminent services, was soon after vested by the king with the dignity of chancellor. The fate of Argyle, as already mentioned, was decided before that of Monmouth. Having landed in Argyleshire, he collected and armed a body of about 2500 men; but his small and still decreasing army, after wandering about for a little time, was at last defeated and dissipated without a battle. Argyle himself, in attempting to escape, was seized and carried to Edinburgh, where, after enduring many indignities with a gallant spirit, he was publicly executed. The Scotch Parliament showed the utmost servility to the government, and seemed to have made an entire surrender of its liberties.

§ 4. The king, elated with this continued tide of prosperity, opened the English Parliament with a violent and impolitic speech, in which he intimated his intention of maintaining a standing army, and dispensing with the tests (Nov. 9). The latter declaration struck a universal alarm throughout the nation; infused terror into the Church, which had hitherto been the chief support of monarchy; and even disgusted the army, by whose means alone he could now purpose to govern. At the same time, the revocation, by Louis XIV., of the edict of Nantes, granted by Henry IV. in favor of his Protestant subjects, tended mightily to excite the animosity of the nation against the Roman Catholic communion. Above half a million of the most useful and industrious subjects deserted France; and exported, together with immense sums of money, those arts and manufactures which had chiefly tended to enrich that kingdom. Near 50,000 refugees passed over into England; and all men were disposed, from their representations, to entertain the utmost horror against the projects which they apprehended to be formed by the king for the abolition of the Protestant religion. The smallest approach toward the introduction of popery must, in the present disposition of the people, have afforded reason of jealousy. Yet was the king resolute to persevere in his purpose; and, having failed in bringing over the Parliament, he made an attempt, with more success, in establishing his dispensing power by a verdict of the judges. For this purpose a feigned action was instituted. Sir Edward Hales, a new pros-

elyte, had accepted a commission of colonel, and directions were given to his coachman to prosecute him for the penalty of £500, which the law establishing the tests had granted to informers. Before the cause was tried, four of the judges—Jones, Montague, Charleton, and Nevil—were displaced. Sir Edward Herbert, the chief justice, declared that there was nothing with which the king might not dispense; and when the matter was referred to the judges, 11 out of the 12 adhered to this decision. The nation thought the dispensing power dangerous, if not fatal, to liberty. But it was not likely that an authority which James had assumed through so many obstacles would in his hands lie long idle and unemployed. Four Catholic lords were brought into the privy council—Powys, Arundel, Belasyse, and Dover. Halifax was dismissed, and the office of privy seal was given to Arundel. The king was open as well as zealous in the desire of making converts, and men plainly saw that the only way to acquire his affection and confidence was by a sacrifice of their religion. Sunderland, some time after, scrupled not to gain favor at this price. Rochester, the treasurer, though the king's brother-in-law, yet because he refused to give this instance of complaisance, was turned out of his office. The treasury was put in commission, and Belasyse was placed at the head of it. In Scotland James's zeal for proselytism was still more successful. In Ireland the mask was wholly taken off. The Duke of Ormond was recalled, and the whole power was lodged in the hands of Talbot, the general, soon after created Earl of Tyrconnel; a man who, from the blindness of his prejudices and fury of his temper, was transported with the most immeasurable ardor for the Catholic cause. All the Protestants were disarmed on pretense of securing the public peace, and keeping their arms in a few magazines for the use of the militia. Next the army was new-modeled; and a great number of officers, and about 4000 or 5000 private soldiers, because they were Protestants, were dismissed; and being stripped even of their regimentals, were turned out to starve in the streets. When Clarendon, who had been named lord lieutenant, came over, he soon found that, as he had refused to give the king the desired pledge of fidelity by changing his religion, he possessed no credit or authority; and he was even a kind of prisoner in the hands of Tyrconnel. All judicious persons of the Roman Catholic communion were disgusted with these violent measures, and could easily foresee the consequences.

§ 5. The proceedings of the court awakened the alarm of the Established Church. Instead of avoiding controversy, according to the king's injunctions, the preachers every where declaimed against popery; and among the rest, Dr. Sharpe, a clergyman of

London, particularly distinguished himself. His discourses gave great offense at court; and positive orders were issued to the Bishop of London immediately to suspend Sharpe till his majesty's pleasure should be farther known. The prelate replied that he was not empowered, in such a summary manner, to inflict any punishment, even upon the greatest delinquent. But neither this obvious reason, nor the most dutiful submissions, both of the prelate and Sharpe himself, could appease the court. The court of High Commission had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. by act of Parliament; and, although that act was partly repealed after the Restoration, yet the clause was retained which prohibited the erection, in all future times, of that court, or any of a like nature. Nevertheless, an ecclesiastical commission was anew issued, almost in the words which created the court under Elizabeth, by which seven commissioners were vested with full and unlimited authority over the Church of England (July 14, 1686). The Bishop of London was cited before the commissioners; and, by a majority of votes, the prelate, as well as Sharpe, was suspended.

Almost the whole of this short reign consists of attempts, always imprudent, often illegal, sometimes both, against whatever was most loved and revered by the nation. The king, not content with granting dispensations to particular persons, assumed a power of issuing a declaration of general indulgence, and of suspending at once all the penal statutes, by which a conformity was required to the established religion. In this declaration he promised that he would maintain his loving subjects in all their properties and possessions, as well of Church and abbey lands as of any other. Men thought that if the full establishment of popery were not at hand, this promise was quite superfluous; and they concluded that the king was so replete with joy on the prospect of that glorious event, that he could not, even for a moment, refrain from expressing it. But what afforded the most alarming prospect was the continuance and even increase of the violent and precipitate conduct of affairs in Ireland. The Catholics were put in possession of the council-table, of the courts of judicature, and of the bench of justices. The charters of Dublin and of all the corporations were annulled, and new charters were granted, subjecting the corporations to the will of the sovereign. The Protestant freemen were expelled, Catholics introduced; and the latter sect, as they always were the majority in number, were now invested with the whole power of the kingdom. But the king was not content with discovering in his own kingdom the imprudence of his conduct; he was resolved that all Europe should be witness of it. He publicly sent the Earl of Castlemaine embassador extraordi-

nary to Rome, in order to express his obedience to the Pope, and to make advances for reconciling his kingdoms, in form, to the Catholic communion. The Pope, in return, sent a nuncio to England; and, though any communication with the Pope was treason, yet so little regard did the king pay to the laws that he gave the nuncio a public and solemn reception at Windsor. Four Catholic bishops were publicly consecrated in the king's chapel; the regular clergy of that communion appeared at court in the habits of their order, and some of them were so indiscreet as to boast that in a little time they hoped to walk in procession through the capital.

§ 6. By the practice of annulling the charters, the king was become master of all the corporations, and could at pleasure change every where the whole magistracy. The Church party, therefore, was deprived of authority; and, by an unnatural and impolitic coalition, the Dissenters were, first in London and afterward in every other corporation, substituted in their place. Not content with this violent and dangerous innovation, the king appointed certain regulators to examine the qualifications of electors, and directions were given them to exclude all such as adhered to the test and penal statutes. He sought to bring over the chief public functionaries to his views in private conferences which were then called *closetings*. The whole power in Ireland had been committed to Catholics. In Scotland, all the ministers whom the king chiefly trusted were converts to that religion. Every great office in England, civil and military, was gradually transferred from the Protestants. Nothing remained but to open the door in the Church and universities to the intrusion of the Catholics, and it was not long before the king made this rash effort. Cambridge successfully resisted the king's mandate to confer the degree of master of arts on Father Francis, a Benedictine; but Parker, Bishop of Oxford, a man of loose character, and recommended only by his willingness to change his religion, was forced upon the fellows of Magdalen College as a new president. This act of violence, of all those which were committed during the reign of James, is perhaps the most illegal and arbitrary: it not only attacked private property, but poisoned the very fountains of the Church (1687). The next measure of the court was an insult still more open on the ecclesiastics. The king published a second declaration of indulgence, almost in the same terms with the former; and he subjoined an order that, immediately after divine service, it should be read by the clergy in all the churches (April, 1688). Hereupon six prelates—namely, Lloyd, Bishop of St. Asaph, Ken of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol—met privately with Sancroft the

primate, and drew up a respectful petition to the king, in which they represented that the Declaration of Indulgence being founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by Parliament, they could not, in prudence, honor, or conscience, make themselves parties to the distribution of it, and besought the king that he would not insist upon their reading it. The king immediately embraced a resolution of punishing the bishops for a petition so popular in its matter, and so prudent and cautious in the expression. He summoned them before the council; and when they avowed the petition, an order was immediately drawn for their commitment to the Tower; and the crown lawyers received directions to prosecute them for the seditious libel which, it was pretended, they had composed and uttered. When the people beheld these fathers of the Church brought from court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embark in vessels on the river and conveyed toward the Tower, all their affection for liberty, all their zeal for religion, blazed up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions toward heaven for protection during this extreme danger to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prel-



Medal of Archbishop Sancroft and the seven bishops. Obv.: GVIL . SANCROFT . ARCHIEPISC . CANTUAR . 1688. Bust to right. Rev.: Busts of the seven bishops in circles, with their names.

ates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were appointed to guard. Their passage, when conducted to their trial, was, if possible, attended by greater crowds of anxious spectators. Twenty-nine temporal peers (for the other prelates kept aloof) attended the seven prisoners to Westminster Hall; and such crowds of gentry followed the procession that scarcely was any room left for the populace to enter. No cause, even during the prosecution of the Popish Plot, was ever heard with so much zeal and attention. The arguments of counsel in favor of the bishops were convincing in themselves, and were heard with a favorable disposition by the audience. The jury, however, from what cause is unknown, took several hours to deliberate, and kept, during so long a time, the people in the most anxious expectation. But when the wished-for verdict, *not guilty*, was at last pronounced, the intelligence was echoed through the hall, was conveyed to the crowds without, was carried into the city, and was propagated with infinite joy throughout the kingdom (June 30). The king had formed a standing army of about 16,000 men, which encamped in summer on Hounslow Heath. It happened that the very day on which the trial of the bishops was finished, James had reviewed the troops, and had retired into the tent of Lord Feversham, the general, when he was surprised to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of tumultuary joy. He suddenly inquired the cause, and was told by Feversham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he. "But so much the worse for them."

§ 7. A few days before the acquittal of the bishops the queen was delivered of a son (June 10, 1688), who was baptized by the name of James. This blessing was impatiently longed for, not only by the king and queen, but by all the zealous Catholics both abroad and at home. Vows had been offered at every shrine for a male successor, and pilgrimages undertaken, particularly one to Loretto, by the Duchess of Modena; and success was chiefly attributed to that pious journey. But the Protestant party went so far as to ascribe to the king the design of imposing on the world a supposititious child, who might be educated in his principles, and after his death support the Catholic religion in his dominions.

Although the king's conduct had entirely alienated the hearts of his subjects, yet such is the influence of established government, and so averse are men from beginning hazardous enterprises, that, had not an attack been made from abroad, affairs might long have remained in their present delicate situation. The Prince of Orange, ever since his marriage with the Lady Mary, had main-

tained a very prudent conduct, agreeable to that sound understanding with which he was so eminently endowed. But when the arbitrary conduct of James had disgusted all his subjects, William sent over Dykvelt as envoy to England, and gave him instructions to apply in his name, after a proper manner, to every sect and denomination. To the Church party he sent assurances of favor and regard; while the Nonconformists were exhorted not to be deceived by the fallacious caresses of a popish court, but to wait patiently till laws, enacted by Protestants, should give them that toleration which, with so much reason, they had long demanded. Dykvelt executed his commission with such dexterity that all orders of men cast their eyes toward Holland, and many of the most considerable persons, both in Church and state, made secret applications through him to the Prince of Orange. At last, when a son was born to the king, and the succession of William thus cut off, both the prince and the English nation were reduced to despair, and saw no resource but in a confederacy for their mutual interest. And thus the event which James had so long made the object of his most ardent prayers, and from which he expected the firm establishment of his throne, proved the immediate cause of his ruin and downfall.

Zuylestein, who had been sent over to congratulate the king on the birth of his son, brought back to the prince invitations from most of the great men in England, to assist them, by his arms, in the recovery of their laws and liberties. Whigs, Tories, and Nonconformists, forgetting their animosity, secretly concurred in a design of resisting their unhappy and misguided sovereign. Even Sunderland, the king's favorite minister, entered into correspondence with the prince; and, at the expense of his own honor and his master's interests, secretly favored a cause which, he foresaw, was likely soon to predominate.

§ 8. The prince was easily engaged to yield to the applications of the English, and to embrace the defense of a nation which, during its present fears and distresses, regarded him as its sole protector. The time when he entered on his enterprise was well chosen, as the people were then in the highest ferment on account of the insult which the imprisonment and trial of the bishops had put upon the Church, and, indeed, upon all the Protestants of the nation. He had beforehand increased the Dutch navy, levied additional troops, and made such arrangements with his neighbors and allies as should prevent any danger to Holland from his expedition. So secret were the prince's counsels, and so fortunate was the situation of affairs, that he could still cover his preparations under other pretenses. Yet all his artifices could not entirely conceal his real intentions from the sagacity of the French

court. Louis conveyed the intelligence to James, and offered to join a squadron of French ships to the English fleet, and to send over any number of troops which James should judge requisite for his security. But all the French king's proposals were imprudently rejected. James was not, as yet, entirely convinced that his son-in-law intended an invasion upon England. Fully persuaded, himself, of the sacredness of his own authority, he fancied that a like belief had made deep impression on his subjects; and, notwithstanding the strong symptoms of discontent which broke out every where, such a universal combination in rebellion appeared to him nowise credible.

James at last received a letter from his minister at the Hague which informed him with certainty that he was soon to look for a powerful invasion from Holland. Though he could reasonably expect no other intelligence, he was astonished at the news: he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand; his eyes were now opened, and he found himself on the brink of a frightful precipice, which his delusions had hitherto concealed from him. His ministers and counselors, equally astonished, saw no resource but in a sudden and precipitate retraction of all those fatal measures by which he had created to himself so many enemies, foreign and domestic. He paid court to the Dutch, and offered to enter into any alliance with them for common security; he replaced in all the counties the deputy lieutenants and justices, who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the Test and the penal laws; he restored the charters of London and of all the corporations; he annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission; he took off the Bishop of London's suspension; he reinstated the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen College; and he was even reduced to caress those bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted. But all these measures were regarded as symptoms of fear, not of repentance.

§ 9. Meanwhile the Prince of Orange published a declaration, which was dispersed over the kingdom, and met with universal approbation. In this document he enumerated all the grievances of the nation, and declared his intention of coming to England with an armed force, in order to protect the liberties of the people, to assemble a legal and a free Parliament, and to examine the proofs of the legitimacy of the Prince of Wales. He set sail from Helvoetsluys on Oct. 19, with a fleet of nearly 500 vessels, and an army of above 14,000 men, and landed safely in Torbay on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason. The Dutch army marched first to Exeter, and the prince's declaration was there published. That whole county was so terrified with the executions which had ensued on Monmouth's rebellion

that no one for several days joined the prince. But Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, and by degrees the Earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russell, son of the Earl of Bedford, and others, came to Exeter. All England was in commotion, and the nobility and gentry in various counties embraced the same cause.

But the most dangerous symptom was the disaffection which had crept into the army. The officers seemed all disposed to adhere to the interests of their country and of their religion, and several of high distinction openly deserted. Among those was Lord Churchill (afterward the celebrated Duke of Marlborough), who had been raised from the rank of a page, had been invested with a high command in the army, had been created a peer, and had owed his whole fortune to the king's favor. He carried with him the Duke of Grafton, natural son of the late king, Colonel Berkeley, and some troops of dragoons. The king had arrived at Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this fatal intelligence; and in the perplexity which it occasioned, he embraced a sudden resolution of drawing off his army and retiring toward London—a measure which could only serve to betray his fears and provoke farther treachery.

But Churchill had prepared a still more mortal blow for his distressed benefactor. His lady and he had an entire ascendant over the family of Prince George of Denmark, and the time now appeared seasonable for overwhelming the unhappy king, who was already staggering with the violent shocks which he had received. Andover was the first stage of James's retreat toward London, and there Prince George, together with the young Duke of Ormond, and some other persons of distinction, deserted him in the nighttime, and retired to the prince's camp. No sooner had this news reached London, than the Princess Anne, pretending fear of the king's displeasure, withdrew herself in company with the Bishop of London and Lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham, where the Earl of Dorset received her with great respect, and the gentry of the county quickly formed a troop for her protection. The king burst into tears when the first intelligence of this astonishing event was conveyed to him. "God help me," cried he, in the extremity of his agony, "my own children have forsaken me!" Unable to resist the torrent, he preserved not presence of mind in yielding to it, but seemed in this emergency as much depressed with adversity as he had before been vainly elated by prosperity. He called a council of the peers and prelates who were in London, and followed their advice in issuing writs for a new Parliament, and in sending Halifax, Nottingham, and Godolphin as commissioners to treat with the Prince of Orange.

§ 10. The Prince of Orange declined a personal conference with James's commissioners, and sent the Earls of Clarendon and Oxford to treat with them: the terms which he proposed implied almost a present participation of the sovereignty, and he stopped not a moment the march of his army toward London. The news which the king received from all quarters served to continue the panic into which he was fallen. Impelled by his own fears and those of others, he precipitately embraced the resolution of escaping into France, and he sent off beforehand the queen and the infant prince, under the conduct of Count Lauzun, an old favorite of the French monarch. He himself disappeared in the night-time, attended only by Sir Edward Hales, and made the best of his way to a ship which waited for him near the mouth of the river (Dec. 11). Nothing could equal the surprise which seized the city, the court, and the kingdom upon the discovery of this strange event. The more effectually to involve every thing in confusion, the king threw the great seal into the river; and he recalled all those writs which had been issued for the election of the new Parliament.

By this temporary dissolution of government the populace were masters; and there was no disorder which, during their present ferment, might not be dreaded from them. They rose in a tumult and destroyed all the Catholic chapels. They even attacked and rifled the houses of the Florentine envoy and Spanish embassador, where many of the Catholics had lodged their most valuable effects. Jeffreys, the chancellor, who had disguised himself in order to fly the kingdom, was discovered by them, and so abused that he died a little after. To add to the disorder, Feversham, the royal general, had no sooner heard of the king's flight than he disbanded the troops in the neighborhood, and, without either disarming or paying them, let them loose to prey upon the country. In this extremity, the bishops and peers who were in town thought proper to assemble, and to interpose for the preservation of the community. They chose the Marquis of Halifax speaker; they gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city; they issued orders, which were readily obeyed, to the fleet, the army, and all the garrisons; and they made applications to the Prince of Orange, whose enterprise they highly applauded, and whose success they joyfully congratulated. The prince, on his part, was not wanting to the tide of success which flowed in upon him, and continued his march toward London.

While every one, from principle, interest, or animosity, turned his back on the unhappy king, who had abandoned his own cause, the unwelcome news arrived that he had been seized by the populace at Feversham, as he was making his escape in disguise. On

his arrival in London, the populace, moved by compassion for his unhappy fate, and actuated by their own levity, received him with shouts and acclamations; but during his abode at Whitehall little attention was paid to him by the nobility or any persons of distinction. He himself showed not any symptom of spirit, nor discovered any intention of resuming the reins of government which he had once thrown aside.

Nothing remained for the now ruling powers but to deliberate how they should dispose of his person. Besides that the prince may justly be supposed to have possessed more generosity than to think of offering violence to an unhappy monarch, so nearly related to him, he knew that nothing would so effectually promote his own views as the king's retiring into France, a country at all times obnoxious to the English. It was determined, therefore, to push him into that measure, which, of himself, he seemed sufficiently inclined to embrace. Lord Feversham, whom he had sent on a civil message to the prince, desiring a conference, was put in arrest, under pretense of his coming without a passport; the Dutch guards were ordered to take possession of Whitehall; and Halifax, Shrewsbury, and Delamere delivered a message to the king in bed after midnight, ordering him to leave his palace next morning, and to depart for Ham, a seat of the Duchess of Lauderdale's. He desired permission, which was easily granted, of retiring to Rochester, a town near the sea-coast. Here he lingered some days, under the protection of a Dutch guard, and seemed desirous of an invitation still to keep possession of the throne. But, observing that the Church, the nobility, the city, the country, all concurred in neglecting him, and leaving him to his own counsels, he submitted to his melancholy fate; and, being urged by earnest letters from the queen, he privately embarked on board a frigate which waited for him (Dec. 23); and he arrived safely at Ambleteuse, in Picardy. Hence he hastened to St. Germain's, where Louis received him with the highest generosity, sympathy, and regard.

§ 11. It now remained to settle the government; and the prince, finding himself possessed of the good-will of the nation, resolved to leave them entirely to their own guidance and direction. The peers and bishops, to the number of nearly 90, presented an address desiring him to summon a convention by circular letters, and to assume, in the mean time, the management of public affairs.

The prince seemed still unwilling to act upon an authority which might be deemed so imperfect; he was desirous of obtaining a more express declaration of the public consent. A judicious expedient was fallen on for that purpose. All the members who had sat in the House of Commons during any Parliament of

Charles II. (the only Parliaments whose election was regarded as free) were invited to meet; and to them were added the lord mayor, aldermen, and 50 of the common council. This was regarded as the most proper representative of the people that could be summoned during the present emergency. They unanimously voted the same address with the Lords; and the prince, being thus supported by all the legal authority which could possibly be obtained in this critical juncture, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were universally complied with. The conduct of the prince with regard to Scotland was founded on the same prudent and moderate maxims. He summoned all the Scotchmen of rank at that time in London, who made an offer to the prince of the present administration, which he willingly accepted.

When the English convention assembled (Jan. 23, 1689), thanks were unanimously given by both houses to the Prince of Orange for the deliverance which he had brought them; and the Commons sent up to the Peers the following vote for their concurrence: "That King James II., having endeavored to subvert the constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between king and people, and having, by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons, violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has *abdicated* the government, and that the throne is thereby vacant." This vote, when carried to the upper House, met with great opposition, but after many debates the Lords at length adopted the resolution of the Commons without any alteration. The convention passed a bill in which they settled the crown on the Prince and Princess of Orange, the sole administration to remain in the prince; the Princess of Denmark to succeed after the death of the Prince and Princess of Orange; her posterity after those of Mary, but before those of William by any other wife. The convention annexed to this settlement of the crown a Declaration of Rights, where all the points which had, of late years, been disputed between the king and people, were finally determined, and the powers of royal prerogative were more narrowly circumscribed and more exactly defined than in any former period of the English government. This declaration was subsequently confirmed and extended by the Bill of Rights, as will be related in the following Book.

On Feb. 13, 1689, the Marquis of Halifax thereupon tendered the crown to William and Mary, who accepted the offer, and were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland.

§ 12. By the Revolution just recorded, the struggle between king and people, which had lasted since the reign of John, was at length decided. The sovereigns who preceded the Stuarts had

contented themselves with practical triumphs over the Legislature; James I., adopting the maxim "a Deo rex, a rege lex," raised the abstract question of principle, and inculcated on his subjects his own divine right, and their duty of passive obedience, in which he was followed by his son and grandsons. But there was already a large party which precisely reversed this maxim, and before the expiration of a century they established their view at the bitter expense of two of James's descendants. Fortunately for the nation, Charles I. and James II., two princes of very similar character, possessed sufficient courage or sufficient obstinacy to stake their lives and fortunes on the maintenance of what they mistakingly considered a sacred principle, and thus to bring the question to an issue, which James I. had avoided out of natural timidity, and Charles II. partly from good sense and partly from the careless indolence of his temper.

It is therefore the constitutional and parliamentary history of the country that will chiefly engross the attention of the student during the period of the Stuarts—a study for which there are ample materials, as indicated in a note appended to this book. Nor was the age fertile alone in records and practical works on government. The antagonistic theories of the divine right of kings, and the indefeasible right of the people to govern themselves, provoked a host of writers to treat on the fundamental principles of government, and to examine the foundations on which all legislative and executive authority is built. The greatest names—Harrington, Sidney, Milton, Locke—are ranged on the side of popular liberty; on the other, Hobbes, a profound and original thinker, is the chief; a writer who affords a striking instance that the utmost freedom and originality of philosophical speculation may not be incompatible with the entertainment of servile and arbitrary political principles. Nothing can more strongly show how generally the theory of government occupied the attention of reflecting men in the time of the Stuarts, than the solemn assertion by the convention of 1688 of an original contract between prince and people; an hypothesis utterly incapable of proof, however wholesome in itself, and however useful as the postulate of a political disquisition. Happily, however, the opposite principle of divine right is not a whit better founded; and in the present day, the question between the two would be decided by more direct and practical, if less ingenious arguments.

§ 13. With regard to foreign affairs, the era of the first four Stuarts presents almost a blank, and what little is to be noted is for the most part discreditable to the nation. James I. added to England the power of Scotland as well as that of pacified Ireland, yet on the day of his accession, to use the words of Lord Macau-

lay, "our country descended from the rank which she had hitherto held, and began to be regarded as a power hardly of the second order." The timidity of that sovereign restrained him from a war to which he was summoned both by the ties of family interests and by the policy becoming a Protestant prince: his blind subserviency to a favorite precipitated him, toward the close of his reign, into another which helped to forward the ruin of his son. The short effort of Charles I. in favor of the French Protestants was equally inglorious and unsuccessful; and the domestic troubles which occupied the remainder of his reign diverted his attention from the affairs of the Continent. The energetic administration of Cromwell revived for a while the tarnished lustre of the English arms. Under Charles II., the pensioner of France, England reached its lowest depth of degradation as a member of the European system.

§ 14. Yet, in spite of all this misgovernment, these disturbances at home, this dishonor abroad, the country went on steadily, though slowly, advancing in wealth, in power, and in civilization. In the time of Charles II. the population of England had increased to about five millions and a quarter. The addition was principally in the southern counties; the district north of Trent still continued thinly peopled, and in a state of manners comparatively barbarous, although the coal-beds which it contained were destined eventually to attract an immense increase of population by making it the seat of manufacturing industry. The archiepiscopal province of York, which at the time of the Revolution was thought to contain only one seventh of the English population, contained in 1841 two sevenths. In Lancashire the number of inhabitants appears to have increased nine-fold.* But the means of communication throughout the kingdom were wretched in the extreme. Canals did not exist; the roads were execrable and infested with highwaymen. Four horses, sometimes six, were required to drag the coaches through the mud; and the traveler who missed the scarce discernible track over the heaths, which were then frequent and extensive, might wander lost and benighted. Some improvement was effected by the introduction of posts in the reign of Charles I., which were brought to more perfection after the Restoration. In 1680 a penny post was established in London for the delivery of letters and parcels several times a day. The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662; but no very considerable improvement in the roads took place till the reign of George II.

§ 15. The annual revenue of James I. was estimated at about £450,000, a great part of which arose from the crown lands, and

* Macaulay, *Hist. of England*, i., 286.

from purveyance and other feudal rights, which were abolished, as before related, soon after the Restoration. The customs in the reign of James I. never exceeded £190,000, and were supposed to be an *ad valorem* duty of 5 per cent., both on exports and imports. The excise was not established till the next reign, when both the customs and the total amount of the revenue had more than doubled; the income previous to the meeting of the Long Parliament being about £900,000, of which the customs formed about £500,000. During the Commonwealth the revenue was about £2,000,000; yet it was exceeded by the expenditure. The average revenue of Charles II. was about £1,200,000. The first Parliament of James II. put him in possession of £1,900,000 per annum, though the country was at peace; to which his income as Duke of York being added, made about two millions. The national debt at the time of the Revolution was only a little more than a million.

These facts show a vast increase in the trade and resources of the country. But the increased revenue was absorbed by augmented expenditure. Fortunately, the first two Stuarts had no standing army, or they might probably have succeeded in overthrowing the liberties of the country. Regular troops were first kept constantly on foot in the time of the Commonwealth. Charles II. had a few regiments of guards, but James II. possessed a regular force of 20,000 men. Taught by the errors of his predecessors, he no doubt contemplated employing more effectual means for asserting his odious principles than had been at their disposal; but in the moment of need he found that his Protestant troops were citizens as well as soldiers. The navy was also vastly augmented under the Stuarts. In Elizabeth's reign the whole naval force of the kingdom consisted of only 33 ships, besides pinnaces, and the largest of them would not now equal a fourth rate. In the reign of James I. was constructed a ship larger than had yet been seen in the English navy, being of 1400 tons, and carrying 64 guns. The navy increased considerably under Charles II., and still more under James II. The latter had an affection for the service, showed considerable talent as an admiral, and was the inventor of naval signals. He was well seconded by Pepys, the Secretary of the Admiralty. At the period of the Revolution the fleet consisted of 173 vessels, manned by 42,000 seamen.

§ 16. The increase of revenue and of military power denoted and was accompanied with a corresponding increase in wealth and commerce. The first foundations of the North American colonies were laid, as we have seen, in the reign of James I., when also the Bermudas and the island of Barbadoes were planted. The East India trade began to flourish, Greenland was discovered, and

the whale-fishery begun. The population of the North American colonies was considerably augmented in the reign of Charles I. by the persecutions and intolerance of the High-Church party, which drove many Puritans to New England, many Catholics to Maryland. Under Charles II., New York and the Jerseys were recovered or conquered, and Carolina and Pennsylvania settled. The two Dutch wars, by disturbing the trade of that republic promoted the commerce of this island; and after Charles II. had made a separate peace with the States, his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe. The commerce and riches of England increased very fast from the Restoration to the Revolution, and it is computed that during these 28 years the shipping of England was more than doubled. Several new manufactures were introduced, and especially that of silk, by the French Protestants who took refuge here after the revocation of the edict of Nantes. Sir Josiah Child, the banker, who wrote upon trade, states that in 1688 there were more men on 'Change worth £10,000 than there were in 1650 worth £1000.

§ 17. Never, perhaps, have the manners of any nation undergone a more sudden and violent revulsion than those of the English during this period. Under the first two Stuarts they were marked by religious austerity; under the last two, by profligacy and shamelessness. The gloomy enthusiasm of the earlier period begat many religious sects, of which one of the most singular was that of the Quakers, founded in the reign of Charles I. by George Fox, a native of Drayton, in Lancashire. Of this sect, Penn, the founder of Pennsylvania was an eminent member. Each of these two classes had its literature. The greatest genius among the Puritans, and, indeed, one of the greatest among the English poets, was Milton. The writers who succeeded the Restoration, and who belonged to what may he called the Cavalier literature, are more numerous, but less remarkable than their predecessors. Their works, and especially those of the dramatists, though often sparkling with wit, are for the most part disfigured by indecency. The chief merit of these authors is their having moulded our language, and especially its prose, into that easy, perspicuous, and equable flow which makes their writings still seem modern. The principal refiners of our language and versification were Denham, Waller, and Dryden: the prose of the last has seldom been equalled. No era can rival that of the Stuarts in the names of great philosophers: it counts among others those of Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Boyle, Newton, and Harvey, the discoverer of the circulation of the blood. Indeed, notwithstanding the numerous men of wit and learning who flourished after the Restoration, the reign of Charles II. is, after all, more distinguished for science than

for literature. The Royal Society was founded in 1660 by a small circle of Oxford philosophers, and obtained the king's letters patent.

Charles I. encouraged the fine arts, and made collections; but we can not yet be said to have had a school either of painting or sculpture. The artists employed were commonly foreigners, as Vandyck, Verrio, Kneller, Lely, and others. Cibber the sculptor was a Dutchman. Almost the only Englishmen eminent in art at this period were Inigo Jones and Wren the architects. The former built Whitehall and several mansions of the nobility. The great fire which swept away the wooden tenements of London opened a noble field for the display of Wren's genius, which, however, was checked by the penury of government. Nevertheless, we are indebted to him for St. Paul's Cathedral, as well as for several of the finest churches in London.

Had there existed in the times of the Stuarts better vehicles for the expression of public opinion, they might probably have been saved from some of those schemes which proved so fatal to themselves. Newspapers had indeed been established in the reign of Charles I.; but even in that of his successor they were small and unimportant, and appeared only occasionally. Toward the close of his reign Charles II. would allow only the London Gazette to be published. Till 1679 the press in general was under a censorship; but, though it was then emancipated for a short period, till the censorship was revived by James, the liberty was not extended to gazettes. In this state of things, the coffee-houses, which were established in the reign of Charles II.—for tea, coffee, and chocolate were first introduced about the time of the Restoration—were the chief places for the ventilation of political and literary opinions. The government regarded these places of resort with such uneasiness and suspicion that it once made an ineffectual attempt to close them.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1685. Accession of James II.
" Invasions, defeat, and execution of Monmouth and Argyle.
" Revocation of the Edict of Nantes by Louis XIV.
1686. New Court of Ecclesiastical Commission. Penal laws suspended.
1687. Attack upon the privileges of the universities.
1688. Trial of the seven bishops. Invasion of the Prince of Orange. Flight and abdication of the king.
1689. King William III. and Queen Mary proclaimed.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD OF THE STUARTS.

During this epoch the materials of history become both more abundant and more authentic. The following list does not pretend to enumerate all that might be mentioned, but to give only the more important.

For the reign of James I. the chief authorities are, Winwood's *Memorials;* Whitelock's *Memorials;* the *Secret History of the Court of James I.*, by Osborne, Weldon, Heylin, and Peyton; Camden's *Annals of King James I.*, and Wilson's *History of King James I.* (both in Kennett); Dalrymple's *Memorials and Letters*, illustrative of the reigns of James I. and Charles I.; Carleton's *Letters* during his embassy in Holland; Rushworth's *Historical Collection* (1618–1648); Birch's *Negotiations* from 1592 to 1617; Bacon's *Works;* King James's *Works.* Sully's *Mémoires* and Boderie's *Ambassades en Angleterre* throw considerable light on the state of James's foreign relations.

For the reign of Charles I., Clarendon's *History of the Rebellion* is the principal work; a classical performance in regard to style and historical description, especially the delineation of characters, but far from being always trustworthy, as the author was both prejudiced and careless. A genuine, unmutilated edition of this work was not published till 1826. To this must be added Clarendon's *Life* and *State Papers;* Whitelock's *Memorials* (from Charles I. to the Restoration); Nalson's *Collection* (1639–1648); Scobell's *Acts and Ordinances* (1640–1656); Husband's *Collection* (1642–1646); Thurloe's *State Papers* (1638–1660); May's *History of the Long Parliament;* Strafford's *Letters and Dispatches;* the *Sydney State Papers;* Dugdale's *Short View of the late Troubles;* Robert Baillie's *Letters and Journals* (1637–1662); Ludlow's *Memoirs;* Lucy Hutchinson's *Memoirs* of her husband, Col. Hutchinson; Sir John Berkeley's *Memoirs;* John Ashburnham's *Narrative;* Lord Fairfax's *Memorials;* Sir T. Herbert's *Memoirs;* Slingsby's and Hodgson's *Memoirs;* Baxter's *Life and Times;* Bishop Hacket's *Memorial of Archbishop Williams;* Laud's *Remains, with the History of his Troubles and Trial;* Carte's *Life of Ormonde;* Sir P. Warwick's *Memoirs of King Charles I.;* Denzil Lord Hollis's *Memoirs* (1641–1648); Bishop Hall's *Hard Measure;* Evelyn's *Memoirs* (1641–1706); Sir Ed. Walker's *Historical Discourses* relative to King Charles I.; Dr. John Walker's *Number and Sufferings of the Clergy sequestered in the Great Rebellion;* Clement Walker's *History of Independency;* Burton's *Cromwellian Diary;* Sir John Temple's *History of the Irish Rebellion;* Oliver Cromwell's *Letters and Speeches*, with elucidations by Thomas Carlyle.

For the reigns of Charles II. and James II.: Burnet's *History of his own Times;* Reresby's *Memoirs;* Pepys' *Diary* (1659–1669); Dalrymple's *Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland*, from Charles II. to the battle of La Hogue; *Life of James II.*, collected out of Memoirs writ of his own hand, edited by Rev. J. S. Clarke; *Correspondence* of Henry and Lawrence Hyde, Earls of Clarendon and Rochester; and *Diary* of Lord Clarendon. The *Mémoires de Grammont* illustrate the court and times of Charles II. It is scarcely necessary to mention the recent work of Lord Macaulay. The *Œuvres de Louis XIV.* and the letters of Barillon and D'Avaux show the relations of Charles II. and his brother with the French court.

Other works which illustrate the whole period are the *Journals* of the Lords and Commons, the *Parliamentary History*, Howell's *State Trials*, the *Hardwicke Papers*, Coke's *Detection of the Court and State of England from James I. to Queen Anne*, Harris's *Lives of the Stuarts*, Neal's *History of the Puritans*, etc.



Medal of William III. INVICTISSIMVS GVILLELMVS MAG. Bust laureate to right.

BOOK VI.

FROM THE REVOLUTION OF 1688 TO THE YEAR 1858.

CHAPTER XXVII.

WILLIAM AND MARY, AND WILLIAM III. A.D. 1689–1702.

§ 1. Introductory Remarks. § 2. Character of William III. His Ministry. Convention Parliament. § 3. Discontents and Mutiny. Nonjurors. Toleration Act. Settlement of Scotland. § 4. James lands in Ireland. Naval Action at Bantry Bay. Siege of Londonderry. Battle of Newton Butler. § 5. Bill of Rights. Attainders reversed. Change of Ministers. § 6. William proceeds to Ireland. Battle of the Boyne. Siege of Limerick and Return of William. § 7. Action off Beachy Head. Campaign in Ireland. Pacification of Limerick. § 8. Altered Views of William. Massacre of Glencoe. § 9. Intrigues in Favor of James. Marlborough sent to the Tower. § 10. Battle of La Hogue. § 11. Attack on the Smyrna fleet. Growing Unpopularity of William. Expedition to Brest betrayed by Marlborough. § 12. Bill for triennial Parliaments. Death of Queen Mary. § 13. General Corruption. Abolition of the Censorship. Campaign in Flanders. § 14. Conspiracy against the King. Loyal Association. Attainder of Sir J. Fenwick. § 15. Treaty of Ryswick. § 16. Miscellaneous Transactions. Negotiations respecting the Spanish Succession. First Partition Treaty. § 17. William's Unpopularity. Dismissal of his Dutch Guards. Resumption of forfeited Estates in Ireland. § 18. Second Treaty of Partition. William

acknowledges the Duke of Anjou as King of Spain. § 19. The Cabinet Council. § 20. Discontent of the Commons. The Grand Alliance. Death of King James II. Preparations for War. Death of King William.

§ 1. THE preceding books comprehend the history of the establishment of the English Constitution; for whatever changes have since been effected were merely developments of principles already established either previous to or at the period of the Revolution. In the following book, therefore, our attention will be chiefly directed to what may be called the outward history of the country; that is, its progress in material wealth, in colonial dominion, and in European influence. The vast strides that have been made in these respects, unequaled by any other country on the face of the earth, may in a great measure be referred to the solid foundations of liberty laid in previous ages, which have enabled the natural energy of the people to develop itself without restriction in the manner best suited to its genius.

§ 2. William Henry, Prince of Orange, called to the throne by the national voice in place of his uncle James, by the title of William III., was now in his 38th year. In person he was of the middle size, his shoulders round, his limbs slender and ill-shaped, yet capable of sustaining considerable fatigue in hunting and other athletic sports in which he delighted. His ample forehead was shaded by light brown hair; his nose was high and aquiline; a penetrating and eagle eye lighted up a pale and careworn countenance, the expression of which indicated a degree of sullenness as well as thought and resolution. His manner was ungraceful and taciturn, and little calculated to win love or popularity; and, though he had the art to conceal his designs, he could not always suppress the manifestation of his passions. Notwithstanding his feeble health, he frequently indulged to excess in the pleasures of the table. He had no taste for literature and art, but he possessed some skill as a linguist, and knew enough of mathematics to understand fortification. In short, his acquirements were of the useful order, and he especially devoted his attention to all questions of politics. Hence he shone more on great occasions than in the ordinary intercourse of society; and it was observed that he was never more sprightly and animated than on the field of battle.

In the choice of his ministers William seemed to have almost forgotten personal as well as political animosities and predilections. The Earl of Nottingham, who had violently opposed his elevation to the throne, as well as the Earl of Shrewsbury, who had zealously promoted it, were both made secretaries of state; Danby and Halifax, though bitter political rivals, took their seats

in the council, the former as its president, the latter as privy seal. The great seal was intrusted to commissioners, with Sergeant Maynard at their head. The treasury was also put into commission, the chief commissioner being Lord Mordaunt, afterward Earl of Peterborough; but that post was not then so important as it subsequently became. At the same time William's Dutch favorites were not forgotten, much to the discontent of many Englishmen. Bentinck* was made privy councilor, privy purse, and groom of the stole; Zuylestein† was appointed master of the robes; Schomberg‡ was placed at the head of the ordnance; and Auverquerque§ became master of the horse. For himself William claimed the full and undivided authority of the crown. The name of Mary, the heiress by blood, was indeed inserted with his own in all the acts of government; yet, as her easy and unambitious temper disposed her to implicit obedience to her husband, she soon appeared to sink into the position of a queen consort, and lost all importance in the consideration of the people.

In order to avoid the excitement of an election under existing circumstances, a bill to convert the Convention into a Parliament passed through both houses, and received the royal assent on the 23d of February. Many members of the opposition party in the Commons retired, however, from an assembly which they declared to be illegal, and even those who remained displayed the greatest frugality in their votes for the public service. James II. had enjoyed a revenue of nearly two millions; but the Whigs would grant William no more than £1,200,000. They even established the precedent, which has since been followed, of appropriating the supplies, and determined that one half of the sum voted should be applied to the public expenses, and the other half to the civil list. And when William represented the justice and necessity of refunding the charge of £700,000 incurred by the Dutch republic for his expedition, they would vote only £600,000. This frugality alienated the king's mind from the Whigs, and even made him think of abandoning the government altogether.

§ 3. No sooner was William seated on the throne than he seem-

* Bentinck was created Earl of Portland in 1689. He died in 1709, and was succeeded in the title by his son, who was created in 1716 Duke of Portland, and was the ancestor of the present duke.

† Zuylestein was created in 1695 Earl of Rochford. The title became extinct on the death of the 5th earl in 1830.

‡ Schomberg was created Duke of Schomberg in 1689. His son Charles, the second duke, was killed at the battle of Marsaglia, 1693. Another son, Meinhardt, third Duke of Schomberg, and first Duke of Leinster in Ireland, died 1719, when the title became extinct.

§ Auverquerque was created in 1698 Earl of Grantham. He died in 1754, when the title became extinct.

ed to have lost all his former popularity. The emissaries of James were active, and even Halifax and Danby expressed their apprehension that, if he would only give securities for the maintenance of the Protestant religion, nothing could prevent his restoration. Symptoms of discontent having showed themselves in the army, the king resolved to send the malcontent regiments to Holland, and to supply their place at home with Dutch troops. The first regiment of the line, chiefly composed of Scotchmen, which was one of those ordered abroad, mutinied, and marched northward with drums beating and colors flying, carrying with them four pieces of artillery; but, being overtaken by three regiments of Dutch dragoons under Ginkell, they were compelled to surrender and proceed to their appointed destination. This affair occasioned the Mutiny Bill. The soldier had been hitherto regarded only as a citizen, and amenable to the civil tribunals; the army was now placed under martial law, and the Mutiny Bill has since been continued from year to year.

The House of Commons, or such members as remained, did not hesitate to take the oath of allegiance; but many of the temporal peers as well as eight bishops, including the primate Sancroft, refused, and their example was afterward followed by about 400 of the inferior clergy. The party that refused the oaths were designated by the title of nonjurors. The oaths were to be taken by the beneficed clergy, and by those holding academical offices, on the ensuing 1st of August. This opposition on the part of the Church furnished the king with an opportunity to display his predilection for the Dissenters, toward whom he was naturally inclined by his Calvinistic tenets. The bill known as the TOLERATION ACT, to relieve Protestant dissenters from certain penalties, was introduced this session, and passed on the 24th of May. Persons taking the new oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and making a declaration against transubstantiation, were thereby exempted from the penalties incurred by absenting themselves from church, or by frequenting unlawful conventicles. Dissenters were restrained from meeting with locked doors; but, on the other hand, a penalty was enacted against disturbing the congregation. The ancient penal statutes remained, however, unrepealed, and persons who denied the Trinity, as well as papists, were excluded from the benefit of the new act. An attempt was also made to pass a Comprehension Bill, in order to admit dissenters by altering the Liturgy, and leaving certain ceremonies discretionary; but it failed, and has never since been renewed.

During the debates on these measures William and Mary were crowned in Westminster Abbey, April 11th. Sancroft, the primate, declined to act, and the ceremony was performed by Compton, the

Bishop of London. With regard to Scotland, it has been already mentioned that the Prince of Orange was acknowledged in January by a sort of irregular convention of Scotch nobility and gentry resident in London. A more regular assembly was held at Edinburgh in March; and 50 malcontent members having deemed it prudent to withdraw, it was unanimously decided that James had *forefaulted* his right, and that the throne had become vacant. There was, however, in Scotland, a strong party in favor of James, headed by the Duke of Gordon, and supported by the Archbishop of Glasgow, the Earl of Balcarras, Viscount Dundee (formerly Graham of Claverhouse), and others. Dundee succeeded in raising between 2000 and 3000 Highlanders, with whom he defeated at Killiecrankie, on May 26th, the king's forces of double the number; but Dundee received a mortal wound in the action, and with him expired all James's hopes in Scotland. The Highlanders, dispirited by the loss of their leader, dispersed after a few skirmishes, and the Duke of Gordon having surrendered Edinburgh Castle on June 13th, the whole country was reduced to obedience. Episcopacy was abolished, and Presbyterianism established as the religion of the state.

§ 4. In Ireland Tyrconnel was still lord deputy. His government had been marked by violence toward the Protestants; many towns were deprived of their charters, and the public offices were filled with Roman Catholics. Alarmed, however, at William's success, he had intimated his willingness to surrender Ireland to any force respectable enough to justify the act; an offer which William neglected by the advice apparently of Halifax, who represented to him that Ireland formed the only pretext for keeping an army on foot, without which he might be expelled from England as easily as he had been established. While he was in this state of doubt and alarm, Tyrconnel received a letter from James announcing that he was preparing to sail from Brest with a powerful armament; whereupon the lord deputy exerted himself to raise an immense force of half-wild, ill-armed, and worse disciplined Irish. James landed at Kinsale on the 12th of March, and was received with every demonstration of joy. Louis XIV. had furnished him with 14 ships of the line, six frigates, and three fire-ships; but the whole land-force which he brought with him consisted of 1200 of his own subjects in the pay of France, and 100 French officers.

At Cork James was met by Tyrconnel, whom he raised to the rank of duke. The view of the troops that were to fight for his cause was not calculated to inspire him with any very sanguine hopes of success. Scarcely two in a hundred were provided with muskets fit for service; the rest were armed with clubs and sticks

tipped with iron. More than 100,000 of this rabble were on foot; but he found himself obliged to disband the greater part of them, and retained only 35 regiments of infantry and 14 regiments of horse. His whole artillery consisted of 12 field-pieces and four mortars. After summoning a Parliament to meet at Dublin on the 7th of May, James set out for his army in the north, where Londonderry was invested. That place and Enniskillen, being inhabited by Protestants, were the only towns in Ireland that declared for King William. Lundy, the governor of Londonderry, had sent a message to James's head-quarters, with assurances that the place would be surrendered on the first summons; but his treachery was fortunately discovered, and it was with difficulty that he escaped with his life by letting himself down from the walls in the disguise of a porter. James, who had ridden up with his staff to within a short distance of the gates, was saluted with a cry of "No surrender," and at the same time a discharge from the fortifications killed an officer by his side. The citizens, after the flight of Lundy, chose Walker, a clergyman, and Major Baker, for their governors, and resolved to hold out to the last extremity.

The army of James was ill provided with materials for a siege, and after some fruitless assaults it was turned into a blockade. James now returned to Dublin in order to meet the Parliament. He was induced to pass several injudicious acts, especially one to repeal all the acts of settlement, thus subverting at a blow all the English property in the country; as well as a general bill of attainder, comprehending more than 2000 persons; and his scheme of replenishing his coffers by an issue of base coin occasioned universal disgust.

In June Marshal de Rosen was appointed to take the command of the besieging army at Londonderry. The town being completely invested on the land side, and cut off from all relief by sea by means of a boom about a mile and a half down the Foyle, the inhabitants were reduced to the last extremity of famine, and obliged to subsist on horses, dogs, rats, starch, and other food of the like revolting kind. The hopes of the garrison had been raised and disappointed by the appearance of a small squadron in the Lough, commanded by Kirke, of west of England notoriety, who had been obliged to retire. Toward the end of July, however, he again appeared, and two merchantmen, the Mountjoy and the Phœnix, covered by the Dartmouth frigate, succeeded on the 30th in breaking the boom. The former was driven ashore by the concussion, and was for some time in danger of being captured by the enemy; but the Phœnix easily forced a passage through the broken spars. The season was wet; De Rosen's trenches were filled with water; and the relief of the town determined him, as

he had already contemplated, to abandon the siege. During the 31st of July his guns continued to play on the town, but on the 1st of August his army decamped after burning their huts. The siege, one of the most memorable in the history of Britain, had lasted 105 days, and the garrison had been reduced from 7000 effective men to about 3000.

On the same day that Londonderry was relieved Lord Mountcashel had been completely routed by the Protestants of Enniskillen at Newton Butler, and he himself wounded and taken prisoner. To add to James's misfortunes, Schomberg landed with 10,000 men near Donaghadee, on the coast of Down (Aug. 12th). Carrickfergus surrendered to him after a short siege, and was treated with great cruelty. He then encamped in the neighborhood of Dundalk, the Duke of Berwick, James's natural son, retiring on his approach. James, having in vain endeavored to draw him to a battle, closed the campaign of 1689 by retiring into winter quarters at Atherdee.

§ 5. While these things were passing in Ireland, the English Parliament had been employed in some important measures. The chief of these was the BILL OF RIGHTS, the third great charter of English liberty, which embodied and confirmed the provisions of the *Declaration of Rights*,* and which also included a settlement of the crown in the manner already related in the preceding chapter.† The Parliament also reversed the attainders of Lord Russell, Algernon Sidney, Alderman Cornish, and Mrs. Lisle. The exorbitant fines imposed in the preceding reign were declared illegal, and the money extorted by Jeffreys was charged against his estate, with interest. All these proceedings were unexceptionable; but the same can not be said of the reversal of the judgment on the perjured Oates, and the granting him a pension of £300 a year.

William dissolved the Convention Parliament on February 6, 1690. Halifax was soon after removed from office; and Danby, now Marquis of Caermarthen, appointed many of his own creatures to the higher offices of state. The new Parliament, which met in March, was composed chiefly of Tories. The king announced his intention of passing over into Ireland, and a supply of £1,200,000 was unanimously voted. The Commons also presented Marshal Schomberg with £100,000.

§ 6. William arrived at Carrickfergus on June 14, 1690, and proceeded to Schomberg's head-quarters at Lisburn. His army amounted to about 36,000 men, variously composed of English,

* See p. 538.

† The Bill of Rights is printed at length in Notes and Illustrations, p. 562.

Dutch, Germans, and other foreigners. On his approach the Irish army retired to the south bank of the Boyne, which is steep and hilly, and had been fortified with intrenchments. When James joined them there with 10,000 French troops under Lauzun, his whole army amounted to about 30,000 men; and though his force was thus considerably inferior to that of William, he was induced, by the strength of the position, to hazard a battle. On the 30th of June both armies were in presence on either bank of the river; and on the following morning (July 1) James drew up his troops in two lines, his left being covered by a morass, while in his rear was the village of Dromore, and three miles farther on the narrow Pass of Duleek. William, who had been reconnoitring the enemy's position, was slightly wounded before the action commenced by a cannon ball which grazed his shoulder. He ranged his army in three columns of attack. The centre, led by the Duke of Schomberg, was to ford the river in front of the enemy; the right, under Count Schomberg, his son, was to cross near the bridge of Slane; while William himself headed the passage of the left, between the camp and the town of Drogheda. The attack was successful at all points; the Irish horse alone made some resistance; the foot fled without striking a blow; James parted from his army at the Pass of Duleek, and made the best of his way to Dublin. This engagement, celebrated as the BATTLE OF THE BOYNE, decided the fate of James, though the loss on both sides was small, that of the Irish being about 1500, chiefly cavalry, while that of William was only 500, but among them was the Duke of Schomberg. Walker, the brave defender of Londonderry, also fell in this engagement. James, having no army left —for the Irish had dispersed themselves in the night—abandoned Dublin and hastened to Kinsale, where he got on board a French frigate, and arrived at Brest on the 9th of July.

William arrived in Dublin a few days after his victory, and treated the inhabitants with considerable harshness. He then marched southward, took Wexford, Clonmel, Waterford, Duncannon, and laid siege to Limerick (Aug. 8–30); but, having been repulsed in an assault, and the rains setting in, he found it necessary to raise the siege, and early in September he left Ireland for London. Soon after his departure Marlborough landed near Cork with 5000 men, and, having received some re-enforcements, captured the town after a short siege. He next took Kinsale after a desperate resistance; and, as the winter was approaching, he then returned to England, from which he had been absent only five weeks.

§ 7. While William was in Ireland a naval engagement took place off Beachy Head on the 30th of June, between the combined

Dutch and English fleets, commanded by Admiral Herbert, now created Earl of Torrington,* and the French fleet under Admiral Tourville. Torrington, with a hardly justifiable policy, placed the Dutch vessels in the van, which, in consequence, suffered severely. The victory remained with the French; and Torrington, taking the disabled ships in tow, made for the Thames. London was filled with consternation, as it was expected that the French would sail up the river; but they made but little use of their victory. An invasion at this juncture would probably have been successful, as the French had the command of the sea, and might easily have embarked a large army, while there were not 10,000 regular troops in England; but all they attempted was the burning of Teignmouth. The danger which the nation had incurred inflamed them against the Jacobites and nonjurors, and thus the victory of the French proved on the whole injurious to the cause of James. William was incensed against Torrington on account of the losses suffered by the Dutch, and denounced him to Parliament in the speech with which he opened the autumnal session. Torrington was tried by a court-martial at Sheerness and honorably acquitted; but the king deprived him of his command, and forbade him his presence.

In the following year (1691) the campaign in Ireland was brought to a close. That country was in a very distracted state. Bodies of wild Irish, called Rapparees, from a species of pike with which they committed their massacres, went roaming about the country, and hung upon and infested the quarters of the English army, who in their turn committed great barbarities. Toward the end of June, Ginkell, who commanded the English army, bombarded and took Athlone. It was a master-piece of audacity, as a large army of Irish, commanded by St. Ruth, a Frenchman, lay behind the town, while the storming columns had to ford the Shannon, with the water breast-high, in order to gain the breach. St. Ruth now took up a strong position at Aghrim, where Ginkell did not hesitate to attack him. For some time the battle raged with doubtful fury, till, St. Ruth being killed by a cannon ball, his army was seized with a panic, and fled in disorder toward Limerick. Ginkell sat down before that place on the 25th of August; and, after a siege of six weeks, the Irish, much to the discontent of the French, agreed to the very favorable terms which he offered for a general pacification. The chief articles of this treaty, signed on October 3, and called the Pacification of Limerick, were, that the Irish should enjoy the exercise of their religion as

* The title became extinct on the death of the first earl in 1716. The present Viscount Torrington is descended from a son of Sir George Byng, created Viscount Torrington in 1721.

in the time of Charles II.; that all included in the capitulation should remain unmolested in their estates and professions; and that those who wished to retire to the Continent should be conveyed thither at the expense of the government. By virtue of this last clause, Sarsfield and about 12,000 men were conveyed to France, and entered the service of Louis XIV. Thus an end was put in every part of the empire to the authority of James, who had been *de facto* king in Ireland more than a year and a half after his flight from England.

As Sancroft, the primate, and five of the bishops still refused to take the Oath of Allegiance, they were deprived of their sees on Feb. 1, 1691. Tillotson, Dean of St. Paul's, succeeded Sancroft as Archbishop of Canterbury.

§ 8. William had spent the greater part of the year in Holland for the purpose of conducting the campaign against Louis XIV. He had repaired thither in the middle of January; and, though the weather was foggy, and the coast lined with ice, he attempted to land in a boat. The steersman lost his way, and the king was obliged to pass the night in the boat, covered up with a cloak. The following day he succeeded in landing at Goree. The campaign was not marked by any important event, excepting the taking of Mons by Louis. William paid a short visit to England in April, and finally returned in October to open the Parliament. A bill was passed for facilitating the execution of the Pacification of Limerick, though that treaty was not approved of in England. Although William had been brought in by the Whigs, he was now chiefly supported by the Tories, and he seemed inclined to disregard those liberal principles which had placed him on the throne. Thus he rejected a bill which had passed both houses for making the judges independent of the crown; and his reign was now sullied by an act of great barbarity—the infamous massacre of Glencoe. A pacification had been entered into in August with the Scotch Highlanders, and an indemnity offered to all who should take the oaths of allegiance to the king and queen before the 31st of December, 1691. All the Jacobite heads of clans had complied except M'Ian of Glencoe, the chief of the M'Donalds, whose delay arose more from accident than design. He had repaired to Fort Augustus on the 31st of December, where, to his surprise and alarm, he found nobody who could administer the oath. Colonel Hill, the commandant, directed him to Inverary; but the season was rigorous, the country mountainous and covered with deep snow, so that M'Ian did not arrive till the 6th of January, 1692. After many entreaties, Sir Colin Campbell, the sheriff of Argyle, consented to receive his oath; but Sir John Dalrymple, the Master of Stair, and secretary for Scot-

land, who bore a deadly hatred to the M'Donalds, took advantage of M'Ian's negligence to destroy him and his whole clan. Concealing from the king the fact of M'Ian's tardy submission, he procured a warrant for the military execution of him and his tribe. It is pretended that William either did not read or did not understand the warrant.* These are poor excuses for a king of such business-like habits; and they seem, moreover, to be contradicted by the facts that the warrant was signed with unusual care, both at the top and bottom, and that subsequently those who had been most active in the affair were favored and promoted.

But, whatever blame may be attached to the king, the massacre of Glencoe will remain almost unparalleled in history for its cold-blooded atrocity. On the 1st of February, 1692, a body of 120 soldiers appeared in that lonely mountain glen, which lies near Lochleven. They were commanded by Campbell of Glenlyon; and as Campbell was the uncle of young M'Donald's wife, they were welcomed with unsuspecting friendship. For nearly a fortnight the troops enjoyed free quarters and hospitable entertainment. On the evening of the 13th the officers played at cards in the house of M'Ian; in the night Lieutenant Lindsay, with a party of soldiers, appeared at his door and were instantly admitted. They had come in the guise of friendship to act the part of assassins. M'Ian was shot in the back as he was rising from his bed; his wife, who had already risen, was stripped, and the rings torn from her fingers. The males, young and old, were murdered without pity; and even some women fell in attempting to defend their children. About 60 persons were massacred, and as many more, chiefly women and children, who had escaped among the mountains, perished there of cold and hunger. The massacre would have been more complete had Lieutenant Colonel Hamilton, whom the Master of Stair had charged with the execution, arrived at the appointed time. The severity of the weather delayed his arrival till the following day, and nothing remained for him but to complete the inhuman deed by burning the houses, driving off the cattle, and dividing the spoil. By this fortunate delay 150 men were enabled to escape through the mountain passes, which were not sufficiently guarded.

§ 9. This year (1692) William again embarked for Holland, leaving the administration of affairs in England to Queen Mary. He was not aware of all the danger that threatened his newly-acquired crown. Intrigues had been formed for the restoration of James, and were entered into not only by nonjurors and Tories, but even by Whigs. One of the principal leaders in them was the inconstant and treacherous Marlborough, who had induced the

* See Macaulay, iv., 204.

Princess Anne to write a letter to her father, in which she penitently asked his forgiveness. Admiral Russell, commander of the fleet, Lord Godolphin, and others, were also engaged in these intrigues. Marlborough invited James to invade England, and in some degree pledged himself for the conduct of the English army. A large body of Irish troops had been conveyed to France in 1690; and by that impolitic article of the Pacification of Limerick which allowed a free passage, their number had been swelled to nearly 20,000. These were at James's disposal, and Louis engaged to add 10,000 French. A camp was formed in the Cotentin, near La Hogue; and Marshal Bellefonds was appointed to command the army of invasion, which was to be convoyed by 80 sail of the line. Early in 1692 every thing was in a state of forwardness, and James had even drawn up his manifesto. With his usual infelicity of judgment, its tone was of the most impolitic kind, and disgusted many who would have been prepared to serve him. He already began to talk of punishing, and was even mean enough to advert to the poor fishermen who had insulted him at Sheerness. The English ministry thought that they could not do him a greater injury than to publish the document at full length, accompanied with a biting commentary.

The government had received some vague information of a plot; and the Earls of Marlborough, Huntingdon, and Scarsdale were apprehended and sent to the Tower on the information of one Young, a man of infamous character, and actually in Newgate on a charge of forgery. As the government suspected Marlborough, they encouraged Young, paid his fine, and released him from prison; and Marlborough was detained some weeks in the Tower, till Young's falsehood was discovered.

§ 10. The combined Dutch and English fleets, consisting of 90 sail of the line, together with many frigates and fire-ships, carrying 6000 guns and about 40,000 men, assembled at St. Helen's in May. As the fidelity of the admiral himself, as well as many of his officers, was suspected, Mary wrote a letter which Russell was ordered to read to all the officers of the fleet assembled on his quarter-deck. In it she stated that she had heard certain reports respecting their conduct, but that she regarded them as calumnies, and put entire confidence in their loyalty. This politic step was attended with excellent effects. At the same time the militia was called out, and a camp formed between Petersfield and Portsmouth.

James was waiting at La Hogue for the arrival of Admiral Tourville, who was to bring 44 ships from Brest. About the middle of May, Tourville's fleet was descried off the coast of Dorsetshire, whence it made for La Hogue, where the army of invasion

was embarking. Russell also directed his course toward that port; and on the 19th of May, the haze having suddenly cleared off, the hostile fleets came unexpectedly in sight of each other. Tourville, though much inferior in force, bore down upon the allies, in the expectation that several of the English ships would come over to his side; but in this he was disappointed. Russell's ship, the Britannia, of 100 guns, engaged that of the French admiral of 104; and the battle, which raged from 11 o'clock to about 4, soon became general. The French admiral's ship was disabled. Toward evening, a breeze having sprung up from the east, and the haze having cleared a little, the French were descried running on all sides, and signal was given to chase; but the pursuit was arrested by the flood tide and the approach of night. Several of the smaller French ships escaped through the race of Alderney into St. Malo; the larger ones sought refuge at Cherbourg and La Hogue. Many of the latter were destroyed the two following days by a flotilla of sloops and boats commanded by Admiral Rooke, in the very sight of King James and the French. Altogether 16 French men-of-war, eight of which were three-deckers, were sunk or burnt, besides several transports that were cut out of the harbor. Russell's politics did not dispose him to make so much of his victory as he might, but it sufficed to avert the threatened invasion. After the battle of La Hogue Queen Mary ordered the royal palace at Greenwich to be converted into a hospital for disabled seamen.*

§ 11. The campaign in Flanders was unfavorable to the arms of William, both this year and the next, notwithstanding that he displayed great courage and conduct. He was defeated in 1692, with great loss, at Steinkirk, while attempting to raise the siege of Namur. The only important event at sea in 1693, was also disastrous to the allies. The Smyrna fleet, consisting of about 400 English, Dutch, and Hamburg merchantmen, was intrusted, after passing Ushant, to the convoy of a detached squadron of 23 English and Dutch men-of-war under Sir G. Rooke, while the remainder of the combined fleet returned to Torbay. Tourville, with a far superior force, now issued from the Bay of Lagos; Rooke was obliged to fly, and signaled the merchantmen to shift for themselves. About 80 of the latter were captured, as well as three Dutch men-of-war; the rest escaped into Spanish ports.

This disgrace, as well as William's ill success in the Netherlands, tended to increase his unpopularity, and to encourage the party of James (1694). The towns of Bristol, Exeter, and Bos-

* The first stone of the new building, the present Greenwich Hospital, was not laid till 1696.

ton signified their adherence to him; in the north several considerable bodies of horse were enlisted in his name; and many of the nobility and gentry engaged for themselves, as well as for different towns and counties with which they were connected. The treacherous Sunderland had veered round again, and entered into correspondence with James, who, however, naturally doubted his sincerity. The treason of Marlborough proved more useful to him, and more disastrous to his own country. Marlborough informed him of an expedition that was fitting out at Portsmouth, under the command of the Earl of Berkely and General Talmash, for an attack upon Brest. Berkely appeared off that port on the 5th of June, and 900 men were landed in Camaret Bay; but the French were prepared to receive them, and they were all slain but 100, Talmash himself receiving a mortal wound. Dieppe, Havre, Calais, and Dunkirk were afterward bombarded, but without much effect. Nor was the campaign in Flanders marked by any event of importance.

§ 12. The Parliament which met in November (1694) passed a bill for triennial Parliaments, and, as they made it the condition of a grant of supplies, William, though he had previously refused his assent to a similar bill, was now obliged to yield. He had also another motive. Mary lay dangerously ill with the small-pox, and, in the event of her death, which must naturally shake his influence with the nation, he was unwilling to incur any farther unpopularity. The queen, in fact, died on the 28th of December. In person she was tall and well proportioned, and her countenance, though not regularly beautiful, was animated and pleasing. Her manners were affable and agreeable, and procured her the love of the people. She was a devoted and affectionate wife; but her conduct toward her father and sister can hardly be reconciled with the duties of those relations. Her death made no change in the government; and William, in accordance with the act for settling the succession of the crown, became sole ruler. Tillotson had died shortly before the queen (Nov. 22), and was succeeded in the primacy by Tennison, Bishop of London.

WILLIAM III.—Anne had lived on bad terms with her sister and brother-in-law; but now, at the instance of Sunderland, she was induced to send a letter of condolence to William; and as she was a greater favorite with the nation than himself, he thought it politic to meet her advances, and even presented her with the greater part of Mary's jewels.

§ 13. The session of 1695 was signalized by the discovery of an almost universal corruption. Sir John Trevor, speaker of the House of Commons, having been detected in taking a bribe of 1000 guineas to procure the passing of the Orphans' Bill, had to

endure the humiliation of putting the question for his own expulsion, but immediately withdrew on pretense of a colic. It was farther discovered that the East India Company had distributed large bribes in order to secure a new charter; £10,000 were said to be traced to the king himself, £5000 to Danby (now Duke of Leeds), and farther sums to other men in power. The Commons impeached the Duke of Leeds; but the court connived at the escape of his Swiss servant, the only person who could establish his guilt, and the case was put an end to by the prorogation of Parliament on May 3d.

This session is memorable for a silent revolution, which, in the words of Lord Macaulay, "has done more for liberty and civilization than the Great Charter or the Bill of Rights." This was the abolition of the censorship of the press, effected by the Commons refusing to renew the last act for restraining unlicensed printing. The authors of the abolition seem to have been hardly aware of the important step they were taking. None of their arguments were based on the great principle of the freedom of the press, but turned solely on matters of detail, such as the hardships occasioned to printers, booksellers, etc.; nor was the measure noticed in any contemporary publication. The abolition of the censorship was soon followed by the establishment of several newspapers. The *London Gazette* was the only one previously published. This session was also memorable for an excellent statute respecting the law of treason. "It provides that all persons indicted for high treason shall have a copy of their indictment delivered to them five days before their trial, a period extended by a subsequent act to ten days, and a copy of the panel of jurors two days before their trial; that they shall be allowed to have their witnesses examined on oath, and to make their defense by counsel. It clears up any doubt that could be pretended on the statute of Edward VI., by requiring two witnesses, either both to the same overt act, or the first to one, the second to another overt act of the same treason (that is, the same kind of treason), unless the party shall voluntarily confess the charge. It limits prosecutions for treason to the term of three years, except in the case of an attempted assassination on the king. It includes the contested provision for the trial of peers by all who have a right to sit and vote in Parliament. A later statute, 7 Anne, c. 21, which may be mentioned here as the complement of the former, has added a peculiar privilege to the accused, hardly less material than any of the rest. Ten days before the trial a list of the witnesses intended to be brought for proving the indictment, with their professions and places of abode, must be delivered to the prisoner, along with a copy of the indictment. The operation of this

clause was suspended till after the death of the pretended Prince of Wales."*

William passed over to Holland after the prorogation of the Parliament, and distinguished himself this year, in the campaign in the Low Countries, by one of his greatest military feats, the taking of Namur in presence of a large force of the enemy. The Marshal de Luxembourg was dead, and the French army was now commanded by Marshal Villeroi and Marshal Boufflers; France was becoming exhausted with the length of the war, and Louis was anxious to conclude a peace on any decent terms, while William's reputation was rising in Europe. His success abroad confirmed his power at home; for, though the Jacobite party was increasing in England, they could hardly hope to succeed without the aid of France.

§ 14. A conspiracy against the throne and life of William was, nevertheless, formed and detected early in 1696. The principal agent in it was Sir George Barclay, a Scotch officer, who received a commission from James to attempt a general insurrection in his favor. One Crosby had also gone to St. Germain's to procure James's sanction to the assassination of William; but James, suspecting that a trap was laid for him, refused his consent. Barclay arrived in London in January, and associated in his design Harrison, a priest, Charnock, formerly a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, but now a captain, Sir John Friend, Sir Wm. Perkins, Sir John Fenwick, a Captain Porter, and others. Their first scheme was to seize William and carry him over to France; but, as this seemed impracticable without taking his life, they resolved to attack him in the midst of his guards between Brentford and Turnham Green, through which places he passed every Saturday to hunt in Richmond Park; and with this view they procured a body of 40 armed men, and fixed the 15th of February for the attempt. But the secret was betrayed to the Earl of Portland a day or two previously by Captain Fisher, one of the conspirators, and his information was soon after confirmed by an Irishman named Prendergrass. The king having consequently remained at home on the 15th, and again on the 22d, to which day the conspirators had adjourned the execution of their plot, they were seized with alarm; some of them fled, but others were captured the next night in their beds.

On the following day the king laid the whole plot before the Parliament, and both houses responded with a joint address, breathing the most zealous expressions of duty and affection. A loyal association was formed in imitation of that in the reign of Elizabeth, which was signed the same day by 400 members of the House

* Hallam's Constitutional History, iii., 221.

of Commons; and such members as were absent were required to sign it by the 16th of March, or to notify their refusal. The association was adopted, with very little alteration, by the House of Lords; and of the whole Parliament, only 15 peers and 92 commoners refused to put their names to it. Shortly afterward an act was passed to make the signing of the association imperative on all holders of civil or military employments.

Five of the conspirators, namely, Charnock, King, Keys, Sir John Friend, and Sir Wm. Perkins, were condemned and executed. On the execution of the two latter the celebrated Jeremy Collier, the nonjuring divine, appeared on the scaffold, and publicly absolved them. The trial of Sir John Fenwick, who had been captured at New Romney while endeavoring to escape to France, did not come on till the autumn. While he lay in Newgate he sought to procure a pardon by turning evidence, and accused the Duke of Shrewsbury, the Earls of Bath and Marlborough, Lord Godolphin, and Admiral Russell of corresponding and intriguing with King James. But, though this information is now known to be true, William refused to listen to it. As only one witness could be produced against Fenwick, while the law required two in cases of high treason, Admiral Russell brought in a bill of attainder against him, which was passed after considerable opposition. Fenwick was beheaded on Tower Hill on January 28, 1697.

§ 15. During the campaign of 1696 the French remained on the defensive; nor did any thing of importance take place at sea. All parties were looking forward to a peace; and on the 9th of May a conference was opened between the belligerent powers, under the mediation of the King of Sweden, at Ryswick, a village between Delft and the Hague. William had, as usual, gone over to Holland. All that he desired was to fix a barrier to the French power in Flanders, and to procure from Louis the acknowledgment of his title to the English throne; but the negotiations were protracted by the Emperor of Germany and the King of Spain, who were desirous of continuing the war. William, therefore, while the hostile armies lay opposed to each other near Brussels, caused a separate negotiation to be opened in July between the Earl of Portland on his part, and Marshal Boufflers on that of Louis.

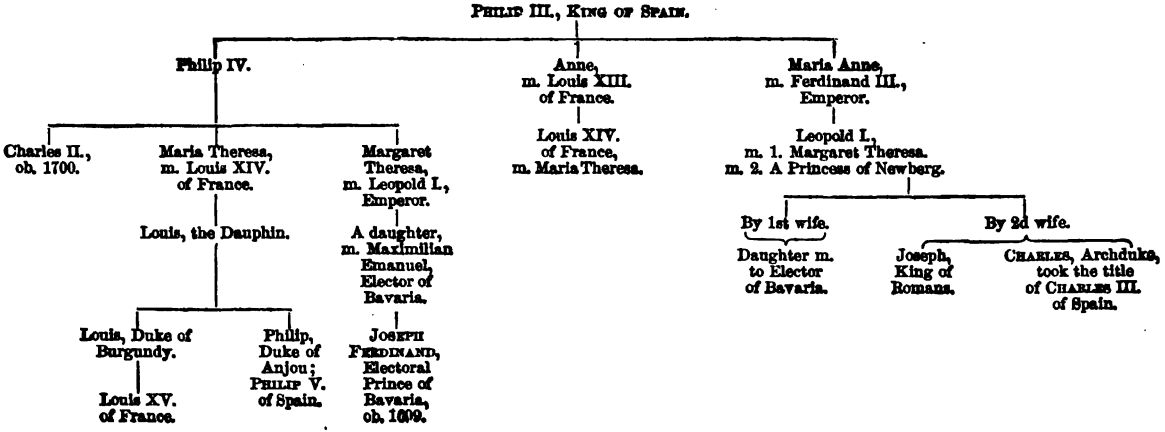
The taking of Carthagena, in America, by a French squadron, and the capture of Barcelona by a French army, inclined the Spaniards to come to terms with Louis, and the PEACE OF RYSWICK was signed on September 10, 1697. Louis resigned several of his conquests, and recognized William as King of England. The peace of Ryswick seems to have been necessary in consequence

of the defection of the Duke of Savoy, and of the bad state of public credit in England; but William foresaw that it could be no more than a sort of armistice, and a fresh struggle must soon take place on the subject of the Spanish succession.

§ 16. The Parliament, which met soon after the peace of Ryswick, voted that the army should be reduced to 7000 men, and were with difficulty persuaded to increase it to 10,000; but, at the same time, they granted the king the large sum of £700,000 for the civil list. William was exceedingly annoyed at the vote for reducing the army; and before he repaired to Holland in the spring (1698) he ventured to leave sealed orders that the army should be raised to 16,000 men, which the ministers unconstitutionally obeyed. During his residence in Holland he negotiated a treaty respecting the Spanish succession. Charles II. of Spain was now supposed to be at the point of death; and, as he had no heirs within the kingdom, the question of his succession threatened to disturb the peace of Europe. Philip IV. of Spain had left three children: one son, Charles II., and two daughters—the elder, Maria Theresa, married to Louis XIV. of France, and the younger, Margaret Theresa, married to the Emperor Leopold I. Maria Theresa had renounced her pretensions to the Spanish succession on her marriage with the King of France. The younger sister, Margaret Theresa, had made no such renunciation on her marriage with Leopold; but their only child, a daughter, who was married to Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria, was also obliged, before her marriage, to abandon all claims to the Spanish throne. But both France and Bavaria maintained that these princesses had no power to renounce the claims of their posterity; Louis XVI. therefore demanded the Spanish throne for his son the dauphin, and the Elector of Bavaria for his son the electoral prince. A third claimant was the Emperor Leopold, who, by a second marriage, had two sons, Joseph, King of the Romans, and the Archduke Charles. Leopold claimed the succession for his son Charles on the ground that he was a lineal descendant of Philip III; but Louis XIV. could make also the same claim for his son, since both Louis and Leopold had married granddaughters of Philip III.*

William would have been content to modify the claim of France by conceding to her part of the Spanish dominions; and Louis was, or pretended to be, better satisfied with this partial inheritance than to have to fight for the whole. The first treaty for the partition of Spain was accordingly negotiated in the summer at Loo, and was signed on the 1st of October; according to which,

* The genealogical table on the opposite page exhibits the relationship of the different claimants.


PHILIP III., KING OF SPAIN.
Philip IV.
Anne, m. Louis XIII. of France.
Maria Anne, m. Ferdinand III., Emperor.
Charles II., ob. 1700.
Maria Theresa, m. Louis XIV. of France.
Margaret Theresa, m. Leopold I., Emperor.
Louis XIV. of France, m. Maria Theresa.
Leopold I., m. 1. Margaret Theresa. m. 2. A Princess of Newberg.
Louis, the Dauphin.
A daughter, m. Maximilian Emanuel, Elector of Bavaria.
By 1st wife.
By 2d wife.
Daughter m. to Elector of Bavaria.
Joseph, King of Romans.
CHARLES, Archduke, took the title of CHARLES III. of Spain.
Louis, Duke of Burgundy.
Philip, Duke of Anjou; PHILIP V. of Spain.
JOSEPH FERDINAND, Electoral Prince of Bavaria, ob. 1699.
Louis XV. of France.

on the death of Charles II., the dauphin was to be put in possession of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquisate of Final in Italy; while on the Spanish frontier he was to have all the territory on the French side of the Pyrenees, and of the mountains of Navarre, Alava, and Biscay. The son of the Elector of Bavaria was to inherit Spain, the Netherlands, and the Indies; and Milan was to be assigned to the Archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. It was intended to keep this treaty a profound secret from the King of Spain, but it came to his ears and naturally roused his indignation; and, anxious to preserve the integrity of the empire, he drew up a will appointing the Electoral Prince of Bavaria his universal heir, according to the previous disposition of Philip IV. But Charles unexpectedly recovered, and the treaty was defeated by the de mise of the electoral prince at Brussels, 8th of February, 1699.

§ 17. The new Parliament, which assembled in December, 1698, exhibited strong symptoms of discontent; insisted on the reduction of the army to 7000 men, and also voted that these should be natives of the British dominions. This involved the dismissal of the Dutch guards, the severest mortification which William had ever experienced. On this occasion he even condescended to send a message to the Commons by Lord Ranelagh, entreating them as a personal favor that his guards might be retained; and when they refused to comply he burst into a violent passion, and threatened to abandon the kingdom, a threat which he seriously thought of carrying into execution. All the debates of the Commons continued to be violent and hostile to the king. In the last session they had appointed commissioners to inquire into the grants of forfeited estates in Ireland; and the report being now brought in, it appeared that no fewer than 3921 persons had been outlawed in that country since February, 1689, and that more than 1,060,000 acres of land had been declared forfeited, the annual rent of which was computed at £211,623. It also appeared that large grants of these lands had been made to foreigners, as Keppel,* Bentinck, Ginkell, and Ruvigny, who had also obtained peerages in one of the two kingdoms. But perhaps the most obnoxious grant of all was that of King James's private estates, containing 95,000 acres, and valued at £25,995 per annum, to William's mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, now Countess of Orkney. The Commons resolved unanimously that all these forfeitures should be applied to the public use; and they even added that the grants which had been made of them were a reflection upon the king's honor. To secure the

* Keppel was created Earl of Albemarle in 1696, and was the ancestor of the present earl. Bentinck was created Earl of Portland, as already related (see p. 517); Ginkell, Earl of Athlone, and Ruvigny, Earl of Galway.

king's assent, the bill for the resumption of forfeitures was tacked to the bill of supply. Several amendments were proposed and carried in the Lords, and some angry conferences ensued between the two houses. The Commons threatened to impeach the Earls of Portland and Albemarle, and resolved to address the king that no foreigners, except Prince George of Denmark, should be admitted to the royal councils. William began to be alarmed, and sent a private message to his friends in the Lords to withdraw their opposition. The bill having passed in its original state, the king came to the House and gave his assent to it, and then suddenly prorogued the Parliament without any speech.

§ 18. The rapid decline of the King of Spain's health hastened the conclusion of a second treaty of partition, which was signed at London on the 21st of February, and at the Hague on the 14th of March, 1700. William had spent great part of the preceding summer and autumn at Loo in negotiating it, as he and the States were desirous of bringing the emperor into their views; but in October Leopold formally rejected any partition whatever. By this new treaty the share formerly allotted to the electoral prince was to be transferred to the Archduke Charles, and Milan was to be added to the dauphin's portion. To prevent the union of the imperial crown with that of Spain, it was provided that the King of the Romans should not succeed to the Spanish kingdom in case of the archduke's death; and a like provision was made with regard to the King of France and the dauphin.

The long-expected death of Charles II. of Spain, which followed on the 1st of November, soon discovered how fruitless had been all the pains bestowed on the partition treaties. The pride of the Spanish nation was naturally wounded by the treaty, and Charles especially was grievously offended by it. The French embassador availed himself of this feeling to persuade Charles to make another will, in favor of Philip, Duke of Anjou, the second son of the dauphin; nor did Louis hesitate to accept this magnificent bequest to his grandson. In case of his refusal, the Spanish throne was to be tendered to the Archduke Charles. William found it prudent to acquiesce in the new arrangement, and ultimately acknowledged the title of the Duke of Anjou.

§ 19. In the last year or two there had been several changes in the ministry, and the king seemed to be ever approximating more closely toward the Tory party, but trimmed between both with a dexterity which rendered it difficult to say to which he most inclined. In this year the Earl of Rochester, the leader of the Tories and High-Church party, was appointed to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. The institution of a cabinet council—that is, a select body of ministers with whom the king exclusively

consulted, and who prepared and digested the measures which were subsequently laid before the general body of the privy council rather as a matter of form than of necessity, was now regularly established. Traces of a cabinet first began to appear under Charles I., and became more frequent under Charles II., but it was not till the reign of William that it became the regular mode of government. In earlier times the sovereign was accustomed to consult the whole body of the privy council, and was guided by the opinion of the majority. The cabinet, therefore, was a sort of silent revolution which crept in unobserved, and was never recognized by the Constitution.

In the new Parliament which assembled in February, 1701, the Tories had the majority, and Robert Harley, one of their leaders, was chosen speaker. As the death of the Duke of Gloucester, which happened in the preceding July at the age of 11, left the succession of the crown unprovided for after the demise of William and Anne, it became necessary to make a new settlement, and the king recommended the subject to the consideration of the Parliament. The next in blood, after the children of James II., was the Duchess of Savoy, daughter of Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, and then the family of the Elector of the Palatinate, all of whom, however, had abjured the Reformed faith, with the exception of his daughter Sophia, married to the Elector of Hanover; to whom, therefore, as papists were excluded from the succession by act of Parliament, it became necessary to revert. Nor was William averse to her appointment, as he was desirous of securing the accession of the Elector of Hanover to the grand alliance which he was then meditating; and she, and the heirs of her body, being Protestants, were declared next in succession to the king after the Princess of Denmark and their respective heirs, by a bill which passed in the spring, and which is known by the name of the ACT OF SETTLEMENT.

The Commons took advantage of this settlement to supply some deficiencies in the Bill of Rights, and therefore this act (12 and 13 William III., c. 2) became a most important one, and put, as it were, the seal to the English Constitution. The Tory government showed themselves on this occasion no less the friends of liberty than the Whigs, and moved and carried certain resolutions as preliminary to the settlement of the succession, to the following effect; that whoever should hereafter come to the throne should join the communion of the Church of England; that, in the case of the crown devolving to a foreigner, the nation should not be obliged to enter into any foreign war, without the consent of Parliament; that no future sovereign should leave Great Britain or Ireland without consent of Parliament; that all matters cognizable

in the privy council should be transacted there, and all resolutions taken be signed by such of the privy council as should consent to them; that none but a person born of English parents should be capable of holding office under the crown, or receiving a grant from it, or being a member of Parliament; that no person in the service of the crown, or receiving a pension, should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons; that the commissions of the judges should be irrevocable so long as they conducted themselves properly ("quamdiu se bene gesserint"), but that they might be removed on an address of both houses; and that no pardon under the great seal should be pleaded to an impeachment of the Commons.

All these provisions, and especially the last two, were highly important safeguards to the liberty and welfare of the country. That respecting placemen sitting in Parliament, being found inconvenient, was repealed in 1706; but it was provided at the same time that any member of the Lower House accepting an office should vacate his seat, and again offer himself to his constituents; and that no person holding any office created since October 25th, 1705, should be eligible at all. The article respecting the sovereign leaving the United Kingdom was repealed soon after the accession of George I.

§ 20. Both houses of Parliament expressed the highest disapprobation of the partition treaties, to which they ascribed the will of Charles II. in favor of the Duke of Anjou; the Commons addressed the king to remove the Earl of Portland, the Earl of Orford,* Lord Halifax,† and Lord Somers‡ from his presence and councils forever, and ordered them to be impeached at the bar of the Lords on account of the steps they had taken in promoting the partition treaties, as well as for other alleged illegal practices. But an irreconcilable difference sprang up between the two houses as to the mode of proceeding; the Commons refused to appear on the day appointed by the Peers, and the impeached ministers were consequently acquitted.

* The Earl of Orford was Admiral Russell, who received this title in 1697. It became extinct upon his death in 1727, but was revived in 1742 in favor of the celebrated Sir Robert Walpole.

† This Lord Halifax was Charles Montague, a grandson of the first Earl of Manchester, and was created Lord Halifax in 1700, and Earl of Halifax in 1714. He was of a different family from the celebrated George Saville, Marquis of Halifax (p. 516), who died in 1695, and was succeeded in the title by his son, who died in 1700, when the title became extinct.

‡ Somers was lord chancellor, and had been dismissed from office in the previous year (1700) in consequence of the attacks made upon him in Parliament. The present Earl Somers is a descendant of the eldest sister of the chancellor.

Although William had acknowledged the new King of Spain, he was by no means satisfied with that arrangement, especially as it proved so distasteful to his subjects. During the summer, which he spent in Holland, negotiations had been going on between him and D'Avaux, the French embassador; but these having utterly failed, William, about the beginning of August, set on foot a treaty with the emperor, who had already commenced the WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION by attacking the French in Italy. William, however, would engage himself no farther than for the recovery of Flanders and the Milanese, the former as a barrier to Holland, the latter as a barrier to the empire; and he likewise stipulated that England and Holland should retain whatever conquests they might make in both the Indies. On these conditions, a treaty was signed on September 7th between the emperor, England, and the States, which afterward obtained the name of the GRAND ALLIANCE.

An event happened soon after which induced Louis immediately to declare himself. On the 16th of September King James II. expired at St. Germain's. Ever since the peace of Ryswick, which extinguished his hopes of regaining the English crown, he had abandoned himself to all the austerities of his temper and his religion, and some time before his decease he had fallen into a kind of lethargy. Louis paid him a visit as he lay on his deathbed, and in the presence of his attendants, whom he would not suffer to withdraw, and who wept at once for joy and grief, he declared his intention of acknowledging his son as King of Great Britain and Ireland. He then visited the young prince in state, addressed him with the title of majesty, and caused him to be acknowledged by the French court and nation. William immediately remonstrated against these proceedings as infringing the treaty of Ryswick; dismissed the French embassador and recalled his own; while both sides began to make preparations for war. The French took possession of the towns on the Rhine; the Dutch entered Juliers in force; and William arranged with the States a campaign for the ensuing spring; but, notwithstanding the pressing solicitations of the emperor, he would not declare war till he had assured himself of the support of the English Parliament, and he left Holland in November for the purpose of opening that assembly.

The new Parliament met in December, when Harley was again elected to the chair. The Commons, in their address to the king on his speech, warmly conveyed their approbation of the course he had pursued with regard to France, and expressed a hope that no peace would be concluded till Louis had atoned for acknowledging the Pretender. A bill was brought in and passed for the

attainder of that prince, and another for his abjuration by all persons holding employments in Church or State; and the Commons voted 40,000 men to act with the allies, and a like number of seamen for the fleet. But, in the midst of all these great preparations, William met with an accident which, in his rapidly declining state of health, proved fatal. On the 21st of February, 1702, while riding from Kensington to Hampton Court, his horse fell with him, and he broke his collar-bone. It was at first anticipated that the accident would not be attended with any dangerous consequences, and on the 28th he was declared convalescent; but on the 2d of March symptoms appeared which precluded all hope of recovery, and on Sunday the 8th he expired, after receiving the sacrament from the Archbishop of Canterbury.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1689. Accession of William and Mary.
" Bill of Rights.
1690. Battle of the Boyne.
1691. Pacification of Limerick.
1692. Massacre of Glencoe.
" Battle of La Hogue.
1694. Bill for triennial Parliaments passed. Death of Queen Mary.
1695. Censorship of the press abolished.
1697. Treaty of Ryswick.
1700. Death of Charles II. of Spain.
1701. Act of Settlement. Death of James II. The Grand Alliance. Commencement of the War of the Spanish Succession.
1702. Death of William III.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

AN ACT FOR DECLARING THE RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES OF THE SUBJECT, AND SETTLING THE SUCCESSION OF THE CROWN (1689).

Whereas the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, lawfully, fully, and freely representing all the estates of the people of this realm, did, upon the 13th day of February, in the year of our Lord 1688, present unto their majesties, then called and known by the names and style of William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, being present in their proper persons, a certain declaration in writing, made by the said Lords and Commons, in the words following, viz.:

Whereas the late king, James II., by the assistance of divers evil counselors, judges, and ministers employed by him, did endeavor to subvert and extirpate the Protestant religion, and the laws and liberties of this kingdom:

1. By assuming and exercising a power of dispensing with and suspending of laws, and the execution of laws, without consent of Parliament.

2. By committing and prosecuting divers worthy prelates for humbly petitioning to be excused from concurring to the said assumed power.

3. By issuing and causing to be executed a commission under the great seal for erecting a court called the Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes.

4. By levying money for and to the use of the crown, by pretense of prerogative, for other time, and in other manner, than the same was granted by Parliament.

5. By raising and keeping a standing army within this kingdom in time of peace, without consent of Parliament, and quartering soldiers contrary to law.

6. By causing several good subjects, being Protestants, to be disarmed, at the same time when papists were both armed and employed, contrary to law.

7. By violating the freedom of election of members to serve in Parliament.

8. By prosecutions in the Court of King's Bench for matters and causes cognizable only in Parliament; and by divers other arbitrary and illegal courses.

9. And whereas of late years partial, corrupt, and unqualified persons have been returned and served on juries in trials, and particularly divers jurors in trials for high treason, which were not freeholders.

10. And excessive bail hath been required of persons committed in criminal cases, to elude the benefit of the laws made for the liberty of the subjects.

11. And excessive fines have been imposed, and illegal and cruel punishments inflicted.

12. And several grants and promises made of fines and forfeitures, before any conviction or judgment against the persons upon whom the same were to be levied.

All which are utterly and directly contrary to the known laws and statutes, and freedom of this realm.

And whereas, the said late king, James II., having abdicated the government, and the throne being thereby vacant, his highness the Prince of Orange (whom it hath pleased Almighty God to make the glorious instrument of delivering this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power) did (by the advice of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and divers principal persons of the Commons) cause letters to be written to the Lords spiritual and temporal, being Protestants; and other letters to the several counties, cities, universities, boroughs, and cinque-ports, for the choosing of such persons to represent them as were of right to be sent to Parliament, to meet and sit at Westminster upon the 22d day of January, in this year 1688, in order to such an establishment as that their religion, laws, and liberties might not again be in danger of being subverted; upon which letters elections have been accordingly made.

And thereupon the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, pursuant to their respective letters and elections, being now assembled in a full and free representation of this nation, taking into their most serious consideration the best means for attaining the ends aforesaid, do, in the first place (as their ancestors in like case have usually done), for the vindicating and asserting their ancient rights and liberties, declare:

1. That the pretended power of suspending of laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, without consent of Parliament, is illegal.

2. That the pretended power of dispensing with laws, or the execution of laws, by regal authority, as it hath been assumed and exercised of late, is illegal.

3. That the commission for erecting the late Court of Commissioners for Ecclesiastical Causes, and all other commissions and courts of like nature, are illegal and pernicious.

4. That levying money for or to the use of the crown, by pretense and prerogative, without grant of Parliament, for longer time or in other manner than the same is or shall be granted, is illegal.

5. That it is the right of the subjects to petition the king, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal.

6. That the raising or keeping a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of Parliament, is against law.

7. That the subjects which are Protestants may have arms for their defense suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

8. That election of members of Parliament ought to be free.

9. That the freedom of speech, and debates or proceedings in Parliament, ought not to be impeached or questioned in any court or place out of Parliament.

10. That excessive bail ought not to be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

11. That jurors ought to be duly impanelled and returned, and jurors which pass upon men in trials for high treason ought to be freeholders.

12. That all grants and promises of fines and forfeitures of particular persons before conviction are illegal and void.

13. And that, for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening, and preserving of the laws, Parliament ought to be held frequently.

And they do claim, demand, and insist upon all and singular the premises, as their undoubted rights and liberties; and that no declarations, judgments, doings, or proceedings, to the prejudice of the people in any of the said premises, ought in any wise to be drawn hereafter into consequence or example:

To which demand of their rights they are particularly encouraged by the declaration of his highness the Prince of Orange, as being the only means for obtaining a full redress and remedy therein:

Having, therefore, an entire confidence that his said highness the Prince of Orange will perfect the deliverance so far advanced by him, and will still preserve them from the violation of their rights, which they have here asserted, and from all other attempts upon their religion, rights, and liberties:

II. The said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, assembled at Westminster, do resolve, that William and Mary, Prince and Princess of Orange, be, and be declared, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to hold the crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to them the said prince and princess during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them; and that the sole and full exercise of the regal power be only in and executed by the said Prince of Orange, in the names of the said prince and princess, during their joint lives; and after their deceases, the said crown and royal dignity of the said kingdoms and dominions to be to the heirs of the body of the said princess; and for default of such issue, to the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of the said Prince of Orange. And the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do pray the said prince and princess to accept the same accordingly.

III. And that the oaths hereafter mentioned be taken by all persons of whom the oaths of allegiance and supremacy might be required by law, instead of them; and that the said oaths of allegiance and supremacy be abrogated.

I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to their majesties King William and Queen Mary: So help me God.

I, A. B., do swear that I do from my heart

abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the Pope, or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state, or potentate hath, or ought to have, any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm: So help me God.

IV. Upon which their said majesties did accept the crown and royal dignity of the kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, according to the resolution and desire of the said Lords and Commons contained in the said declaration.

V. And thereupon their majesties were pleased that the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, being the two houses of Parliament, should continue to sit, and with their majesties' royal concurrence make effectual provision for the settlement of the religion, laws, and liberties of this kingdom, so that the same for the future might not be in danger again of being subverted; to which the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, did agree and proceed to act accordingly.

VI. Now, in pursuance of the premises, the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, for the ratifying, confirming, and establishing the said declaration, and the articles, clauses, matters, and things therein contained, by the force of a law made in due form by authority of Parliament, do pray that it may be declared and enacted that all and singular the rights and liberties asserted and claimed in the said declaration are the true, ancient, and indubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed, and taken to be, and that all and every the particulars aforesaid shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed, as they are expressed in the said declaration; and all officers and ministers whatsoever shall serve their majesties and their successors according to the same in all times to come.

VII. And the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, seriously considering how it hath pleased Almighty God, in his marvelous providence and merciful goodness to this nation, to provide and preserve their said majesties' royal persons most happily to reign over us upon the throne of their ancestors, for which they render unto Him from the bottom of their hearts their humblest thanks and praises, do truly, firmly, assuredly, and in the sincerity of their hearts, think, and do hereby recognize, acknowledge, and declare, that, King James II. having abdicated the government, and their majesties having accepted the crown and royal dignity as aforesaid, their said majesties did become, were, are, and of right ought to be, by the laws of this realm, our sovereign liege lord and lady, King and Queen of England, France, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, in and to whose princely persons the royal state, crown, and dignity of the said realms, with all honors, styles, titles, regalities, prerogatives, powers, jurisdictions, and authorities to the same belonging and appertaining, are most fully, rightfully, and entirely invested and incorporated, united and annexed.

VIII. And for preventing all questions and divisions in this realm, by reason of any pretended titles to the crown, and for preserving a certainty in the succession thereof, in and upon which the unity, peace, tranquillity, and safety of this nation doth, under God, wholly consist and depend, the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do beseech their majesties that it may be enacted, established, and declared, that the crown and regal government of the said kingdoms and dominions, with all and singular the premises thereunto belonging and appertaining, shall be and continue to their said majesties, and the survivor of them, during their lives, and the life of the survivor of them. And that the entire, perfect, and full exercise of the regal power and government be only in and executed by his majesty, in the names of both their majesties during their joint lives; and after their deceases the said crown and premises shall be and remain to the heirs of the body of her majesty; and for default of such issue, to her royal highness the Princess Anne of Denmark and the heirs of her body; and for default of such issue, to the heirs of the body of his said majesty: And thereunto the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do, in the name of all the people aforesaid, most humbly and faithfully submit themselves, their heirs and posterities forever; and do faithfully promise that they will stand to, maintain, and defend their said majesties, and also the limitation and succession of the crown herein specified and contained, to the utmost of their powers, with their lives and estates, against all persons whatsoever that shall attempt any thing to the contrary.

IX. And whereas it hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince, or by any king or queen marrying a papist; the said Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, do farther pray that it may be enacted that all and every person and persons that is, are, or shall be reconciled to, or shall hold communion with, the See or Church of Rome, or shall profess the popish religion, or shall marry a papist, shall be excluded, and be forever incapable to inherit, possess, or enjoy the crown and government of this realm, and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, or any part of the same, or to have, use, or exercise any regal power, authority, or jurisdiction within the same; and in all and every such case or cases the people of these realms shall be and are hereby absolved of their allegiance; and the said crown and government shall from time to time descend to, and be enjoyed by, such person or persons, being Protestants,

as should have inherited and enjoyed the same in case the said person or persons so reconciled, holding communion, or professing, or marrying as aforesaid, were naturally dead.

X. And that every king and queen of this realm who at any time hereafter shall come to and succeed in the imperial crown of this kingdom shall, on the first day of the meeting of the first Parliament next after his or her coming to the crown, sitting in his or her throne in the House of Peers, in the presence of the Lords and Commons therein assembled, or at his or her coronation, before such person or persons who shall administer the coronation oath to him or her, at the time of his or her taking the said oath (which shall first happen), make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the declaration mentioned in the statute made in the 13th year of the reign of King Charles II., intituled "An Act for the more effectual preserving the king's person and government, by disabling papists from sitting in either house of Parliament." But if it shall happen that such king or queen, upon his or her succession to the crown of this realm, shall be under the age of twelve years, then every such king or queen shall make, subscribe, and audibly repeat the said declaration at his or her coronation, or the first day of meeting of the first Parliament as aforesaid, which shall first happen after such king or queen shall have attained the said age of twelve years.

XI. All which their majesties are contented and pleased shall be declared, enacted, and established by authority of this present Parliament, and shall stand, remain, and be the law of this realm forever; and the same are by their said majesties, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and Commons, in Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, declared, enacted, or established accordingly.

XII. And be it farther declared and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after this present session of Parliament no dispensation by *non obstante* of or to any statute, or any part thereof, shall be allowed, but that the same shall be held void and of no effect, except a dispensation be allowed of in such statute, and except in such cases as shall be specially provided for by one or more bill or bills to be passed during this present session of Parliament.

XIII. Provided that no charter, or grant, or pardon granted before the 23d day of October, in the year of our Lord 1689, shall be any ways impeached or invalidated by this act, but that the same shall be and remain of the same force and effect in law, and no other than as if this act had never been made.



Medal of Queen Anne, in honor of the Union, struck at Leipzig.

Obv.: ANNA D . G . MAG . ET UNITÆ BRITÆ . FRA . ET HIB . REGINA. Bust, crowned, to left. Rev.: ET EXTERIS ETIAM GRATA. Two female figures, standing, joining wreaths; behind them, view of a city.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

QUEEN ANNE. A.D. 1702–1714.

§ 1. Accession and Coronation of Anne. Influence of the Duke and Duchess of Marlborough. Campaign of 1702. Success at Vigo. § 2. Marlborough made a Duke. His Intrigues. State of Parties. § 3. Campaigns of 1703 and 1704. Battle of Blenheim. Taking of Gibraltar. § 4. Campaigns of 1705 and 1706. Battle of Ramillies. § 5. Union with Scotland. § 6. Campaigns of 1707, 1708, and 1709. Battles of Oudenarde and Malplaquet. § 7. Decline of Marlborough's Influence. § 8. Trial of Dr. Sacheverell. Change of Ministry. Character of the Times. § 9. New Parliament. Harley stabbed. Becomes Lord Treasurer and Earl of Oxford. Act against occasional Conformity and Schism Act. § 10. Marlborough accused of Peculation, and censured by the Commons. Proceedings in Flanders. The Duke of Ormond withdraws the English Forces from the Allies. § 11. Treaty of Utrecht. § 12. Manœuvres of the Jacobites and Hanoverians. § 13. Rupture between Oxford and Bolingbroke. Oxford dismissed. The Duke of Shrewsbury appointed Treasurer. Death and Character of the Queen.

§ 1. On the demise of William, Anne, Princess of Denmark, immediately ascended the throne by virtue of the act of 1689, and was proclaimed on the 8th of March, 1702. On the 12th of April the late king was privately interred, and on the 23d the queen was crowned in Westminster Abbey. She had hitherto retained William's ministers, but they were now dismissed in favor of Tories. Somers, Halifax, and other Whig leaders were excluded from the new privy council; the Marquis of Normanby* was

* John Sheffield, Marquis of Normanby, was created Duke of Buckingham in 1702. The title became extinct on the death of his son in 1720. The present Marquis of Normanby belongs to a different family.

made privy seal; Lord Godolphin, lord high treasurer. Marlborough, who had been the faithful friend of Anne when she was of little account with the nation, received the most substantial marks of her favor. He was made a knight of the garter, and captain general of all the queen's forces; and toward the end of March he had proceeded to Holland in the character of extraordinary embassador. Anne was entirely governed by Lady Marlborough, who, though not a woman of a very superior understanding, ruled her through the ascendency which a strong mind naturally has over a weak one. In their confidential intercourse all titles and ceremony were dropped; Anne became Mrs. Morley, and Lady Marlborough Mrs. Freeman—a name that expressed the character of her influence, which was founded, not on flattery and dissimulation, but on the uncourtier-like qualities of habitual frankness and frequent dictation. Prince George of Denmark, who was even weaker than his consort the queen, yielded without a struggle to all these arrangements, and Marlborough and his wife might almost be regarded as the *de facto* sovereigns of England.

Soon after her accession Anne had notified to her allies abroad her determination to pursue the policy of the late king; and when Marlborough returned from his embassy, war was at his instance declared against France and Spain (May 4). In July Marlborough assumed the command of the allied army in Flanders; and, though he was disappointed in bringing the enemy to a general engagement, he finished the campaign with reputation by reducing Venloo, Ruremonde, and the citadel of Liège, by which he obtained command of the Meuse.

In Italy and Germany the campaign was not marked by any important event. At sea, the English and Dutch combined fleets, under Sir G. Rooke, with 12,000 troops on board commanded by the Duke of Ormond, after making an unsuccessful attempt upon Cadiz, proceeded to Vigo, where the Spanish galleons had just arrived under convoy of 30 French men-of-war. They lay up a narrow inlet or strait, the entrance of which was secured with a strong boom, while on one side it was defended with a castle, and on the other with a platform mounted with cannon. Ormond, having landed some troops, took the castle; and Vice Admiral Hopson, in the Torbay, having broken the boom and advanced with his ships through a terrific fire, the French, seeing capture inevitable, burnt some of their ships. The allies, however, succeeded in capturing six vessels; seven were sunk, nine burnt. All the galleons were either taken or destroyed; and, though the greatest part of the treasure had been carried off, yet the English and Dutch made a large booty. In the same summer Admiral

Benbow, commander of the English fleet in the West Indies, displayed the most distinguished valor in sustaining for five days, when deserted by several of his captains, a fight against a French fleet of much superior force. His own ship was reduced to a mere wreck, he was wounded in the arm and face, and had his leg shot away; but he contrived to get into Kingston, Jamaica, where he died soon after of his wounds. He had ordered four of his captains to be tried by a court-martial, two of whom were condemned and shot, one was cashiered, and another died previously to his trial.

§ 2. The new Parliament met in October; and a committee of the Commons presented Marlborough, who had now returned to England, with the thanks of the House. The queen created him a duke, and settled on him for life a pension of £5000 a year, payable out of the revenue of the post-office. She likewise sent to desire the Commons to settle the pension forever on the heirs male of his body; but they received the message in silence and astonishment, and, after a warm debate, the proposal was rejected. Marlborough, indeed, was highly unpopular, both from his avarice and meanness and for his political delinquencies. Notwithstanding his high post, he was still listening to the intrigues of the court of St. Germain's to obtain the repeal of the Act of Settlement; and Anne herself was known not to be averse to the succession of the Pretender. In order to stimulate Marlborough's exertions, a marriage was proposed between the Prince of Wales and his third daughter; while, on the other hand, the Hanoverians, having heard of this project, started a counter one of a marriage between the same lady and the electoral prince. There was, indeed, at this period a very strong Jacobite faction in the kingdom; and the court, the Tories, and the High-Church party were bent on defeating the succession of the house of Brunswick. The House of Lords were much more Whiggish than the Commons, although, in order to support the court interests, Finch, Gower, Granville, and Seymour, four violent Tories, had been made peers, and other lords had been advanced to higher titles. The peers threw out a bill to prevent occasional conformity, and amended a bill to grant another year to those who had neglected to take the oath of abjuration; both which measures were supported by the adherents of the Pretender. To the latter bill the peers added two clauses which the Tory party dared not openly oppose, and which secured the succession that the bill was intended to defeat. One of these clauses declared it high treason to endeavor, either directly or indirectly, to alter the succession as limited by law; the other imposed the oath of abjuration on the whole Irish nation, a point which had been neglected in the original bill.

§ 3. In 1703, the defection of the Duke of Savoy, and of Peter II., King of Portugal, who joined the Grand Alliance, proved a great blow to the affairs of Louis, particularly as the latter event opened a way for the allies into the heart of Spain. On the whole, however, the campaign of this year went in favor of the French. They gained several advantages in Germany, and their allies the Bavarians pressed hard upon the Austrians. Marlborough was more fortunate. Bonn surrendered to him on the 15th of May, after a siege of 12 days; and he afterward took the fortresses of Huy, Limburg, and Gueldres; but the numerous towns which the French had garrisoned in the Low Countries having reduced the strength of their army, they were cautious of taking the open field, and all Marlborough's endeavors to draw them into an engagement proved unsuccessful. Nothing decisive occurred in Italy, nor was any thing worth recording done at sea. In spite of his ill success, the emperor, after renouncing in his own name and in that of his eldest son, all pretension to the throne of Spain, caused his second son to be crowned king of that country at Vienna, with the title of Charles III. Toward the end of the year the new-made monarch arrived at Spithead, and, after visiting the queen at Windsor, proceeded on his way to Portugal. His title was acknowledged by all the allies. A little previous to his arrival (Nov. 26) England had been visited by the greatest storm ever known in this country. Whole forests were uprooted, and the damage in London alone was estimated at £1,000,000. At sea 12 ships of the royal navy were cast away, besides a great number of merchantmen, and 1500 men in the royal navy were lost.

The campaign of the last year having rendered the allies masters of the Meuse and of Spanish Guelderland, little danger was to be apprehended to the frontiers of Holland; and Marlborough conceived a bolder and more extensive plan of operations for that of 1704. Leopold, hard pressed by the French and Bavarians, and annoyed also by an insurrection in Hungary, sent urgent applications for relief, for which purpose Marlborough concerted some masterly arrangements with Prince Eugene. Directing his march on Maestricht, and thence through Juliers to Coblentz, he crossed the Rhine at that place, and thence passing the Main and Neckar, was joined by Prince Eugene at Mindelsheim. Hence the latter proceeded to Philipsburg, to take the command of the army of the Upper Rhine; and Marlborough, pursuing his march toward the Danube, formed a junction with the Imperialists under Prince Louis of Baden at Winterstellen. The allied forces, consisting of 96 battalions of foot and 202 squadrons of horse and dragoons, and having 48 pieces of cannon, encamped on the River

Brenz, June 28, within two leagues of the Elector of Bavaria's army. The enemy's force was inferior, being only 88 battalions and 160 squadrons; but they were much stronger in artillery, having 90 guns and 40 mortars and howitzers. On the 2d of July the allies attacked and took Donauwerth, thus separating the enemy's forces on the Upper and Lower Danube, and securing a bridge over that river. The loss was great on both sides; and the elector retreated toward Augsburg, followed by the allies. Both armies, however, soon received an accession of force, the Bavarians being joined by the French under Marshal Tallard, and Marlborough by Prince Eugene, who had followed Tallard through the Black Forest. The forces on both sides now amounted to between 50,000 and 60,000 men, but the enemy were rather superior. They were encamped on a height near Hochstädt, with the Danube on their right; and the village of BLENHEIM, which lies on the Danube, was a little in front of their right wing. Their left was covered by a thick wood, and considerably in advance of their front was a rivulet and morass. Notwithstanding the strength of their position, Marlborough resolved to attack them. Marshal Tallard, who commanded the enemy's right, and who was opposed to Marlborough at the head of the allied left, conceiving that Blenheim would be the principal object of attack, had occupied that village with 28 battalions and eight squadrons of dragoons—a fatal error, by which he weakened the centre of his line. Marlborough passed the rivulet and morass without opposition; and, directing some of his infantry to attack Blenheim and another village which the enemy had occupied, led his cavalry and the remainder of his forces against Tallard. The struggle was long and desperate, but at length the enemy's right was completely routed, and numbers were put to the sword or driven into the Danube. All the enemy's troops that had been thrown into Blenheim, being cut off from the main body, were forced to surrender at discretion. Prince Eugene, who commanded the right of the allies, could make no impression against the Elector of Bavaria and Marshal Marsin till after the defeat of Tallard, when the Bavarians made a speedy and skillful retreat in three columns. The French and Bavarians lost nearly half their army in killed, wounded, and prisoners; and Marshal Tallard himself was captured, together with the camp, baggage, and artillery. The loss of the allies, however, was also very great, amounting to about 14,000 killed and wounded. The elector and Marshal Marsin retreated on Ulm, whence they joined Marshal Villeroi on the Rhine.

The consequences of this brilliant victory, which was gained on August 13, were most important, and decided the fate of Ger-

many. The Elector of Bavaria, whose troops had lately alarmed Vienna itself, not only lost his conquests, but even his own dominions fell into the hands of the emperor. The remains of the vanquished army were obliged to cross the Rhine; and the victors also entered Alsace, and took the important fortresses of Landau and Traerbach. Marlborough himself repaired to Berlin, and concluded a treaty with the King of Prussia, who engaged to assist the Duke of Savoy with 8000 men, and thence proceeding to Hanover and the Hague, arrived in London in December, accompanied by Marshal Tallard and 26 other prisoners of distinction. He received the thanks and congratulations of the queen, and of both houses of Parliament; the royal manor of Woodstock was granted to him, and a splendid mansion erected upon it, which received the name of Blenheim Castle from the place of his victory.

On the other theatres of war nothing was done comparable to these great achievements in Germany. In Flanders the campaign was wholly defensive and unimportant; in Italy the balance of success inclined for the French. In the Spanish peninsula, Philip V., the new King of Spain, obtained some advantages in an invasion of Portugal; while Charles III., who had landed in that country in March with 8000 English and Dutch troops, was repulsed by the Duke of Berwick in an attempt which he made upon Castile, in conjunction with the King of Portugal. But the English fleet under Sir G. Rooke achieved a brilliant and unexpected success in that quarter by the capture of Gibraltar. After landing Charles III. at Lisbon, and making an unsuccessful attempt upon Barcelona, Rooke determined to attack Gibraltar; and, through the negligence and cowardice of the Spaniards, this strong fortress, which might be defended by a few hundred men against a whole army, was easily taken by his sailors and marines. Subsequently Rooke and the Dutch admiral Culemberg fell in, off Malaga, with a French fleet of 52 ships under the Count of Toulouse, which had been dispatched to assist the Spaniards in recovering Gibraltar. An obstinate combat ensued, which ended in a drawn battle, and Gibraltar remained in the hands of the English.

§ 4. It was also in Spain that the campaign of the following year (1705) was marked by any striking events. The Earl of Peterborough, having embarked with a land force on board the fleet of Sir Cloudesley Shovel, and being joined by a Dutch squadron under Admiral Allemonde, proceeded to the coast of Catalonia. The fortresses of Lerida and Tortosa were taken without a blow; Barcelona capitulated after a siege; and almost the whole of Valencia and Catalonia then acknowledged Charles III.

so that the land forces of the allies took up their winter quarters in Spain.

In the Netherlands, Marlborough, at the request of the Dutch, confined his operations to the defense of their frontier. Leopold died this year (May 5), and was succeeded by his son Joseph, who had more talents and enterprise than his father, but found it difficult to inspire the Germanic body with his own spirit. Marlborough paid him a visit toward winter at Vienna, when the principality of Mindelsheim was conferred upon him, with the rank of a prince of the empire. On the whole, the campaigns in Germany and Italy were favorable this year to the French.

Marlborough had formed larger plans for 1706, but was again detained by the entreaties of the Dutch. He compensated, however, for the inactivity of the preceding year by the brilliant victory of RAMILLIES, near Tirlemont, gained over Marshal Villeroi, May 23. The forces were nearly equal on both sides; but the French were totally defeated, with a loss of about 14,000 men, killed, wounded, or prisoners, while the loss of the allies did not amount to 3000. Toward night the rout of the French became complete, and they did not attempt to stand even at Courtray. They lost about 120 colors, 100 pieces of artillery, and a vast quantity of baggage. The consequence of this victory was the conquest of Brabant, and almost all Spanish Flanders. In return for these achievements the English Parliament perpetuated Marlborough's titles in the female as well as the male line, and continued the pension of £5000 granted by the queen to his family forever.

The French also sustained a terrible overthrow this year at Turin from Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, which put an end to all the hopes of the Bourbons in Italy. In Spain the Anglo-Portuguese army, under the Earl of Galway (Ruvigny) and the Marquis de las Minas, penetrated to Madrid. Philip V. abandoned his capital and retired to Burgos; but Galway and Las Minas, neglecting to pursue their advantages, were ultimately driven from the Spanish capital by the Duke of Berwick, and obliged to retire into Valencia. In the same year the English fleet, under Sir John Leake, took Majorca and Ivica, and reduced them under the authority of Charles III.

§ 5. We must now revert for a while to the domestic affairs of the country, where the important project of a UNION WITH SCOTLAND was in agitation. That measure had occasionally attracted the attention of statesmen ever since the accession of James I.; but as the period approached when the succession to the crown was to be diverted into a new line, the necessity for it became urgent, and Anne, in her speech to her first Parliament, had rec-

ommended it as indispensable to the peace and security of both kingdoms. William had neglected to provide for the succession to the Scottish crown; and a large party in that country, headed by the Duke of Hamilton, were in favor of the Stuarts. A bill for the Hanoverian succession was rejected by the Scotch Parliament with every mark of anger and contempt; many were for sending Lord Marchmont, its proposer, to the Castle of Edinburgh; and it was carried by a large majority that all record of it should be expunged from their proceedings. The same assembly passed what they called an "Act of Security," by which it was provided that the Parliament should meet on the 20th day after the queen's decease to elect a successor, who should not be the successor to the crown of England, unless under conditions which might secure the honor and independence of Scotland. The queen refused her assent to this bill; but in the following year (Aug. 5, 1704) she thought proper to allow another bill, to the same effect, to be touched with the sceptre, of which the main proviso was that the successor to the crown should be a Protestant of the royal line of Scotland, and at the same time not the successor to the English crown. As the house of Hanover was thus excluded, the Duke of Hamilton himself, the great promoter of the bill, seemed in a fair way to obtain the crown.

This proceeding excited great alarm in England. The House of Peers, in order to obviate its effects, resolved, that no Scotchmen, not actually residing in England or Ireland, should enjoy the privileges of Englishmen till a union of the two kingdoms should be effected, or the succession made identical in Scotland and England; that the bringing of Scotch cattle into England, and of English wool into Scotland, should be prohibited; and that the fleet should have orders to seize all Scotch vessels trading with France. These resolutions, which were almost equivalent to a declaration of war, were reduced into a bill; and another act was passed to appoint commissioners to treat of a union. The Lords also addressed the queen to fortify Newcastle, Tynemouth, Carlisle, and Hull, to call out the militia of the four northern counties, and to station an adequate number of regular troops on the Scottish borders. The Commons rejected the proposed bill on the ground that the fines levied by it rendered it a money bill; but they passed another to the same effect (Feb. 3, 1705), which went through the Lords without any amendment.

In the following session farther steps were taken to secure the succession of the House of Hanover, and a regency bill was passed in the event of the queen's death. In April, 1706, Lord Halifax, accompanied by Clarencieux, king-of-arms, was dispatched to Hanover to present the electoral prince with the order of the garter,

and to convey to his family an act of naturalization. About the same time commissioners appointed by the queen met to consider the articles of a union, and continued their discussions till July 23. The following were the more important among the articles agreed upon: That the two kingdoms should be united under the name of Great Britain; that the succession should be vested in the Princess Sophia and her heirs, being Protestants; that there should be but one Parliament of the united kingdom, to which 16 Scotch peers and 45 commoners should be elected; that there should be a complete freedom of trade and navigation throughout the united kingdom, and a reciprocation of all rights, privileges, and advantages.

These articles were highly unpopular in Scotland; but, without the succor of France, it seemed hopeless to resist them, and the reverses of Louis in the war put it out of his power to assist the Pretender. In the Parliament, indeed, where the Peers and Commons sat in one house, a spirited opposition was led by the Duke of Hamilton and Fletcher of Saltoun, and during the progress of the debates violent tumults occurred in Edinburgh. The lower classes of the Scotch, and especially the Presbyterians of the West, were almost universally opposed to the union, and offers were made to Hamilton from various quarters to march to Edinburgh and disperse the Parliament. But that nobleman, though loud in debate, was timid in action. He would not listen to such vigorous counsels; and he even shrank from an agreement which he had made with his adherents, to protest against the measure, and quit the Parliament in a body. All the articles were eventually adopted by a large majority, Jan. 16, 1707.

The ACT OF UNION was carried through the English Parliament with but trifling opposition, and received the royal assent on March 6. The union was appointed to commence on May 1, 1707, which was made a day of thanksgiving; and the first Parliament of Great Britain was to meet on the 23d of the following October.

§ 6. But to return to the war. The allies, flushed with their good fortune, rejected all the French king's overtures for peace, although so advantageous that it was made an argument against receiving them, that they were too good to be lasting. In spite of the distress to which he was reduced, Louis therefore bestirred himself for a vigorous resistance; and the year opened for him with a gleam of success by the recapture of Majorca by the Count de Villars (Jan. 5, 1707). In Spain, also, Galway and Las Minas were defeated by the Duke of Berwick at Almanza; Aragon was again reduced under the authority of Philip V., and Charles III. maintained himself only in Catalonia. But in Germany the French

were eventually obliged to recross the Rhine; and by the capitulation of Milan, signed in March, they agreed to evacuate Italy. The latter event left Prince Eugene and the Duke of Savoy at liberty to invade France. They accordingly passed the Var, and, advancing along the coast of Provence, appeared before Toulon on the 26th of July, while, at the same time, Sir Cloudesley Shovel blockaded it by sea. The French, however, had thrown 8000 men into Toulon a few hours before the arrival of Prince Eugene; and their vigorous defense, the advance of the Duke of Burgundy with a considerable force, and the ill condition of the invading army, compelled the allies to abandon the enterprise.

A terrible fate overtook Sir Cloudesley Shovel and his fleet on their return. That admiral sailed from Gibraltar on the 20th of Sept. with a fleet of 15 sail of the line and some frigates. On Oct. 22d they arrived in the mouth of the Channel, when, by some mistake in the course, the admiral's ship, the Association, striking on some rocks to the west of the Scilly Islands, foundered, and all on board perished. The Eagle, the Romney, and the Firebrand met with the same fate, except that the captain and 24 of the crew of the last were saved. Shovel had raised himself by his abilities and courage from the station of a common sailor.

The campaign in Flanders produced no remarkable action, and, on the whole, the events of the year were of a checkered kind for France. Her counsels were no longer directed with the former vigor. Louis XIV. was sinking into dotage, and had surrendered himself to the government of Madame de Maintenon. Yet the resources of France were still able to inspire alarm. Early in 1708 a squadron of frigates and small ships of war was collected at Dunkirk; troops were marched thither from the surrounding garrisons; and on the 6th of March the Pretender put to sea with 5000 men under his command for the purpose of invading England. But his fleet was dispersed by Admiral Byng, and returned one by one to Dunkirk. The only evil occasioned by this attempt was the alarm that it created. There was a run upon the Bank, loyal addresses were presented to the queen by both houses, the Commons suspended the Habeas Corpus Act, and the country was alive with military preparations.

Ghent and Bruges, disgusted with the extortions of the allies, in which Marlborough and Cadogan are said to have been implicated, opened their gates to the French, who then directed their march toward Antwerp, and laid siege to OUDENARDE; but Marlborough, coming up, brought them to an engagement, and gave them a signal defeat. In this battle the electoral prince of Hanover, afterward George II., gave distinguished proofs of valor, and

led his cavalry repeatedly to the charge. The other more important operations of this campaign, regarded as one of Marlborough's most skillful ones, were the capture of Lisle, one of the strongest fortresses in Flanders, after a three months' siege, the compelling the Elector of Bavaria to raise the siege of Brussels, and the recovery of Bruges and Ghent. The Duke of Vendôme, who commanded the French army, was received so coldly by Louis that he retired to one of his estates, being the fifth Marshal of France who had been driven from the service by Marlborough's successes.

Sardinia was also reduced this year by the fleet under Admiral Leake without striking a blow, the inhabitants having been induced by the monks to declare for Charles III. Leake then took Minorca.

The misfortunes of Louis prompted him to sue for peace, and in 1709 conferences were opened at the Hague. The Marquis de Torcy, the French embassador, was instructed to offer almost any terms, and he at last agreed that Philip should relinquish the whole of the Spanish succession, with the exception of Naples and Sicily. But the allies would not leave him even these; and as the terms which they demanded were as bad as any that could be dreaded from a continuance of hostilities, the pride of the French was roused, and they determined to resist to the utmost.

In June (1709) Marlborough assumed the command of the allied army in Flanders, amounting to about 110,000 men. After taking Tournay, one of the strongest places in the Netherlands, the allies threatened Mons; and in order to protect it, Marshal Villars intrenched himself at MALPLAQUET, a league from the town. From this post he was driven by the allies after a most sanguinary conflict, in which the latter lost about 20,000 men, while the loss of the French did not exceed 8000. The surrender of Mons, Oct. 20, finished the campaign in Flanders.

Negotiations for a peace were again opened in March, 1710. France was willing to make farther concessions, but the allies still rose in their demands, and, not satisfied that Louis should renounce Spain for his grandson, insisted that he should actually assist them to expel him. These negotiations did not interrupt the war, which was carried on with great vigor in Flanders. The allies took Douay, Bethune, St. Venant, and Aire, but with the loss of 26,000 men. In Spain Philip V. was defeated by Count Staremberg at Almenara, and still more decisively at Saragossa. General Stanhope, with 5000 British troops, had a great share in this victory. But as two French armies were entering Spain, it was deemed prudent to retire into Catalonia. Stanhope, who brought up the rear, was overtaken at the village of Brihuega by

the Duke of Vendôme; and, though he defended himself with great spirit, yet, being surrounded on all sides, he was obliged to surrender at discretion.

§ 7. Marlborough's influence at court was now completely on the wane, but his reputation stood too high to render safe his immediate dismissal. In order to explain this revolution, it will be necessary to trace a few years back the intrigues of party.

During the period of the war Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, the treasurer, directed the government. In 1704 they had moulded the ministry more to their liking, by appointing Harley secretary of state in place of the Earl of Nottingham, and making Henry St. John, a young man of great ability, secretary at war. At the same time the general and the treasurer were obliged to pay great deference to the Whigs, who formed a strong party led by what was called the *junto*, consisting of the Lords Somers, Halifax, Wharton, Orford, and Sunderland. In Harley they had introduced an enemy who ultimately upset them. Harley began his scheme for this purpose by undermining the Duchess of Marlborough's influence with the queen. The duchess had placed a relative named Abigail Hill, the daughter of a bankrupt Turkey merchant, about the queen's person in the capacity of a bedchamber woman. Abigail was also distantly related to Harley; and a plan was formed between them to alienate the queen's favor from the duchess, of whose domineering temper indeed she was already weary. By assiduity and attention Abigail succeeded in gaining Anne's good-will, of which the queen gave a signal proof by being present at her marriage with Mr. Masham, an officer of the royal household. This event opened the eyes of the Marlboroughs to the altered state of the queen's favor, and impressed them with the necessity of making a struggle to retain their power. An accident afforded an opportunity for an attack upon Harley. The correspondence of Marshal Tallard, who was still a prisoner, passed through Harley's office; and as that minister did not understand French, it was read by Gregg, one of his clerks. Gregg, a needy Scotchman, took the opportunity to inclose in a letter of the marshal's one of his own, in which he made an offer to the French minister to betray the secrets of the country for a valuable consideration. The letter was intercepted, and Gregg was tried, condemned, and hanged at Tyburn. Attempts were made before his execution to procure his evidence against Harley; but he fully acquitted that minister, who was, indeed, entirely innocent. His reputation, however, suffered with the credulous and suspicious; Marlborough and Godolphin notified to the queen their determination not to act with him, and absented themselves from the council. After a short struggle Anne was obliged to give

way; Harley retired from office, and was followed by St. John, and Sir Simon Harcourt, the attorney general; and their places were supplied by Mr. Boyle, Mr. Robert Walpole, and Sir James Montague. But this affair only served more to inflame the queen against the Whigs. Harley retained his secret influence, and awaited the opportunity of a triumphant return to power, which was prepared by an event that happened in 1709.

§ 8. Dr. Sacheverell, rector of St. Savior's, Southwark, a vain and bitter man of little merit, being appointed to preach before the lord mayor and aldermen at St. Paul's on the 5th of Nov., inveighed with great violence and indecency against the Dissenters and the moderate section of the Church of England, insisted upon the doctrine of passive obedience, and reflected in severe terms upon the government, and especially upon Godolphin, to whom he gave the name of Volpone, a character in one of Ben Jonson's comedies. The majority of the court of aldermen, being of the Low-Church party, refused to thank Sacheverell for his sermon; but the lord mayor, who was on the opposite side, encouraged Sacheverell to print it, and present it to him in a dedication conceived in the same violent strain. The political passions of the nation were excited to the highest pitch, and 40,000 copies of the sermon were sold in a few weeks. The more violent of the ministry, and especially Godolphin, who had been personally attacked, were enraged against Sacheverell, and resolved to impeach him for certain doctrines promulgated in his sermon. Articles were accordingly exhibited against him, and he was brought to trial in Westminster Hall, Feb. 27, 1710. The populace of London was at that time Tory and High-Church, and kept up a continual tumult during the trial. The mob escorted Sacheverell every day from his lodgings in the Temple to Westminster with vociferous cheering, pulled down several meeting-houses, and insulted those members of Parliament who took the most prominent part against their favorite. The Lords, however, decreed that Sacheverell should be suspended from preaching for a term of three years, and that his sermon should be burned by the hands of the common hangman; and they also sentenced to the same fate the famous decree of the University of Oxford in 1683, on occasion of the Rye House Plot, which inculcated the doctrine of passive obedience and non-resistance.

The temper of the nation had been so plainly exhibited in this trial that the queen and the Tory party no longer hesitated to attempt a change in the ministry; but it was slowly and cautiously effected. Marlborough, who pretended to the disposal of all military promotions, was offended by an attempt to promote Colonel Hill, brother of Mrs. Masham, without his approbation; and he

retired into the country, threatening to resign the command of the army. By degrees changes began to be made in the ministry. In April (1710) the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had taken part against the ministers in Sacheverell's case, was made lord chamberlain. On the 14th of June the seals were taken from the Earl of Sunderland, Marlborough's son-in-law, and Lord Dartmouth was made secretary of state in his place. On the 8th of August Godolphin himself was ordered to break his staff as treasurer, and the treasury was put in commission with Lord Powlett at the head; Harley, however, who now became chancellor of the exchequer, possessed in reality the greatest share of the queen's confidence. But a thorough change in the ministry was not effected till September, when Lord Rochester superseded Lord Somers as president of the council, St. John became a secretary of state instead of Mr. Boyle, Harcourt was made lord chancellor instead of Lord Cowper, and the Duke of Ormond obtained the lieutenancy of Ireland in place of the witty and profligate Earl of Wharton. Other minor changes were effected, and the Dukes of Somerset and Newcastle were the only Whigs who retained office. Both Harley and St. John, who now became the leaders of the High-Church party, had been bred up among the Dissenters. One of the reasons for appointing the latter was, that he was the only person about the court who understood French, and might therefore be useful in the expected negotiations for a peace.

A striking characteristic of the period is the double dealing of the leading men of all parties. It can hardly be doubted that Harley was in favor of the Hanoverian succession, which he had zealously labored to establish; yet we find him at this time corresponding with Marshal Berwick, and treating for the restoration of the Stuarts, on condition of Anne retaining the crown for life, and security being given for the religion and liberties of England. Marlborough, on the other hand, though in favor of the Stuarts and himself corresponding with the court of St. Germain's, does not scruple to address the Elector of Hanover with assurances of his devotion, and to denounce Harley and his associates as entertaining a design to place the Pretender on the throne. St. John was the most decided and consistent Jacobite, and there were constant feuds between him and Harley, which were sometimes composed by the intervention of Swift.

§ 9. In the new Parliament which met in Nov., 1710, the Tory party predominated. Sacheverell had made a sort of progress into Wales, and was received by the mayors and corporations of various towns in great state. The people came to meet him with white favors and sprigs of gilded laurel in their hats, and the hedges where he passed were decked with flowers. These were plain

symptoms of the popular sentiments, and in the ensuing elections the Whigs were defeated wherever the popular voice was allowed to prevail. The queen, in her opening speech, though she intimated a desire for peace, signified her resolution of prosecuting the war with the utmost vigor. The Parliament responded with enthusiasm, and voted during the session the large sum of more than 14 millions. They instituted an inquiry into the conduct of the war in Spain; a vote of censure was passed upon the late ministry; and an attempted vote of thanks to Marlborough failed in the House of Lords. Marlborough, however, still retained the command of the army; but he resigned all the places held by his Duchess, absented himself from court, and in Feb., 1711, proceeded to Holland to conduct the campaign.

About this time, an event that might have proved fatal to Harley served only to further his promotion. A French adventurer, who assumed the title of the Marquis de Guiscard, had insinuated himself into the favor of the preceding ministry by pretending that he could raise an insurrection in France. A congenial profligacy had recommended this man to the friendship of St. John, who, on becoming minister, procured him a pension of £500 a year. But Harley incurred the hatred of Guiscard by reducing it to £400, and refusing to make it permanent. Shortly afterward Guiscard was detected in a treasonable correspondence with France, and, on being brought before the council for examination, he stabbed Harley with a pocket-knife, the blade of which fortunately broke by striking the breast-bone. Unaware of this circumstance, Guiscard redoubled his blows, till St. John and others stabbed him in several places with their swords; and being secured, he was carried to Newgate, where he soon afterward expired of his wounds. Harley's hurt was slight, but it procured him much sympathy. The Commons addressed the queen in terms the most flattering to that minister, and when he next appeared in his seat he was congratulated by the speaker in the name of the House on his fortunate escape. The queen gave him more substantial marks of favor by creating him Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, and shortly after she bestowed upon him the white staff of lord high treasurer.*

As the Tories had a decided majority in the new Parliament, Lord Nottingham, a vehement High-Churchman, easily persuaded it to pass a bill to prevent occasional conformity, as it was called, which was the compliance of the Dissenters with the provisions of the Test Act by receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the Church of England in order merely to qualify

* His son, Edward Harley, the second Earl of Oxford, was the collector of the celebrated Harleian MSS. now in the British Museum. The title became extinct in 1853.

themselves for holding office or entering into corporations (see p. 498). This bill was followed up by the Schism Act, which extended and confirmed one of the clauses in the Act of Uniformity, which compelled all teachers to make before the bishop a declaration of conformity to the Established Church, and to obtain from the bishop a license for exercising that profession.*

The new ministry were inclined to peace, as the most effectual means of breaking the power of Marlborough; and the death of the Emperor Joseph, which occurred this year, opened the prospect of its attainment. Charles III., the titular King of Spain, was elected his successor, and thus the views of England with regard to the war were entirely changed, since the union of Spain and the empire would have revived the days of Charles V., while the very object of the war was to prevent the accumulation of too much power in the hands of a single family. The yearly campaign in Flanders, the last conducted by Marlborough, though a skillful one, had proved almost wholly unimportant, as the French stood on the defensive; nor did any thing of consequence occur in other quarters. Before it had begun, communications were privately opened with the court of France; and the States, though averse to a peace, were at length obliged to yield, and named Utrecht as the place of conference. On hearing of these negotiations, the imperial embassador became so violent that he was ordered to quit the kingdom.

§ 10. A report laid before the House of Commons by the commissioners of the public accounts on the 21st of Dec. contained the deposition of Sir Solomon Medina, a Dutch Jew, charging the Duke of Marlborough, and Cardonnel his secretary, with various peculations in the contracts for bread and bread-wagons for the army in Flanders. The charge would probably never have been heard of except for the violent part which Marlborough took against the ministry on the subject of the peace. The Elector of Hanover was for continuing the war, on the ground that the house of Bourbon should not be allowed to retain Spain; and in November his envoy, the Baron de Bothmar, had come to London in company with Marlborough, and, in the name of the elector, presented a memorial against the peace. The queen and the House of Commons were indignant at this interference. The majority of the council were for apprehending Bothmar, and sending him out of the kingdom in custody; but Oxford averted this violent step. Marlborough, however, was supported by a majority of the Peers in his views against the peace, and an amendment on the

* The act against occasional conformity, and the Schism Act, were repealed in the reign of George I. (1719). Hallam, Constitutional History, iii., 333.

address was carried. In order to overcome this opposition, Oxford persuaded the queen to create 12 new peers (31st Dec.). They were received by the House with much derision, and the Earl of Wharton, in allusion to their number, inquired of them whether they voted individually or by their foreman. On the previous day the queen had also dismissed Marlborough from all his employments.

The Commons proceeded to pass a vote of censure upon Marlborough for unwarrantable and illegal practices in contracts, and for taking 2½ per cent. on the pay of the foreign troops in the English service, and the attorney general was directed to prosecute him; but this last step was never followed up. The percentage appears to have been a voluntary payment by the allied princes, and to have been expended in secret service; the profit on the contracts had, long before Marlborough's time, been the usual perquisite of the commander-in-chief in the Netherlands. Toward the close of the year Marlborough retired from England in disgust, and took up his residence at Antwerp. Godolphin, his former colleague, died in the preceding September—a useful and honest minister, whose unobtrusive manners and constant assiduity caused William to say of him that he was never in the way nor out of the way.

Cardonnel, Marlborough's secretary, was expelled the House of Commons on a similar accusation to that against his master. Robert Walpole was also expelled and committed to the Tower on a charge of taking a bribe of 1000 guineas on contracts for forage made by him when secretary at war.

Although the conferences were opened at Utrecht on the 18th of January, the allies, as usual, took the field in the spring. The British forces in Flanders were now commanded by the Duke of Ormond, who had received instructions to avoid a battle unless he perceived a prospect of very great advantage. Shortly afterward he separated his troops from the army of the allies, and received from Louis the surrender of Dunkirk, which had been stipulated as the condition of a cessation of arms. After the withdrawal of the British contingents Eugene was defeated by Marshal Villars at Denain, and several other reverses followed, so that the good fortune of the allies seemed to have deserted them with the loss of the English.

§ 11. Meanwhile the negotiations were proceeding at Utrecht, the plenipotentiaries for Great Britain being the Earl of Strafford and the Bishop of Bristol, to whom Prior, the poet, was subsequently added; and a peace, known as the PEACE OF UTRECHT, was at length signed on March 31st, 1713. The principal articles, as between France and England, were, that Louis should

abandon the Pretender, acknowledge the queen's title and the Protestant succession; should raze the fortifications of Dunkirk, and should cede Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's. With regard to the general objects of the alliance, it was agreed that the kingdom of Naples, the duchy of Milan, and the Spanish Netherlands should be assigned to the emperor; that the Duke of Savoy should possess Sicily with the title of king; that Sardinia should be assigned to the Elector of Bavaria, with the same title; that the States of Holland should receive Namur, Charleroi, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Nieuport, in addition to their other possessions in Flanders, but should restore Lisle and its dependencies; and that the King of Prussia should exchange Orange, and the possessions belonging to that family in Franche Compté, for Upper Gueldres. Great Britain was left in possession of Gibraltar and Minorca. At the same time, a treaty of commerce between France and England was also signed. Peace was not concluded between the emperor and France till the following year, by the treaty of Rastadt.

As the treaty of Utrecht was only effected after a violent struggle between the Whigs and Tories, its merits have generally been viewed through the medium of party prejudice. It can hardly be doubted that, from the exhausted condition of France, more advantageous terms might have been exacted; they had, in fact, been previously offered; and the great object for which the war had been undertaken, the exclusion of the Bourbons from the throne of Spain, was frustrated. Louis indeed undertook that Philip should renounce the throne of France, but at the same time acknowledged that such an act was legally invalid; while the recent death of the dauphin, of his son, and eldest grandson, left only a sickly infant between Philip and the crown of France. The manner in which the peace was concluded was perhaps more objectionable than the peace itself. England appeared selfishly to negotiate a clandestine treaty, and to abandon her allies in the midst of a campaign, leaving their towns and armies exposed to the fury of the enemy. A still worse feature, perhaps, was the abandonment of the Catalans, who still contended heroically for their freedom. Philip, indeed, promised them an amnesty, but it was not observed. On the other hand it may be remarked that it would have been almost as impolitic to continue the war in order to set Charles upon the throne of Spain, after he had become emperor, as to leave it in possession of Philip; that the Spaniards were contented with the latter for their king, and that England had no right to control their inclinations; that the burden of the war, which had cost England nearly 69 millions, was chiefly borne by her, though she had not so direct an interest in it as the other

powers; and that, on the whole, the conditions exacted from France were not disadvantageous. In general the peace was popular in England, and, when proclaimed on the 5th of May, was received with the acclamations of the populace.

§ 12. It became evident in the winter of this year that the queen's health was fast declining, and the near prospect of her dissolution animated the struggle between the Jacobites and the adherents of the house of Hanover. The Whigs urged the elector to a step which gave great offense to the queen. Schutz, the Hanoverian envoy, demanded for the electoral prince a writ to take his seat in the House of Lords, he having lately been created Duke of Cambridge. The queen was so enraged that she forbade Schutz to appear again at court, declared that she would suffer the last extremities rather than permit any prince of the electoral family to reside in England during her life, and wrote to the elector, to the Princess Sophia, and to the electoral prince, expressing her surprise at the step they had taken, and almost openly threatening that it might endanger their succession. Not long afterward (May 28th) the Princess Sophia died suddenly in the garden at Herrenhausen, aged 83.

§ 13. Oxford and St. John, now Viscount Bolingbroke, who had long been irreconcilable enemies, came this year to an open rupture. Each accused the other of being a Jacobite, and both were believed. Bolingbroke, in conjunction with Marlborough, laid a plot for the treasurer's ruin. Bolingbroke persuaded the queen that Oxford had privately forwarded the demand of a writ for the electoral prince, and on the 27th of July he was deprived of the treasurer's staff, but permitted to retain his other offices. Thus ended his course as a public man. He has no title to be called a great minister; his policy was narrow, and he owed his rise to private intrigue. He had neither great natural ability nor much acquired learning. In temper he was reserved and distrustful; in policy tenacious rather than resolute; in manner awkward and undignified.

Bolingbroke had triumphed over his rival, and seemed on the point of succeeding to his power. He was generally regarded as the future prime minister; Marlborough hastened from the Continent to partake his triumph, when all his hopes were disappointed in a moment. The agitation of this political crisis had a fatal effect on the queen's declining health. A discharge from her leg suddenly stopped, and the gouty matter, making its way to the brain, threw her into a lethargy. While she lay in this state, the Duke of Shrewsbury,* who was both lord chamberlain and lord lieutenant of Ireland, concerted with the Dukes of Argyle and

* He was the son of the 11th Earl of Shrewsbury, and was created a

Somerset a plan for defeating the schemes of Bolingbroke and his Jacobite confederates in the ministry. Argyle and Somerset, without being summoned, suddenly appeared in the council (July 30th), to offer, they said, their advice at this juncture. Shrewsbury thanked them; and after ascertaining from the physicians the dangerous state of the queen, they proposed that the Duke of Shrewsbury should be recommended to her without delay as treasurer. The proposition was immediately submitted to the queen, who had recovered some degree of consciousness; and she not only gave him the treasurer's staff, but also continued him in the offices of chamberlain and lord lieutenant.

On Sunday, August 1st, Anne expired at Kensington, in the 50th year of her age and 13th of her reign. She was of middle stature, her hair and complexion dark, her features strongly marked, the expression of her countenance rather dignified than agreeable. She was not deficient in accomplishments, understood music and painting, and had some taste for literature. She was jealous of her authority, and sometimes sullen when offended; and the good-nature and generosity which procured her the name of the good Queen Anne seem to have sprung as much from the indolence of her temper and the weakness of her understanding as from any active principle of benevolence. Her consort, Prince George of Denmark, had died in 1708.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
1702.	Accession and coronation of Queen Anne.
"	War of the Spanish Succession.
1704.	Battle of Blenheim. Gibraltar taken.
1706.	Battle of Ramillies.
1707.	Union with Scotland.
1708.	Battle of Oudenarde.
1709.	Battle of Malplaquet.
1710.	Trial of Sacheverell.
1711.	Harley (Earl of Oxford) made lord treasurer. Marlborough deprived of all his offices.
1713.	Treaty of Utrecht.
1714.	Death of Queen Anne.

duke by William III. in 1694. The dukedom became extinct upon his death in 1718, but his cousin succeeded to the earldom.



Medal of George I.

Obv.: GEORG LVD . D . G . M . BRIT . FR . ET HIB . REX DVX B & L . S . R . I . ELEC. Bust, laureate, to right. Rev.: ACCEDENS DIGNVS DIVISOS ORBE BRITANNOS. The horse of Brunswick running across the map of the northwest of Europe. Below, VNVS NON SVFFICIT ORBIS.

CHAPTER XXIX.

HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK—GEORGE I. A.D. 1714–1727.

§ 1. Accession of George I. Character. New Ministry. § 2. Impeachment of Bolingbroke, Oxford, and Ormond. § 3. Mar's Rebellion. § 4. The Pretender lands in Scotland. Rebellion quashed. Executions. Repeal of Triennial Act. § 5. Unpopularity of the King. His Favorites and Mistresses. Treaty with France and Holland. § 6. Hanoverian Politics. Sweden favors the Pretender. Change of Ministry. § 7. Designs of Alberoni. Quadruple Alliance. Defeat of the Spanish Fleet at Cape Passaro. § 8. Projected Spanish Invasion. Vigo taken. Walpole and Townshend join the Ministry. § 9. The South Sea Bubble. § 10. The South Sea Directors punished. Death of Marlborough. Atterbury's Plot. § 11. Disturbances in Ireland on Account of Wood's Halfpence. Malt Tax in Scotland. Order of the Bath. § 12. Confederacy between the Emperor and Spain. Alliance with France and Prussia. Death of the King.

§ 1. GEORGE I. succeeded Queen Anne as quietly as if he had been the undisputed heir to the throne. No sooner had the queen expired than Kreyenberg, the Hanoverian resident, produced an instrument in the handwriting of the elector, nominating 18 peers, who, according to the Regency Bill, were to act as lords justices till his arrival. The peers selected were mostly Whigs, including the Dukes of Shrewsbury, Somerset, and Argyle, Lords Cowper, Halifax, and Townshend; but it created some surprise that neither Marlborough nor Somers was among the number. Marlborough had landed at Dover on the very day of the queen's death. He was indignant to find himself excluded; but he was

in some degree consoled by the reception he met with from the citizens of London, where he made a sort of public entry. Then, having taken the oaths in the House of Lords, he retired into the country.

The new king was proclaimed, both in Dublin and Edinburgh, without opposition or tumult. On the 5th of August the lords justices delivered a speech to the Parliament, recommending them to provide for the dignity and honor of the crown; and loyal and dutiful addresses were unanimously voted by both houses. George was immediately acknowledged by Louis XIV. and the other European powers. A British squadron had been dispatched to wait for him in Holland. He did not set out from Hanover till August 31, and landed at Greenwich on September 18, bringing with him his eldest son.

The monarch who now ascended the throne of England was 54 years of age, heavy in look, awkward and undignified in manner and address, without the slightest tincture of literature or science, but possessing that taste for music which characterizes his country. He disliked pomp, and was even averse to popular applause; and the society which he preferred was that of buffoons and persons of low intellect. His total ignorance both of the English manners and language added to his other disadvantages in the new scene in which he was to appear. Yet his own subjects parted with him with regret, for he possessed some good qualities. He was honorable, benevolent, and sincere; economical even to niggardliness; regular in the distribution of his time; possessing both personal courage and military knowledge, yet a lover of peace.

Before the king landed he sent directions to remove Bolingbroke from the office of secretary of state, and to appoint Lord Townshend in his place, who must now be considered as prime minister. The Duke of Shrewsbury resigned his offices of treasurer and lord lieutenant. In the latter he was succeeded by Sunderland; the treasury was put in commission, with Lord Halifax at the head, and the office of lord treasurer was never afterward revived. General Stanhope was made second secretary of state; Lord Cowper, chancellor; the Earl of Wharton, privy seal; the Earl of Nottingham, president of the council; Mr. Pulteney secretary-at-war; the Duke of Argyle, commander-in-chief for Scotland. Marlborough and the leading Whigs were graciously received by the king, but it was with difficulty that Oxford was permitted to kiss his hand. Marlborough was reinstated in his old offices of captain general and master of the ordnance; and his three sons-in-law received appointments. His merits were too great to be overlooked, but the court must have been well aware of his predilection for the

Stuarts, and he soon found that he was not trusted. Indeed, it appears that even now, when holding a high post under the house of Brunswick, he sent a loan to the Pretender which probably assisted the rebellion of 1715. The Chevalier de St. George, as the Pretender was frequently called, was still residing in Lorraine; and having repaired to the baths of Plombières, he published there, August 29, a manifesto asserting his right to the English crown.

§ 2. The Parliament, which met in March, 1715, was opened by the king in person; but as he was unable to pronounce English, his speech was read by the chancellor. It soon appeared that the ministers were determined to impeach their predecessors. Bolingbroke took alarm and fled to the Continent, where he entered the service of the Pretender as secretary of state; Oxford, of a more phlegmatic temperament, calmly awaited the storm; the Duke of Ormond, another of the compromised, the idol of the mob, behaved with bravado, and in his style of living vied with the court itself. A secret committee was appointed by the Commons to inquire into the late negotiations; and when the report, drawn up by Walpole, had been read, the three noblemen just mentioned were impeached of high treason. Various articles were alleged against them; but the charge most relied on was the procuring Tournay for the King of France, which it was endeavored to bring under the statute of Edward III. as an adhering to the queen's enemies. Lord Strafford, one of the plenipotentiaries at Utrecht, was also accused of high crimes and misdemeanors, but no notice was taken of his two colleagues. Ormond now fled to France. Before he went he visited Oxford in the Tower, and counseled him to attempt his escape. The ex-treasurer refused, and Ormond took leave of him with the words, "Farewell, Oxford without a head!" To which the latter replied, "Farewell, duke without a duchy!" In fact, Ormond never returned, and died abroad in 1745, at the age of 80. Bills of attainder against him and Bolingbroke were passed without opposition. These impeachments were merely the results of party animosity, and evidently could not be maintained. The peace had been approved by two Parliaments; yet Oxford was detained two years in the Tower, till Townshend and Walpole, his greatest enemies, had both quitted office, when he was dismissed by a sort of collusion of the two houses.

§ 3. The death of Louis XIV. (Sept. 1) was a severe blow to the Pretender, who was meditating an invasion. The Duke of Orleans, who now became regent in the minority of Louis XV., had different views from Louis. He could not, indeed, altogether reject the claims of a kinsman, but he was unwilling to compro-



Medal of the elder Pretender and his wife.
Obv.: IACOBVS . III . D . G . M . B . F . ET . H . REX. Bust armed, to right.

mise the peace with England, and would only promise secret assistance. Meanwhile the Earl of Mar began prematurely and unadvisedly an insurrection in Scotland. He dispatched letters to the principal gentry, inviting them to meet him at a great hunt in Aberdeenshire on August 27. When they were assembled he inveighed against the union, using other topics calculated to inflame his audience; and on the 6th of September, though he had no more than 60 followers, he raised the standard of the Pretender. His force had swelled to about 5000 men when he entered Perth, September 28.

This insurrection created great alarm. The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended, and several noted Jacobites were arrested in London, Edinburgh, and other places. As the number of regular troops in England was but small, the Dutch contingent of 6000 men was sent for, as stipulated by an article of the guarantee of succession. Argyle, who had been dispatched to support the king's cause in Scotland, had at his disposal only about 1000 foot and 500 horse; yet Mar, who had no military talent, remained inactive. Serious symptoms of disaffection appeared in the northern counties, where Mr. Forster and the Earl of Derwentwater, hearing that orders had been issued to arrest them, rose in arms and proclaimed the Pretender at Warkworth. Lord Kenmure did the same at Moffat; and, being soon after joined by the Earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, crossed the border and joined Forster. The united force, amounting to 500 or 600 horsemen, proceeded, by Mar's directions, to Kelso, where they were joined (Oct. 22) by Brigadier M'Intosh with 1400 foot. Edinburgh, which lay between the forces of M'Intosh and Mar, might



Rev.: CLEMENTINA . MAGNAE . BRITANNIAE . ET . G . REG. Bust to left.

easily have been taken; but no plan of a campaign had been formed, and, after a senseless march along the Cheviots, M'Intosh determined to proceed into Lancashire. Many of his men deserted, but he nevertheless entered Lancaster without resistance, and proceeded to Preston, where Stanhope's regiment of dragoons and a militia regiment retired on his approach. Here he received an accession of 1200 men, but badly armed and disciplined; and when General Carpenter arrived (Nov. 13) with 900 cavalry, Forster surrendered almost without a blow. Among the prisoners made on this occasion were Lords Derwentwater, Nithisdale, Wintoun, Kenmure, with many members of old northern families.

On the very day of this disastrous affair a battle had been fought between Mar and Argyle at Sherriffmuir, near Stirling. The latter was now at the head of between 3000 and 4000 regular troops, while Mar's forces had increased to 10,000 men, but badly armed and disciplined. The battle was singular, the right wing of each army having defeated their opponents; but Argyle remained in possession of the field, while Mar retired to Perth, and the weather prevented any farther operations.

§ 4. The rebellion having been thus unadvisedly begun, the Pretender and the Duke of Ormond felt themselves called upon to act, whatever might be the event. Ormond landed in Devonshire with about 40 officers and men, but, finding nobody willing to join him, returned to St. Malo. The Pretender sailed from Dunkirk about the middle of December, in a small vessel of eight guns, and landed at Peterhead on the 22d, accompanied by only six gentlemen disguised as French naval officers. Mar immediately proceeded to pay his respects to him, and was created a duke. On January 6, 1716, the Pretender made his public entry into Dun-

dee on horseback, followed by a troop of nearly 300 gentlemen. Thence he proceeded to Scone, performed several acts of state, and appointed the 23d of January for his coronation. But James was not the man for this conjuncture. In person he was tall and thin, sparing of speech, calm and composed in his behavior. Instead of encouraging his followers, he talked to them of his misfortunes. One of them says, "We saw nothing in him that looked like spirit. He never appeared with cheerfulness and vigor to animate us. Our men began to despise him; some asked if he could speak."

On the advance of Argyle, Perth was pronounced untenable by a council of the insurgent generals; and on the 30th of January, a day of evil omen for the Stuarts, orders were issued to retreat northward. Argyle entered Perth about 12 hours after the rebels had quitted it. The latter proceeded to Dundee, and thence to Montrose, where James stole away on the evening of February 4, and, accompanied by Mar, embarked on board a small French vessel lying in the Roads, while the rebel army gradually dispersed. Such was the ignominious end of this ill-concerted expedition. James landed at Gravelines after a passage of seven days, and proceeded to St. Germain's. On the 24th of February Lords Derwentwater and Kenmure were executed on Tower Hill. Lord Nithisdale, who had also been sentenced to death, escaped the night before through the heroic devotion of his wife, who changed clothes with him. Of inferior criminals about 26 were executed.

The repeal of the Triennial Act of 1694, and the enactment of the SEPTENNIAL ACT, was one of the immediate effects of this rebellion. In the present state of the nation it would have been hazardous to dissolve the Parliament, as a Jacobite majority might have been returned. The bill of repeal was originated in the Lords by the Duke of Devonshire, and does not appear to have excited any discontent among the public.

§ 5. In the summer the king proceeded to Hanover, for which purpose the restraining clause in the Act of Settlement was repealed. He was so jealous of his son that he would not give him the full authority of regent, but would only name him guardian of the realm and lieutenant, an office unknown since the time of the Black Prince; and several restrictions were placed upon his authority. The king's foreign favorites, Bothmar, Bernsdorf, Robethon, were suspected of taking bribes for their good offices with him; and his foreign mistresses had also incurred a great share of odium. The principal one, the Baroness Schulenburg, was made Duchess of Munster in Ireland, and Duchess of Kendal in England. The Baroness Kilmanseck, another mistress, somewhat younger and handsomer, was made Countess of Darlington. Both were of unbounded rapacity, but neither had the smallest share

of ability. During his absence in Hanover the king dismissed Lord Townshend from his post of secretary of state, and General Stanhope was appointed in his place. Townshend's dismissal was very unpopular. His offense was having encouraged the Prince of Wales in opposition to his father's authority. However, the lord lieutenancy of Ireland was offered to Townshend, which he was at length induced to accept.

The late rebellion made it very desirable to deprive the Pretender of all support from France. The Regent Orleans was not averse to an English alliance. In case of the death of Louis XV. he was next heir to the throne of France, Philip V. of Spain having renounced his pretensions; but as it was well known that Philip did not mean to abide by that renunciation, the alliance of England might be useful to the duke. Stanhope, who had accompanied the king abroad, entered into negotiations with the Abbé (afterward Cardinal) Dubois, first at the Hague and then at Hanover. They were subsequently prosecuted by Lord Cadogan; and on the 28th of November a treaty was signed between the two countries. Earlier in the year, defensive alliances had been concluded with the emperor and the Dutch. The latter subsequently acceded to the terms of the English and French alliance (Jan. 4, 1717), when the instrument of the previous convention between France and England was destroyed, in order that the new arrangement might appear as a triple alliance. In consequence of this treaty the Pretender was obliged to quit France, and resided sometimes at Rome, sometimes at Urbino. He soon after contracted a marriage with the Princess Clementina, granddaughter of John Sobieski, the late King of Poland; but, at the instance of the British cabinet, she was arrested at Innsbrück on her way to Italy, by the emperor's orders, and detained till 1719, when her liberation was effected and the marriage consummated.

§ 6. One of the worst evils of the Hanoverian succession was that it dragged England into the vortex of Continental politics, and made her subservient to the king's views in favor of his electorate. The bishoprics of Bremen and Verden, formerly belonging to Hanover, had been secularized at the peace of Westphalia, and ceded to Sweden; but they had been conquered by Frederick IV. of Denmark after the defeat of Charles XII. at Pultawa. The return of that monarch, however, made the King of Denmark tremble for his conquests; and in 1715 he ceded them to George, as Elector of Hanover, on condition of his joining the coalition against Sweden, and paying £150,000. In order to carry out these arrangements, a British squadron, under Sir John Norris, was dispatched to the Baltic in the autumn of 1716. But this was not the whole evil. Baron Gortz, Charles XII.'s minister,

concocted in retaliation a Jacobite conspiracy for the invasion of Scotland with 12,000 Swedish soldiers. Count Gyllenborg, the Swedish embassador, in spite of his privileges as embassador, was arrested in London, when full proofs of his complicity were discovered; but Charles XII. would neither avow nor disavow these practices. Walpole was suspected of being concerned in them; and Townshend's adherents having voted against the grant of supplies on account of the Swedish affair, that nobleman was dismissed from the lord lieutenancy of Ireland. On the following morning Walpole resigned, and was followed by other ministers. General Stanhope now became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, and was shortly afterward raised to the peerage with the title of Viscount Stanhope (1717).* Sunderland and Addison, the celebrated writer, were made secretaries of state, and Craggs secretary-at-war.

§ 7. Spain was at this time governed by Cardinal Alberoni, the son of a working gardener, who, solely by his great abilities, had raised himself to that height of power and grandeur. Both he and Philip found much cause of discontent in the state of Europe. Philip's title had never been acknowledged by the emperor; while the latter's alliance with England, and the triple alliance between France, England, and Holland, seemed to isolate Spain in Europe. The seizure of one of his ministers by the Austrians increased the exasperation of Philip. He resolved upon war, seized Sardinia, and seemed to threaten Sicily. At the same time, Alberoni was intriguing with Charles XII. of Sweden, and with the Czar, in favor of the Stuarts, was in correspondence with the Pretender at Rome, and was employing agents to foment dissensions in England. This state of things required vigorous counsels. In the summer Stanhope proceeded to Paris, and succeeded in concluding a new treaty with France and the emperor, which, after the accession of the Dutch, was styled the Quadruple Alliance. Its avowed object was the preservation of the peace of Europe. Stanhope then proceeded to Madrid, but did not succeed in overcoming the stubborn hostility of Alberoni. Meanwhile the Spanish troops had landed in Sicily (July 1), and taken Palermo and Messina, though the citadel of the latter place held out. Admiral Byng,† with 20 ships of the line, now made his appearance on the coast of Sicily; and on August 11 an action, said to have been begun by the Spaniards, took place off Cape Passaro, ending in their total defeat, and the destruction of a great number of their ships. Alberoni recalled

* He was created Earl Stanhope in the following year (1718), and was the ancestor of the present earl.

† He was created Viscount Torrington in 1721, and was the ancestor of the present viscount.

his minister from London, and seized all British goods and vessels in Spanish ports; but no declaration of war was made till toward the end of the year, and then by the French and British cabinets.

§ 8. In March, 1719, the Pretender repaired to Spain at the invitation of Alberoni, and was received at Madrid with royal honors; but toward the end of the year Alberoni was dismissed, and Philip announced his accession to the Quadruple Alliance in January, 1720, renewing his renunciation of the French crown, and engaging to evacuate Sicily and Sardinia within six months. After the death of Charles XII. the new Queen of Sweden yielded Bremen and Verden to George I.

The Stanhope administration had been eminently successful. Peace had been secured abroad, and the danger of domestic conspiracy and rebellion lessened by the banishment of the Pretender from France. Early in 1720 the ministry was strengthened by the accession of Townshend and Walpole, who were induced to accept subordinate places—the former as president of the council, the latter as paymaster of the forces. Walpole had lately displayed distinguished ability in opposing and procuring the rejection of the Peerage Bill, intended to limit the royal prerogative in the creation of peers by providing that their present number should not be increased beyond six, except in favor of the blood royal. Walpole succeeded in healing the breach between the king and the Prince of Wales, which had proceeded to such an extent that, during the king's visit to Hanover in the preceding year, the prince had not even been mentioned in the regency, the government being vested in lords justices. Walpole now induced the prince to write a submissive letter to his father, and a reconciliation was effected.

§ 9. In 1711 Harley had established the South Sea Company as a means of relieving the public burdens. The debt was thrown into a stock to pay six per cent. interest at the end of five years, and the proprietors were to have the monopoly of a trade to the coast of Peru. Little, however, was obtained from Spain except the *Asiento* treaty, or contract for supplying negroes, the privilege of annually sending one ship of less than 500 tons to the South Sea, and of establishing some factories; and even these trifling privileges were interrupted by the Spanish war. Nevertheless, the company flourished from other sources, and was regarded as a sort of rival of the Bank of England. The government being desirous, toward the end of 1719, of getting rid of the unredeemable annuities granted during the last two reigns, and amounting to £800,000 per annum, these two corporations competed for the purchase, and at last the South Sea Company offered the enormous sum of $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions. They had the right of paying off the annuitants,

who accepted South Sea stock in lieu of their government stock; and two thirds of them consented to the offer of 8¼ years' purchase. The example of Law's Mississippi scheme in Paris had created quite a rage of speculation. Large subscriptions, opened by the South Sea Company, rapidly filled; its trade was regarded as a certain road to wealth; and in August the stock rose to 1000! A third and fourth subscriptions, larger than the former, were now opened, the directors engaging that after Christmas their dividend should not be less than 50 per cent. At the same time a variety of other bubbles were started, and the whole nation seemed to be seized with a sort of madness. Men of all ranks, ages, and professions—nay, women also, flocked to 'Change Alley; and the very streets were lined with desks and clerks, and converted into counting-houses. Among these bubbles were a fishery of wrecks on the Irish coast, a scheme to make salt water fresh, to make oil from sunflowers, to extract silver from lead, to make iron from pit-coal, and many others of a like description. One ingenious projector published "an undertaking which shall in due time be revealed," in shares of £100, with a deposit of two guineas, and in the evening decamped with the amount of 1000 subscriptions! The South Sea Company itself, by proceeding against some of these bubble companies, gave the first alarm. The delusion was exposed; but the public mind, being once aroused, turned its attention to the company's own affairs; holders of their stock became desirous to realize, and by the end of September it had fallen from 1000 to 300. The news of the crash produced in Paris by the failure of Law's scheme completed the panic. Thousands of families were at once reduced to beggary; and on every side might be heard execrations, not only against the company, but also against the ministry, and even the royal family. The matter was taken up in both houses, and may be said to have produced the death of Stanhope. The young Duke of Wharton* having attacked him with great virulence, Stanhope replied with such heat as to occasion an apoplexy, of which he expired the following day (Feb. 5, 1721).

§ 10. Lord Townshend now became secretary of state, and Aislabie resigned the chancellorship of the exchequer to Walpole. A committee of the Commons, appointed to inquire into the affairs of the South Sea Company, brought to light a scene of infamous corruption. In order to procure the passing of their bill, the directors had distributed large bribes to the Duchess of Ken-

* His father, the Earl of Wharton, a distinguished Whig, mentioned in the reign of Queen Anne, was created a marquis in 1715, and died in the same year. His son was created a duke in 1718, and died in 1731, when the title became extinct.

dal, Madame de Platen (sister of the Countess of Darlington), and to several of the ministers, as Secretary Craggs, Mr. Aislabie, and others. The estates of the directors were confiscated, and applied to the benefit of the sufferers by the speculation.

The death of Stanhope, Craggs, and Sunderland at this period, and the expulsion of Aislabie, placed the chief power of the administration in the hands of Walpole, who continued to wield it for a period of 20 years. The Duke of Marlborough, who had long labored under a paralytic attack, expired on June 16, 1722. He was one of the greatest generals England ever produced; but, though he possessed a solid understanding, a certain degree of natural elocution, and a pleasing address, he was so illiterate that he could not write or even spell his native language correctly. Avarice was the great blemish of his character, which frequently betrayed him into meanness.

This year a Jacobite plot was discovered, in which Atterbury, Bishop of Rochester, and three or four peers, were concerned. It was to be assisted by an invasion from Spain. On September 22 the Pretender published at Lucca a strange manifesto, to the effect that, if George would restore him to the throne, he, in return, would make George King of Hanover! It was circulated in England, and ordered by both houses to be burnt by the hangman. A bill of pains and penalties was brought into the Lords against Atterbury, who was found guilty and sentenced to banishment. At Calais he met Lord Bolingbroke, who had obtained a pardon and was returning to England.

§ 11. In 1724 a serious tumult was excited in Ireland by the coinage called Wood's halfpence. A want of copper coin had long been felt in that country, to remedy which a patent was granted to William Wood, a considerable iron-master, for coining halfpence and farthings to the value of £108,000. Wood, according to the testimony of Sir Isaac Newton, then Master of the Mint, appears faithfully to have executed his contract; but the Irish privy council and Parliament set their faces against the new coinage; a popular clamor was raised; and Swift, who had been living quietly the last ten years, seized the opportunity to exert his unrivaled powers of sarcasm. It was on this occasion that he wrote the Drapier's Letters, which, though pandering to the erroneous views of the Irish public, display astonishing art and vigor. In the midst of this storm, Lord Carteret, afterward Lord Granville, the new lord lieutenant, landed in Ireland. He issued a proclamation against the Drapier's Letters; offered a reward of £300 for the discovery of the author; and caused Harding, the printer of them, to be apprehended. But the grand jury threw out the bill against him; and a second jury, so far from entertain-

ing the charge, made a presentment, drawn up by Swift himself, against all persons who should, by fraud or otherwise, impose Wood's halfpence upon the public. Under these circumstances, the ministry had no alternative but to withdraw Wood's patent, granting him a pension of £3000 as compensation.

About the same time the imposition of a new malt-tax in Scotland occasioned serious riots in Edinburgh and Glasgow. It had been carried through the corruption of the Scotch members, to whom Walpole allowed 10 guineas a week during their stay in London, telling them that they must make good the cost out of the Scotch revenue, or else "tie up their stockings with their own garters." It was an age of corruption. Lord Chancellor Macclesfield was this session found guilty of peculation in his high office, and fined £30,000.

In June, 1725, the king revived the order of the Bath, which had lain in abeyance ever since the coronation of Charles II. Walpole and his son were made knights; and in the following year Sir Robert was invested with the garter, being the only commoner, except Admiral Montague, who in modern times has attained that honor.

§ 12. Such are the vicissitudes of political friendships that the emperor and the King of Spain had now laid aside their quarrels, and by the treaty of Vienna formed a close confederacy against France and England. To obviate this confederacy, the English court concluded at Hanover a defensive alliance with France and Prussia (Sept. 3, 1725). No actual hostilities, however, occurred till 1727, when the Spaniards made an unsuccessful attack upon Gibraltar. A general war seemed now inevitable; but the Dutch and Swedes had acceded to the treaty of Hanover; Russia had receded from her engagements with the emperor; and the latter, who felt his weakness, determined to abandon Spain, and on May 31, the preliminaries of a peace were signed at Paris. Spain and England remained in a state of semi-hostility.

George I. had, as usual, set out for Hanover this summer, accompanied by Lord Townshend and the Duchess of Kendal. On the road he was seized with an apoplexy; and being carried toward the residence of his brother, the prince bishop, at Osnabrück, expired in his coach before he arrived. His consort, Sophia Dorothea of Zell, had died a few months before, after a confinement of 32 years in the Castle of Ahlen for a suspected adultery with Count Königsmark, a Swede. It is said that in her last illness she intrusted to a faithful attendant a letter addressed to the king, in which, after protesting her innocence, and complaining of his ill usage, she summoned him to meet her within a year and a day before the tribunal of God, to answer for his conduct. This letter was put into the king's coach as he entered

Germany, and so alarmed him that he fell into the convulsion of which he died.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1714. Accession of George I.
" Townshend prime minister.
1715. Death of Louis XIV.
" Mar's rebellion. The Pretender in Scotland.
1716. The Septennial Act.
1717. Stanhope prime minister.
1718. Quadruple alliance between England, France, Holland, and the emperor.
1718. The Spanish fleet defeated at Cape Passaro by Byng.
" War with Spain.
1719. Peace with Spain.
1720. The South Sea bubble.
1721. Death of Stanhope. Walpole prime minister.
1724. Wood's coinage in Ireland. Swift's Drapier's Letters.
1727. Death of the King.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

THE CONVOCATION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

The Convocation virtually ceased to exist under George I.; and the following account of its history, abridged from Hallam, will be useful to students. The convocation of the province of Canterbury (for that of York seems never to have been important) is summoned by the archbishop's writ, under the king's direction, along with every Parliament, to which it bears analogy both in its constituent parts and in its primary functions. It consists (since the Reformation) of the suffragan bishops, forming the upper house; of the deans, archdeacons, a proctor or proxy for each chapter, and two from each diocese, elected by the parochial clergy, who together constitute the lower house. In this assembly subsidies were granted, and ecclesiastical canons enacted. In a few instances under Henry VIII. and Elizabeth they were consulted as to momentous questions affecting the national religion; the supremacy of the former was approved in 1533, the Articles of Faith were confirmed in 1562, by the convocation. But their power to enact fresh canons without the king's license was expressly taken away by a statute of Henry VIII.; and, even subject to this condition, is limited by several later acts of Parliament (such as the acts of uniformity under Elizabeth and Charles II.; that confirming, and therefore rendering unalterable, the Thirty-nine Articles; those relating to non-residence and other Church matters), and still more, perhaps, by the doctrine gradually established in Westminster Hall, that new ecclesiastical canons are not binding on the laity, so greatly that it will ever be impossible to exercise it in any effectual manner. The convocation accordingly, with the exception of 1603, when they established some regulations, and of 1640 (an unfortunate precedent), when they attempted some more, had little business but to grant subsidies, which, however, were from the time of Henry VIII. always confirmed by an act of Parliament; an intimation, no doubt, that the Legislature did not wholly acquiesce in their power even of binding the clergy in a matter of property. This practice of ecclesiastical taxation was silently discontinued in 1664, and from this time the clergy have been taxed at the same rate and in the same manner with the laity. [See p. 485.] It was the natural consequence of this cessation of all business that the convocation, after a few formalities, either adjourned itself or was prorogued by a royal writ; nor had it ever, with the few exceptions above noticed, sat for more than a few days, till its supply could be voted. But about the time of the Revolution of 1688 the party most adverse to the new order sedulously propagated a doctrine that the convocation ought to be advised with upon all questions affecting the Church, and ought even to watch over its interests as the Parliament did over those of the kingdom. The Commons had so far encouraged this faction as to refer to the convocation the great question of a reform in the Liturgy for the sake of comprehension; but it was not suffered to sit much during the rest of William's reign. The succeeding reign, however, began under Tory auspices, and the convocation was in more activity for some years than at any former period. The lower house of that assembly distinguished itself by the most factious spirit, and especially by insolence toward the bishops, who passed in general for Whigs, and whom, while pretending to assert the divine rights of episcopacy, they labored to deprive of that pre-eminence in the Anglican synod which the ecclesiastical constitution of the kingdom had bestowed on them.

The government of George I. at first permitted the convocation to hold its sittings; but, in consequence of the attack which they made on Hoadly, Bishop of Bangor, a warm supporter of the principles of religious liberty, and which gave rise to the celebrated Bangorian controversy, the convocation was prorogued by government in 1717, and never sat again for business till the reign of Queen Victoria, when the High-Church party prevailed upon government to allow convocation to assemble for a few days at the beginning of each session. — Hallam, *Constitutional History*, iii., 324, *seq.*



Medal of George II.

Obv.: GEORGIVS . II . D : G : MAG. BRI : FRA : ET . H : REX . F. D. Bust to right. Below, L. NATTER. F.

CHAPTER XXX.

GEORGE II. A.D. 1727–1760.

§ 1. Accession of George II. His Character. Ministry. § 2. Treaty of Seville. The royal Family. Rupture with Spain. § 3. Rise of Pitt. Decline of Walpole's Power. § 4. Attack on Porto Bello and St. Jago. Anson's Voyage. § 5. Resignation of Walpole. New Ministry. Inquiry into Walpole's Administration. § 6. War of the Austrian Succession. Campaigns of 1742 and 1743. Battle of Dettingen. § 7. Pelham's Ministry. Threatened Invasion of the Pretender. The French Fleet dispersed. § 8. Ministerial Arrangements. War with France. Battle of Fontenoy. § 9. The Pretender Charles Edward in Scotland. His Character. The Raising of the Standard and March to Edinburgh. § 10. Battle of Preston Pans. March to Derby. § 11. Retreat of the Pretender. Battles of Falkirk Muir and Culloden. Flight of Prince Charles and others. Executions. § 12. Change of Ministry. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. § 13. Account of the Pretender. Halifax settled. Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales. § 14. Newcastle's Ministry. Hostilities between France and England. The French take Minorca. § 15. Trial and Execution of Admiral Byng. Pitt Prime Minister. § 16. Expedition to Rochefort. Seven Years' War. Convention of Kloster Seven. § 17. Campaign of 1758. Conquest of Cape Breton. Cherbourg destroyed. § 18. Campaign of 1759. Naval Victories. Battle of Minden. Conquest of Canada. Death of General Wolfe. Death of George II.

§ 1. GEORGE II. was 44 years of age at the time of his accession. In temper he was not so shy and reserved as his father, and he was subject to violent gusts of anger; but his ruling passion was avarice. His mind was narrow and little cultivated; he had no taste for literature; in short, he had scarcely a royal



Rev.: OPTIMO PRINCIPI. Tetrastyle temple. Below, CIↃIↃCCXXXXI.

quality, except that he loved justice and was personally courageous. His habits of life were temperate and regular, but exceedingly dull and monotonous. His speaking English with fluency gave him an advantage over his father, who had been obliged to converse with Walpole in Latin, which the latter had almost forgotten, and which the king had never perfectly learnt. In 1705 George II. had married the Princess Caroline of Anspach, who at that time possessed considerable beauty. Her manners were graceful and dignified, and her conduct marked with propriety and good sense. Her influence over her husband was unbounded, and during ten years she may be said to have ruled England. The issue of this marriage were two sons (Frederick, Prince of Wales, born in 1707; William, Duke of Cumberland, born in 1721) and four daughters.

When the news of his father's death reached the palace at Richmond, George II. had retired to bed for his customary afternoon's doze. Sir Robert Walpole knelt down, kissed his hand, presented Townshend's letter announcing his father's death, and, in the full expectation that he should be retained in his office, inquired who should draw the necessary declaration to the privy council. To his surprise and mortification, the king selected Sir Spencer Compton, one of his favorites when Prince of Wales; but Compton was so ignorant that he could do nothing without Walpole's advice and assistance. Queen Caroline was in favor of Walpole, who in a few days triumphed over the king's prejudices, and the old ministers were reappointed.

§ 2. The first ten or twelve years of George II.'s reign are marked by few events of importance. Walpole was employed in main-

taining his power by his skillful Parliamentary tactics, and the nation was peaceable and prosperous. In the spring of 1728 the King of Spain notified his desire for peace; but the negotiations were long protracted, and the treaty of Seville was not finally concluded till November 9, 1729. By this a defensive alliance was established between England, Spain, and France, to which Holland subsequently acceded. The English trade to America was placed on its former footing; all captures were restored, and the *Asiento* confirmed to the South Sea Company. Gibraltar was tacitly relinquished by Spain, and the strong lines of St. Roque across the isthmus were now constructed. A few months after this treaty Lord Townshend resigned, after an open rupture with Walpole. The two secretaries of state were now Lord Harrington and the Duke of Newcastle.

When, by a residence of some years, Frederick, Prince of Wales, had become acquainted with the English language and manners, he began to cabal against his parents, as George II. had caballed against George I. Though stubborn, he was weak and vain, and easily led by flatterers. He affected to patronize literature, probably because his father despised and neglected it; and his residence was frequented by all the men of wit and genius, especially by Bolingbroke, whose "Patriot King" was composed in anticipation of his future reign, and as a sort of satire on that of his father. In 1737 the difference between Frederick and his parents came to an open rupture. The prince was ordered to leave St. James's, and took up his residence at Norfolk House, St. James's Square; and persons who visited there were forbidden to appear at court. Frederick had now married (1736) the Princess Augusta of Saxe Gotha. The separation of the royal family was followed in a few weeks by the death of Queen Caroline (Nov. 20). On his next trip to Hanover George II. brought over with him, as his mistress, Sophia de Walmoden, who was created Countess of Yarmouth. This is the last instance in England of a royal mistress being raised to the peerage; but the quiet and retiring character of the countess stripped it of much of its offensiveness.

Events were now rapidly tending to a war with Spain. The Spaniards complained of infringements of the treaty of commerce; the English cried out against the abuse of the right of search, and the hardships endured in loathsome Spanish dungeons; and there was likewise a question between the two countries respecting the boundaries of Georgia, a new settlement in America named in honor of the king. The tale which most excited the public was that which Burke afterward characterized as the fable of Jenkins's ears. Jenkins was the master of a small trading sloop in Jamaica, which seven years before had been overhauled by a Spanish guardacosta,

the commander of which, finding nothing contraband, tore off one of Jenkins's ears, bidding him carry it to King George, and tell him that, had he caught him, he would have served him in the same manner. This ear (which, however, some affirmed he had lost in the pillory) Jenkins carried about with him, wrapped up in cotton. He was now produced at the bar of the House of Commons, in order to excite the public indignation; and on being asked by a member what were his feelings at the moment of the outrage, Jenkins answered, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." These words ran through the nation like a watchword. Though averse to war, Walpole felt that something must be done to appease the public feeling. A fleet of 10 sail of the line was dispatched to the Mediterranean; letters of marque and reprisal were issued; troops and stores were sent to Georgia; and the British merchants in Spain, in case of a rupture, were recommended to register their goods before notaries. These vigorous measures extorted from the Spaniards (Jan. 14, 1739) a convention, the terms of which appear to have been tolerably favorable, and which the king announced, in his opening speech to the Parliament, "with great satisfaction." But the nation was not satisfied. The compensation agreed to be paid by Spain was deemed inadequate; above all, the obnoxious right of search was still retained, and Walpole carried the address on the king's speech only by a small majority.

§ 3. Among the ranks of the opposition, William Pitt, afterward Lord Chatham, was now rising into eminence. He was the grandson of Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras, and was born in 1708. William was educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge; but an hereditary gout compelled him to leave the university without taking a degree. He was, nevertheless, an excellent scholar, and his education was completed by a tour on the Continent. Having obtained a cornetcy in the Blues, he entered Parliament, as member for Old Sarum, in 1735, and joined the opposition against Walpole. His figure was tall and striking, his features noble, his nose aquiline, his eye fiery and expressive, his voice at once harmonious and powerful. His style of oratory was grand and imposing, yet deficient in simplicity and ease, so that his impromptu speeches were frequently the best. His conduct was disinterested, his views lofty and patriotic; but his temper, owing perhaps to his bad health, was sometimes causelessly bitter, wayward, and impracticable. His patrimony was but £100 a year; his cornetcy he lost through some ardent speeches against the minister. He was then taken into the service of the Prince of Wales, and continued to inveigh against Walpole.

Not only Pitt, but also nearly all the men of the greatest abil-

ity, were on the side of the opposition. Walpole's best supporters were in the House of Peers—the Duke of Newcastle, a ready debater, and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke; but even these were not cordial with him on the Spanish question. King George himself was for vigorous measures against Spain; and Walpole found it necessary to choose between a war which he disapproved, and retirement from office. He determined on the former. The Spaniards having evaded the peremptory demands made upon them, war was declared on October 19, 1739, and was received with great public rejoicings.

§ 4. A squadron had already been dispatched to the West Indies under Admiral Vernon, and on the 20th of November he appeared off Porto Bello, in the Isthmus of Darien. The Spaniards were unprepared, and the place was captured without much resistance; but little treasure was found. In the following year Vernon was re-enforced by a large armament commanded by Sir Chaloner Ogle, with a military force under Lord Cathcart. When the armament assembled at Jamaica, it was found to consist of 115 ships, 30 of which were of the line, carrying 15,000 sailors and 12,000 troops. Vernon resolved to attack Carthagena, the strongest Spanish settlement in America, having a garrison of 4000 men with 300 guns. It was not till March 4, 1741, that the British fleet appeared before it. The harbor was entered after considerable resistance, and Vernon dispatched a ship to England to announce his approaching victory. The troops were landed and a night assault planned, which, though conducted with determined bravery, was repulsed with great loss. It is said that Vernon, out of jealousy, did not cordially co-operate with Wentworth, who had succeeded to the command of the troops on the death of Lord Cathcart. Shortly after a fatal sickness broke out among the soldiers, and in a few days their effective force was reduced to one half. Under these circumstances it was resolved to return to Jamaica, all the damage done to the Spaniards being the destruction of their forts. Vernon afterward proceeded to St. Jago in Cuba, but on reconnoitring thought it prudent to withdraw.

Another squadron, under Commodore Anson, had been dispatched in September, 1740, to sail round Cape Horn and attack Peru. The sufferings and adventures of Anson and his crews on this expedition, which lasted nearly four years, and in which he circumnavigated the globe, having returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and arrived at Spithead in the Centurion, his only remaining ship, in June, 1744, have been detailed in a separate and well-known narrative, and are too long to be here recorded. As far as the war is concerned, the expedition resulted only in the capture, plunder, and destruction of the town of Paita, and in the taking

of several prizes, of which the most important was one of the great Manilla galleons, having on board silver coin and ingots worth a million and a half.

§ 5. The elections of 1741 went against Walpole, and it soon appeared that he would be in a minority in the House. He was defeated in the election of a chairman of committees, and again on the question of the Westminster election, where it was alleged that the government candidates had been brought in through the interference of the military. Another defeat on the Chippenham election petition determined him reluctantly to resign (1742). The king parted with him with all the marks of the greatest regret, and created him Earl of Orford. The country had prospered and grown rich under his long and peaceful administration. He never afterward took much part in politics, and died in 1745.

The king now sent for Pulteney, one of the most distinguished statesmen of that time, and, though not possessing the brilliant abilities of Pitt, yet older and more experienced. Pulteney would accept no place himself, but only a seat in the cabinet, and a peerage with the title of Earl of Bath. He consented that the king's old favorite, Sir Spencer Compton, now Lord Wilmington, should be at the head of the treasury; and he named Mr. Sandys chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Carteret secretary of state, and the Marquis of Tweeddale as secretary for Scotland. Lord Hardwicke, the chancellor, and several other ministers, retained their posts. Carteret was in reality the prime minister. Walpole had endeavored to procure a promise from Pulteney that no proceedings should be instituted against him; but Pulteney refused, and, before he proceeded to the House of Peers, supported a motion of Lord Limerick's in March, 1742, for an inquiry into the last ten years of Walpole's administration. The motion was carried by a small majority, and a secret committee of 21 persons was named. Yet, though all but two were opponents of Walpole, and some of them inflamed by personal animosity, their discoveries did not seem sufficiently important to form the foundation of a charge. There can, however, be no doubt that Walpole was accustomed to distribute large sums among the Commons from the secret service money; but this practice was usual at that period, and does not appear to have ceased till toward the close of the American war.

§ 6. Meanwhile England had taken part in the war of the Austrian succession. The Emperor Charles VI. had died October 20th, 1740. The succession of his daughter Maria Theresa to his Austrian dominions was guaranteed by the Pragmatic Sanction, to which England was a party, but it was also claimed by the Elector of Bavaria, whose pretensions were supported by France,

and consequently by the Bourbon king of Spain. Frederick II. of Prussia, known as Frederick the Great, resolved to profit by the conjuncture, and, entering Silesia at the head of 30,000 men, defeated the Austrians at Molwitz (1741). A French army poured into Bavaria; and having inaugurated the elector as Duke of Austria, he marched against Vienna, while Maria Theresa took refuge among the Hungarians, who acknowledged her as their queen. The English Parliament was zealous in the cause of Maria Theresa, and voted her a subsidy of £500,000, and a sum of five millions for carrying on the war (1742). A body of 16,000 men, under the veteran Earl of Stair, was dispatched to co-operate with the Dutch, and was re-enforced by 6000 Hessians, and subsequently by 16,000 Hanoverians, in British pay. It excited great indignation that Hanover, though more interested in the war than England, had contributed nothing to its expenses, and Pitt declared that this great kingdom had become a mere province of that despicable electorate. The king, however, afterward furnished 6000 Hanoverians, paid by his electoral dominions. But, owing to the sluggishness of the Dutch, nothing was done this year; and Maria Theresa was obliged to propitiate the King of Prussia by ceding Silesia.

In the following year (1743), the British army under Lord Stair, which, after being joined by the Hanoverians and Hessians, amounted to nearly 40,000 men, advanced into Germany, and took up a position at Hochst, between Mentz and Frankfort. Stair, who had never been a great general, was now falling into dotage. Having ascended the right bank of the Main, with the view of communicating with the Austrians, Marshal Noailles, by seizing the principal fords on the Upper and Lower Main, not only cut him off from his anticipated supplies in Franconia, but also from his own magazines at Hanau. George II. had, as usual, gone to Hanover in the spring, attended by his son, the Duke of Cumberland, and by Lord Carteret. Thence he proceeded to the army, which he joined on the 19th of June, and found it in the most critical position, cooped up in a narrow valley between Mount Spessart and the Main, extending from Aschaffenburg, on that river, to the village of Dettingen. Forage was beginning utterly to fail, and it was resolved to march back to Hanau, where the magazines and re-enforcements were—a most dangerous operation in the face of a superior enemy. On June 27th the army began its march from Aschaffenburg in two columns, the king bringing up the rear, which, from the supposed movements of the enemy, was esteemed the post of danger. But meanwhile the French had occupied in force a strong position at Dettingen, covered by a morass and ravine, which was not discovered till the

advanced guard of the British was repulsed at that place. Aschaffenburg had been occupied by 12,000 French immediately it was evacuated; and as the French batteries on the other side of the Main began to play on the flank of the British, it became necessary to force a way through DETTINGEN at whatever risk. Fortunately Noailles had intrusted the force at that place to his nephew the Duke de Grammont, who, burning to distinguish himself, and thinking that he had before him only part of the allied army, quitted his vantage ground and crossed the ravine to give battle—a movement which also compelled the French batteries to suspend their fire, for fear of damaging their own friends. The king, who, as well as the Duke of Cumberland, displayed the highest courage, now put himself at the head of a dense mass of British and Hanoverian infantry, and, charging the enemy, soon put them completely to the rout. The French lost about 6000 men, the British only half that number; the latter then resumed their march, and arrived safely at Hanau. This was the last battle in which a king of England took a personal share. In consequence of this victory, and of the advance of Prince Charles of Lorraine, the French were obliged to evacuate Germany.

§ 7. Lord Wilmington having died in July of this year, the king named Henry Pelham, brother of the Duke of Newcastle, first lord of the treasury. Since the time of Walpole, who had for so long a period exercised that office with absolute power, the head of the treasury began to be regarded as prime minister. Previously the chief authority had been enjoyed by one of the secretaries of state. Pelham's abilities were only moderate, yet far superior to his brother's.

The king lost all the popularity which his victory was calculated to procure by the partiality which he displayed for the Hanoverians. Lord Stair resigned, and the Duke of Marlborough and many other English officers threw up their commissions. Even in loyal companies the toast of "No Hanoverian king" was not unfrequent, and the very name of Hanoverian became a reproach. Yet it was necessary to keep a large force on foot. The French were determined to act no longer as mere auxiliaries, but to declare war both against England and Austria, and to take the field with a large army. Cardinal Tencin, who had succeeded to the power of the pacific Fleury, was a warm friend of the house of Stuart, to whom he owed many obligations; and the discontents in England inspired the hope of effecting a successful Jacobite invasion. Prince Charles Edward, grandson of James II., was to be the hero of this enterprise, for age had deprived his father James even of the little spirit that he ever possessed. The latter signed at Rome a proclamation to be published on landing, and a commission declaring his son Charles regent in his absence.

Prince Charles set out from Rome January 9, 1744, and proceeded to Gravelines, living in a private manner under the assumed name of the Chevalier Douglas. At Dunkirk 15,000 French veterans had been collected under the command of Marshal Saxe, as Charles's lieutenant; transports had been prepared for them, and 18 sail of the line appointed for their convoy. They put to sea in February, and neared the English fleet under Admiral Norris, off Dungeness. As it was growing dark, Norris put off an engagement till the following day. But then a dreadful storm arose, which committed frightful havoc on the French fleet. Some of the largest transports foundered with all on board; others were wrecked on the coast of Flanders; the remainder of the armament reached Dunkirk in a crippled state. In consequence of this misfortune the French ministry relinquished the expedition, and Prince Charles returned to Paris.

§ 8. There was still a British resident in that capital, who loudly complained of the encouragement given to the Pretender. The French replied by a declaration of war, couched in the most offensive terms (March 20th), and in May Louis XV. entered Flanders in person, with 80,000 men commanded by Marshal Saxe. Frederick of Prussia, in open violation of his treaties with Maria Theresa, broke into Bohemia and Moravia; but, before the winter, Maria Theresa, with the help of the Hungarians, drove the Prussians out of Bohemia.

In November of this year, Carteret, now become Earl Granville* by the death of his mother, resigned his post of secretary of state, and was succeeded by the Earl of Harrington. Lord Winchelsea and other persons of inferior note also retired. Pelham opened negotiations with Pitt; but he would accept no office except that of secretary at war, and the ministry were not yet prepared to part with Sir William Yonge. The king had a strong aversion both to Pitt and Chesterfield. The latter became Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, as the king would not allow him to be made a secretary of state. Pitt promised Pelham his support, whose administration now became a very strong one. It fell, however, into the same courtly or Hanoverian policy for which Granville had been denounced. In January, 1745, a quadruple alliance was formed by England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony; and the subsidy to the Queen of Hungary was increased to half a million, in which Pitt and Chesterfield acquiesced. About the same time the Emperor Charles VII. died at Munich, and thus one obstacle to a peace was removed. In the following September the hus-

* This title became extinct in 1776. The present Earl Granville is the son of the youngest son of the Marquis of Stafford, who was created Earl Granville in 1833.

band of Maria Theresa was elected emperor with the title of Francis I.

The most memorable event in the campaign of this year was the battle of Fontenoy, May 11th. The French army of 76,000 men under Marshal Saxe occupied a strong position near that place; the allied army numbered only about 50,000, of whom 28,000 were English and Hanoverians. Nevertheless, the French lines would have been carried by the British and Hanoverians, under the Duke of Cumberland and Lord Ligonier, his military tutor, but for the shameful flight of the Dutch. The British retreated in good order to Ath, and the French then took Tournay, Ghent, Bruges, Oudenarde, Dendermond, and Ostend. In America the British arms were more successful, where Louisbourg, the capital of Cape Breton, was taken from the French (June 15th) after 49 days' siege.

§ 9. The defeat of the British at Fontenoy appeared to Prince Charles to afford a favorable opportunity for renewing his attempt at an invasion. His friends in Scotland told him indeed that they could do nothing for him unless he brought at least 6000 men and 10,000 stand of arms, and those it was impossible to obtain, for the French had abandoned their efforts in his cause. Yet Charles determined to persevere, without the knowledge and sanction either of his father or of the French court. By pawning his jewels and borrowing from his friends he raised the sum of 4000 louis d'or, with which he purchased arms and ammunition; and he even contrived, by means of some English merchants settled at Nantes, to procure the service of two French men-of-war. On board one of these, the Elizabeth of 67 guns, he shipped his arms, and he himself, disguised as a student of the Scotch college at Paris, embarked in the other, the Doutelle, a fast-sailing brig of 18 guns (July 2, 1745). Four days after leaving Belleisle they fell in with the Lion, a British man-of-war of 58 guns, when an engagement ensued, in which the Elizabeth was so crippled that she was obliged to put back. The Doutelle, which had taken no part in the action, pursued her voyage; and, though chased by another man-of-war, Charles arrived safely in the Western Isles of Scotland, and landed at Moidart, in Inverness-shire. Several of the Highland chieftains remonstrated against his enterprise as impracticable and insane; for his arms he had lost, and the only adherents who landed with him were his tutor Sir Thomas Sheridan; the Marquis of Tullibardine; Sir John Macdonald, an officer in the Spanish service; Kelly, a nonjuring clergyman; Francis Strickland, an English gentleman; Æneas Macdonald, a banker in Paris; and Buchanan, who had been sent messenger to Rome by Cardinal Tencin. These were afterward called "the seven men of Moidart."

Charles, or, as he was called, the Chevalier, relied for success on his captivating manners. In person he was tall, well formed, and active; his face eminently handsome, his complexion fair; his eyes blue; his hair fell in natural ringlets on his neck. His address, at once dignified and affable, was calculated to win attachment, yet his misfortunes had rendered him somewhat jealous of his dignity. He possessed courage and a romantic sense of honor; he was decisive and resolute, yet without much ability as a leader. His letters breathe both energy and affection, but they were ill-spelled, and written in the scrawling hand of a schoolboy; for his education had been shamefully neglected. In politics and religion he retained all the bigoted notions of the Stuarts. He thus possessed many of the qualities of a hero of romance; attractions which, combined with a feeling of ancient loyalty, proved to many irresistible, especially as he had adopted the Highland dress, and learned a few words of Gaelic. Cameron of Lochiel was gained over to his cause, though he plainly saw all the difficulties of the attempt; and other chieftains followed.

Charles now began his march toward the desolate and sequestered vale of Glenfinnan, about 15 miles from Fort William, which had been selected for the meeting of the clans and the raising of the royal standard. He arrived early in the morning, accompanied by some of the M'Donalds, but found the glen in its native solitude. At length Lochiel and the Camerons appeared, about 600 in number. They were badly armed, but they brought with them a company or two of English soldiers, whom they had captured on their road. This omen of success gave animation to the elevation of the standard, which was erected on a little knoll in the midst of the vale, the Highlanders shouting and tossing up their bonnets. Other parties subsequently arrived, and when Charles began his march on August 20th his little army amounted to about 1600 men.

On the same day Sir John Cope, the commander-in-chief in Scotland, marched from Stirling with 1500 foot, which were more than half of his whole disposable force; for the government was ill-prepared and wholly uninformed of the Pretender's movements. Cope directed his march toward Inverness, to join the well-affected clans, in the hope that the insurgents, with such a force in their rear, would not venture to proceed southward. But Charles descended into the lowlands, and at Blair Athol, where he remained two days, was joined by several gentlemen of note. Lord Lovat, to whom he had dispatched his patent as Duke of Fraser, with pressing solicitations to join him, sent his prayers. On September 3d Charles made his public entry into Perth amid loud acclamations. Here he was joined by Drummond, titular

Duke of Perth, and Lord George Murray. The town presented him with £500, a welcome gift, as his last louis d'or was spent. The march was now directed upon Edinburgh. At the dawn of day one of the gates was surprised by the Camerons; and on September 17th Charles took possession of Holyrood House, where a splendid ball was given in the evening. The heralds were compelled to proclaim King James VIII., and to read the royal declaration and commission of regency. But the castle was still held by King George's troops.

§ 10. Charles remained only a day at Edinburgh, and having obtained an accession of force, as well as a supply of 1000 muskets and other stores, he marched out to give Sir John Cope battle, who had landed his forces at Dunbar, and was advancing toward the capital. Charles had now about 2500 men, but only 50 horse, and a single iron gun, of no use except for signals. Cope had about 2200 men and six pieces of artillery. The two armies met near Preston Pans. The first day both remained inactive, being separated by a morass; but a path having been discovered, Charles approached the enemy during the night, and early in the morning the Highlanders attacked, each clan separately, with terrific yells. In the space of a few minutes Cope's artillery was captured, his dragoons routed, and the line of his infantry broken. Of the latter only about 170 escaped, the rest being either slain or made prisoners. The loss on the side of the insurgents was only about 100 killed and wounded. Sir J. Cope and the horse fled in the greatest disorder, first to Edinburgh, then to Coldstream and Berwick. At the last place Lord Mark Kerr received him with the sarcastic remark that he believed he was the first general who had ever brought the news of his own defeat!

After this victory Charles was desirous of pushing on to London, in which he would probably have succeeded in the state of feeling that prevailed in England. The people were lukewarm in the Hanoverian cause. They did not, indeed, take part in the rebellion, but they did not seem much disposed to repress it; and Henry Fox, one of the ministers, observes in a letter of this period, that, if 5000 French had landed in any part of the island, the conquest would not have cost them a battle. But the court of France lost the only favorable opportunity that ever occurred of restoring the Stuarts. They were not hearty in the cause; and on the news of Charles's success they contented themselves with sending him some small supplies of arms and money. George II., who had returned in alarm from Hanover, sent a requisition to the Dutch for 6000 auxiliaries.

After the victory at Preston Pans many of the Highlanders had returned home with their booty; and as Charles could now muster

only about 1500 men, he was advised to wait and recruit his army. He therefore returned to Holyrood House. He might now be considered master of all Scotland, except some of the country beyond Inverness, the Highland forts, and the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling. James VIII. was proclaimed in most of the towns; and in Glasgow, the least disposed to the Jacobite cause, an extraordinary levy of £5000 was made. In a few weeks his army was raised to nearly 6000 men; and some French ships brought him, besides money, 5000 stand of arms, six field-pieces, and several French and Irish officers. Lord Lovat still hesitated, and at last adopted the dastardly expedient of sending his son, with 700 or 800 of the clan, at the same time protesting that it was done against his will and orders.

Charles now determined to March into England, much against the will of most of his followers, who were of opinion that he should content himself with the conquest of Scotland; but Charles wisely thought that he should not be able to hold the one without the other. The English government, however, was now better prepared. The Commons had voted loyal addresses and liberal supplies; the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended; the militia was raising; Marshal Wade had an army of nearly 10,000 men at Newcastle, and another under the Duke of Cumberland was assembling in the midland counties.

Charles began his march on November 1st. It was resolved to proceed through Cumberland, where the mountainous country is better suited to the Highland mode of fighting. Carlisle was entered on the 17th, after a slight show of resistance, the garrison being allowed to withdraw on delivering up their arms and horses. On the 20th the insurgents proceeded in two separate columns, which united at Preston; and the next day they crossed the Ribble. In these difficult marches in bad weather the chevalier resigned his carriage to the aged and infirm Lord Pitsligo, and marched on foot, in Highland dress, at the head of one of the clans. At Manchester he was received with enthusiasm; and 200 English volunteers who had joined were called the Manchester regiment. But his prospects were not encouraging. Marshal Wade was advancing against him through Yorkshire; the Duke of Cumberland lay at Lichfield with 8000 men; a third army was forming at Finchley; Admiral Vernon was cruising in the Channel to prevent any alarm from France; and Admiral Byng was blockading the east coast of Scotland. Many of Charles's officers were for retreating, but Lord G. Murray persuaded them to advance as far as Derby, promising that, if they were not then joined by a considerable force, he would, as general, advise and enforce a retreat. They reached that town in safety. The chevalier was in

high spirits. He had evaded both the English armies, and nothing obstructed his march to the capital. London was in a perfect panic. There was a run upon the Bank of England; all business was suspended and the shops shut. The day was long remembered as *Black Friday*. Even the king himself is said to have ordered his yachts to the Tower stairs, and to have embarked some of his most precious effects. But the alarm was soon at an end. The day after their arrival Murray and the other generals insisted on a retreat, on the ground that there had been neither an English rising nor a French invasion; and Charles, after exhausting arguments, threats, and entreaties, was forced to comply.

§ 11. The Duke of Cumberland, having mounted 1000 of his infantry, came up with the retreating Scots at Penrith, and a skirmish took place at night on Clifton Moor. The English were repulsed with considerable loss, and the retreat was not again molested. The Scots passed the Esk on December 20th, the prince's birthday, and entered Glasgow on the 26th, having marched 600 miles in 56 days, many of which were days of halt.

The chevalier arrived at Stirling January 3d, 1746, and having received large re-enforcements, as well as some artillery from France, he resolved to besiege the castle. General Hawley, to whom the Duke of Cumberland had delegated the command, attempted to raise the siege, but was defeated with great loss at Falkirk Muir, and made a precipitate and disgraceful flight to Edinburgh. But the siege was badly conducted by a French engineer named Mirabelle; his batteries were silenced; and the chevalier's chief officers now insisted on going home for the remainder of the winter, promising to return in the spring with 10,000 men. The heavy guns were spiked, and the retreat begun toward Inverness, February 1. The Duke of Cumberland, who had resumed the command, and who had been re-enforced with 5000 Hessians, pursued the Scots, but could not overtake them.

On April 8th, the duke, with 8000 foot and 900 horse, marched from Aberdeen to attack Inverness. Charles, though his troops had dwindled to 5000 men, resolved to surprise the duke at Nairn by a night march of 12 miles. Lord G. Murray led the first column, Charles himself the second; but the marshy nature of the ground delayed their progress so much that all hopes of a surprise were abandoned, and they took up a position on Culloden Moor. The Duke of Cumberland drew up his army with great skill in three lines, with cavalry on each flank, and two pieces of cannon between every two regiments of the first line. His artillery did great execution, while that of the Scots was ill directed. Murray therefore requested permission to attack, and made a furious charge with the right wing and centre. They broke the first line of the

English; but the second, three deep, the first rank kneeling, the second stooping, received them with a murderous fire, which threw them into disorder. The English then charged, and drove the clans before them in one confused mass. The left wing was not engaged. About 1000 of the Scots fell; of the English hardly a third of that number. This defeat put an end to all Charles's hopes. From the field he rode to the residence of Lord Lovat, their first and only meeting. Lovat hardly behaved with common civility, and they parted with mutual displeasure. Some attempt was made to rally the army at Ruthven; but Charles sent a message thanking the leaders, and bidding them consult their own safety. They accordingly dispersed, and the rebellion was extinguished. The Duke of Cumberland fixed his head-quarters near Fort Augustus, and seems to have permitted every sort of outrage and cruelty, in which he was well seconded by General Hawley. This brutality obtained for him the nickname of *the Butcher*. When in July he returned to London, he was hailed as the deliverer of his country; a pension of £25,000 per annum was settled on him and his heirs, and he was presented with the freedom of numerous companies.



Medal of the young Pretender.
Obv.: CAROLUS WALLIÆ PRINCEPS. Bust to right. Below, 1745. *Rev.*: AMOR ET SPES. Britannia standing on the sea-shore: two ships arriving. Below, BRITANNIA.

Lord G. Murray and several other leaders escaped abroad. The government succeeded in capturing the Earl of Kilmarnock, Lord Balmerino, Secretary Murray, and Lord Lovat. The last was discovered in a little island in a lake in Inverness-shire, wrapped up in a blanket, and concealed in a hollow tree. Charles wandered about the country till September, undergoing during these five months a variety of hardships and dangers; yet, though his secret was intrusted to several hundreds of persons, he was not betrayed, notwithstanding a reward of £30,000 had been offered for his cap-

ture. Among all these acts of loyalty the heroic devotion of Flora Macdonald is conspicuous, and is too well known to need description here. At last, on September 20th, Charles got safely on board a French vessel in Lochnanuagh, and on the 29th landed near Morlaix in France.

A great number of prisoners were brought to trial for this rebellion, of whom about one in twenty were executed, and the rest were transported. The ancient and barbarous ceremony of disemboweling and burning the heart and intestines was not omitted on this occasion, and was received with the shouts of the populace. The Earl of Kilmarnock and Lords Balmerino and Lovat were executed on Tower Hill. The last met his fate with a strange compound of levity and courage.

§ 12. Lord Harrington having resigned the seals of secretary of state, October 29th, 1746, they were transferred to Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which office he was succeeded by Lord Harrington. Chesterfield, who is commonly regarded as a fine gentleman, had also a large fund of wit and wisdom, and was one of the most accomplished orators of his day. Being conversant with foreign languages as well as history, he had distinguished himself as a diplomatist, and had discharged with reputation two embassies to Holland. His government of Ireland had been wise and firm, and at the same time liberal. Chesterfield's defects were a want of generosity, a proneness to dissimulation, a passion for gambling, and a laxness of religious principle.

During the years 1746 and 1747 the French were successful in arms, but in the latter year the English gained two naval victories, one by Anson near Cape Finisterre, the other by Admiral Hawke off Belleisle. The French, as well as a large party in England, were desirous of a peace; but Maria Theresa and the Prince of Orange were not satisfied with the results obtained, and their views were adopted by George II. and the Duke of Cumberland. Chesterfield was a warm advocate for peace; and finding his counsels disregarded and himself treated with coldness by the king, he resigned the seals February 6th, 1748, and was succeeded by the Duke of Bedford. Chesterfield never afterward took office; but he did not altogether withdraw from public life, and in 1751 he introduced a most useful measure, the reformation of the calendar. The Julian year, or *Old Style*, as it is called, had been corrected by Pope Gregory XIII. in 1582, and had been adopted by every country on the Continent of Europe except Sweden and Russia. The error of the Old Style, which had now grown to 11 days, was universally admitted. In preparing the bill for the reformation of the calendar, Chesterfield was assisted by the Earl of Macclesfield

and Mr. Bradley, two of the ablest mathematicians in Europe. By this bill the year was to commence on January 1st instead of March 25th, and eleven days in September, 1752, were to be nominally suppressed, in order to bring the calendar into unison with the actual state of the solar year. The great body of the people, however, regarded the reform as an impious and popish measure, and numbers were of opinion that they had been robbed of eleven days. Sweden followed the example of England in 1753; but Russia and those countries which belong to the Greek Church still follow the Old Style.

The continued success of the French, who had invested Maestricht in the spring of 1748, increased the desire for peace; and even the Dutch, who now saw an invasion imminent, signified their willingness to treat. In October a definitive treaty was signed by all the belligerents at Aix-la-Chapelle. The only gainer by it was the King of Prussia, who secured Silesia. The article for the mutual restitution of all conquests was very unpopular in England, and the more so that France demanded and obtained two hostages for the delivery of Cape Breton. The Earl of Sussex and Lord Cathcart were sent to Paris in that capacity.

§ 13. By one of the articles of this treaty the French court undertook to expel the Pretender from France, and they offered him an establishment at Friburg, in Switzerland, with a guard and the title of Prince of Wales; but Charles, regarding such a course as a mean compliance with orders from Hanover, obstinately refused to quit Paris. At length it became necessary to use force. Charles was seized in his coach while going to the opera, bound hand and foot, and carried to the dungeon of Vincennes. After a few days' confinement he was conveyed to Pont de Beauvois on the frontiers of Savoy, and abandoned to his lonely wanderings. He appears to have now visited Venice and Germany, to have resided some time secretly in Paris, and even to have paid two visits to England. After the death of his father, James, in 1766, he returned to Rome, and in his later years fell into habits of drunkenness. In 1772, at the age of 52, he married the Princess Louisa of Stolberg, a girl of 20. They subsequently lived at Florence under the title of the Count and Countess of Albany. But the union was unhappy; he was harsh, she faithless; and in 1780 she eloped with Alfieri, the dramatic poet. Charles died at Rome, January 30th, 1788.

One of the results of the war was the founding of Halifax *in* Nova Scotia, named after the Earl of Halifax, president of the Board of Trade. To relieve the great number of discharged soldiers and sailors, they were encouraged to emigrate by a grant of 50 acres to each, a free passage, and immunity from taxes for a period of ten years.

For some years after the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle nothing of importance occurred. On March 20, 1751, Frederick, Prince of Wales, expired—an event which, from his weak and fickle character, did not occasion much regret. He left eight children, and his consort pregnant with another. George, his eldest son, was now made Prince of Wales; and as he was only 12 years of age, while the king was 67, it became necessary to appoint a regency in the event of a demise of the crown before the prince should attain his majority. After considerable debate, a bill was passed appointing his mother, the Dowager Princess of Wales, guardian of his person and regent of the kingdom; but subject, in the latter capacity, to the control of a council composed of the Duke of Cumberland and the nine principal officers of state at the time of the king's decease. The influence of John Stuart, Earl of Bute, now became predominant at Leicester House, the residence of the princess dowager. Bute was an accomplished man, with literary tastes, but no great abilities. He had a fine person, and scandal was soon busy respecting the favor he enjoyed.

§ 14. On the death of Pelham (March 8, 1754) the Duke of Newcastle resolved to be first lord of the treasury himself, and to make Henry Legge, son of the Earl of Dartmouth, his chancellor of the exchequer. For the leadership of the House of Commons his choice wavered between Pitt, Fox, and Murray. The last, however, conveyed a hint that his ambition was directed to the bench. He was the fourth son of Lord Stormont, and had distinguished himself by his eloquence both at the bar and in the House of Commons. The character of Pitt has been already described. Besides being personally disliked by the king, he was now laid up at Bath with the gout. The seals were therefore offered to Henry Fox, younger son of Sir Stephen Fox, a brother of the first Earl of Ilchester. Fox had had some experience in business as secretary at war, possessed wit and discernment, and, without much eloquence, was a ready debater; but he had not the patriotic disinterestedness of Pitt. The negotiation was broken off by a disagreement respecting the disposal of the secret-service money, and the seals were at last given to Sir Thomas Robinson, a man of no ability, but entirely at Newcastle's command. That such a man should be set up to lead the House of Commons excited the indignation both of Pitt and Fox, and they united to attack and ridicule him.

Quarrels had long prevailed, both in the East Indies and in North America, between the French and English settlers, which threatened to produce hostilities between the mother countries. A large French armament, equipped at Brest, was watched by Admiral Boscawen, who had orders to attack them in case their

destination should be the Bay of St. Lawrence. At a signal from the admiral, two English vessels had captured two French ones off Newfoundland, and some skirmishing had also occurred on the Ohio and near Lake George. The king had, as usual, gone to Hanover, and these events threw the regency into great perplexity. The Duke of Cumberland was for declaring war immediately; others were for waiting; and the premier, as customary with him, vacillated between both opinions. At length Sir Edward Hawke, who was in command of a powerful fleet, received orders to take and destroy every French ship that he could find between Cape Ortegal and Cape Clear—an act which, as no declaration of war had been made, was justly censured as piratical.

This state of things caused George great alarm for his electoral dominions, which he suspected would be seized by his nephew Frederick of Prussia whenever a war should break out; and he therefore concluded with the Landgrave of Hesse, and subsequently with the Empress of Russia, subsidiary treaties of the same sort as had already created so much disgust in England. Newcastle's ministry began to totter. In order to support it he applied to Pitt; but that statesman disdained the seals at the price of subserviency to Hanoverian policy. Fox was not so delicate; he engaged to support the treaties; Robinson was dismissed with a pension, and Fox became secretary of state.

The French meanwhile were making vast naval preparations; they threatened a descent upon England, but their real object was Minorca, secured to the English by the treaty of Utrecht. It is at such a juncture that the character of a minister is brought out in full relief. The Duke of Newcastle could not be persuaded of the designs of the French; he neglected all necessary precautions till it was too late, and then he sent out in a hurry 10 ships badly equipped, under Admiral Byng, second son of Viscount Torrington. On April 18, 1756, a French fleet of 12 ships of the line, and a large number of transports, having 16,000 troops on board, appeared off Minorca, and threatened Mahon. The Castle of St. Philip, which commands the town and harbor, was a strong fortress; but the garrison had been reduced to 3000 men, and Lord Tyrawley, the governor, as well as a great many officers, were absent. The defense of the place therefore fell upon General Blakeney, a brave officer, but old and invalided.

When Byng hove in sight of St. Philip's on May 19, the British flag was still flying there. On the following day the French admiral, De la Galissonière, bore down with his whole force. Byng ranged his ships in line of battle; and Admiral West, the second in command, engaged with his division and dispersed the ships opposed to him; but Byng kept aloof. On the following morning

the French were out of sight. Byng then called a council of war, expressed his determination to retreat, as his force was so inferior to that of the enemy, and, sailing to Gibraltar, left Minorca to its fate. Nevertheless, St. Philip's held out till June 27, when, some of the outworks having been carried, the garrison were obliged to capitulate, but marched out with all the honors of war, and, in conformity with the terms, were conveyed to Gibraltar.

§ 15. At this loss the popular indignation was uncontrollable. The cry was loud against the ministry, but louder still against Byng. Either treachery or cowardice was universally imputed to him, and he was burnt in effigy in all the great towns in the kingdom. The Duke of Newcastle was willing to make Byng the scapegoat. Admiral Sir Edward Hawke was sent out to supersede him, and to send home both him and West as prisoners. West was immediately liberated, but a court-martial was held on Byng in the following December, at Portsmouth, by which he was acquitted of cowardice or treachery, but condemned, by the 12th article of war, of not having done all in his power to relieve St. Philip's and defeat the French fleet. At the same time he was unanimously recommended to mercy. But the popular clamor was too great to allow this recommendation to prevail. He was shot on the quarter-deck of the Monarque (March 14, 1757), and met his fate with courage.

Before this event the unpopularity incurred by the national disgraces, the resignation of Fox, who shrank from the impending storm, and the loss of Murray's services in the Commons, who, on the death of Sir Dudley Ryder, had been made lord chief justice, and obtained a peerage with the title of Lord Mansfield, compelled Newcastle to resign. The king was now reluctantly compelled to have recourse to Pitt; but he had held the seals as secretary of state only a few months when the Duke of Cumberland persuaded the king to dismiss him and recall Newcastle. The latter nobleman, however, found it impossible to form a ministry without Pitt's assistance. The nation was in a ferment at his dismissal, and most of the principal towns in the kingdom sent him their freedom in gold boxes. The king, after some vain attempts to form a ministry with Fox and Lord Waldegrave, was at length obliged to submit to Pitt's terms. Newcastle returned to the treasury, but without one of his own party at the board, and with Legge as chancellor of the exchequer; Pitt became secretary of state; his brother-in-law, Temple, privy seal; and Fox condescended to accept the lucrative office of paymaster of the forces, without a seat in the cabinet. Thus was Pitt's first ministry formed (June 29).

§ 16. It was too late in the season to attempt much of import-

ance; and an expedition dispatched against Rochefort, consisting of 16 ships of the line, with frigates and transports, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, and having on board 10 regiments of foot under General Sir John Mordaunt, proved abortive through the irresolution of the latter. But England had now another war on hand. In the previous year France and Austria had leagued themselves for the partition of Prussia by the treaty of Versailles (May 1, 1756), to which Russia, Saxony, and Sweden afterward acceded. Frederick of Prussia, having been apprised of this confederacy through the treachery of a clerk in the Saxon service, was the first to strike a vigorous blow by seizing Dresden. Such was the origin of what has been called THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

Frederick now drew closer his alliance with England; and in April, 1757, the Duke of Cumberland proceeded to the Continent to fight in his cause and to defend the electorate. Frederick had this year made an incursion into Bohemia, and gained a victory near Prague; but he was in turn defeated at the heights of Kolin, and obliged to retire. The French, advancing with a large army, compelled the Duke of Cumberland to retreat before them, and overran all Hanover. The duke took refuge under the guns of Stade, supported by those of four British men-of-war in the Elbe; but he was manœuvred out of this position by the Duke de Richelieu, the French general; and he was compelled to enter into the convention of Kloster Seven, by which he agreed to dismiss his auxiliaries, to withdraw his troops over the Elbe, and disperse them in contonments, leaving only a garrison in Stade. Thus Hanover was lost. George II. was as indignant at this failure as Frederick himself, and received his son on his return with the greatest coldness. Offended by this treatment, the victor of Culloden threw up all his employments, and lived in comparative obscurity till 1765, when he died at the age of 45. Frederick seemed reduced to the last extremity, but he recovered his affairs by the victories of Rossbach and Leuthen. This success made him very popular in England, where he was regarded as the Protestant hero; and when, early in 1758, Pitt proposed a new convention, and a subsidy of £670,000, it was carried almost unanimously.

§ 17. In 1758 the war raged in all quarters of the world. In Africa, the island of Goree was wrested from the French. In America, Pitt projected the conquest of Cape Breton and St. John's; and a fleet and army were dispatched under Admiral Boscawen and General (afterward Lord) Amherst. At the same time Wolfe, who had attracted Pitt's notice during the Rochefort expedition, was sent out as second in command, with the title of brigadier general. In these appointments Pitt, neglecting the

claims of seniority, as well as those of aristocratic and Parliamentary interest, was guided by merit alone; and this was the secret of the success with which our arms were at this period attended. The armament was composed of 150 ships and 12,000 soldiers. Louisburg capitulated after a siege of two months, in which Wolfe distinguished himself. After the fall of the capital the whole of Cape Breton submitted; and soon after the island of St. John did the same. The name of the latter was changed to Prince Edward's Island, in honor of the next brother of the Prince of Wales.

In India, Clive had taken the French settlement of Chandernagore in 1757. In the following year Lally Tollendal, the new French governor, captured and razed Fort St. David, but failed in an attempt upon Madras.

In Europe, a secret expedition against Cherbourg was planned by Pitt, under Commodore Howe and Lord Anson, with 20,000 soldiers and marines, commanded by Charles, second Duke of Marlborough, and Lord George Sackville. The attempt failed, but was renewed with more success in August, under General Bligh, accompanied by Prince Edward. When the troops landed the town was found to be deserted. The forts and basins were destroyed, together with 170 pieces of iron cannon, and 22 brass guns were carried off. The troops were then landed near St. Malo; but the Duke d'Aiguillon coming up with superior forces, they were obliged to hurry their re-embarkation, and 1000 men of the rear guard were either killed or made prisoners.

These exploits were not very splendid, yet, by diverting the attention of the French, they proved favorable to the campaign in Germany. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick not only drove the French out of Hanover, but even over the Rhine, whither he followed them, and gained on the left bank a victory at Crefeld; but the advance of the Prince de Soubise obliged him to fall back on Münster. Frederick had achieved brilliant successes, checkered, however, by a disastrous defeat inflicted on him at Hochkirchen by the Austrian generals Daun and Laudohn (Oct. 14).

§ 18. In 1759 the arms of England were successful both upon sea and upon land. The French, though scarcely able to defend their own coasts, were talking of an invasion, and were making preparations in Havre, Toulon, and other ports; but in July Admiral Rodney bombarded Havre two or three days, doing great damage to the town, and destroying many of their flat-bottomed boats, while the Toulon fleet was dispersed with some loss by Admiral Boscawen, off Lagos, in Algarve. Another fleet, under Sir Edward Hawke, blockaded Brest, and a squadron of observation hovered near Dunkirk. Hawke gained a signal victory (Nov.

20) near Quiberon, over a French fleet under De Conflans, consisting of 21 sail of the line and four frigates. Hawke's fleet, which was rather stronger, sunk four of the Frenchmen and captured two; the others, all more or less damaged, succeeded in getting into the River Vilaine.

Frederick sustained a terrible defeat this year at Kunersdorf, near Frankfort-on-the-Oder; but, from want of cordiality between the Austrians and Russians, its consequences did not prove very disastrous. On the other hand, Prince Ferdinand, who had in his army 10,000 or 12,000 English troops under Lord G. Sackville, was more fortunate. He failed, indeed, in an attack on the French position at Bergen, but he more than retrieved this reverse by the brilliant victory of Minden, which would have been still more complete had Sackville, who commanded the cavalry, obeyed the orders to charge the routed enemy. The clamor was justly loud against Lord George both in England and Germany, and Pitt dismissed him from all his employments.

But the chief success this year was achieved in Canada, where the plan of the campaign was sketched out by Pitt himself. The French had colonized that province in the reign of Francis I., but it was not till the following century that the cities of Quebec and Montreal arose. Pitt's plan of invasion was by three separate divisions to unite at Quebec. One of these, composed of colonists and Indians under General Prideau and Sir William-Johnson, was to advance to Oswego, on Lake Ontario, and, after reducing Fort Niagara, at the mouth of the Niagara River, proceed down the lake and the St. Lawrence to Montreal; another of 8000 men, under the command of General Wolfe, was to proceed up the St. Lawrence, and lay siege to Quebec; while in the centre, the main army under General Amherst was to attack Ticonderoga, secure the navigation of Lake Champlain, and, proceeding by the River Richelieu, to form a junction with Wolfe.

The first and last of these expeditions succeeded as far as they went; Niagara and Ticonderoga were captured, but it was too late in the season to form a junction with Wolfe. The fleet of Admiral Saunders carried Wolfe safely to the Isle of Orleans, opposite Quebec, where the army disembarked on June 27. Wolfe formed a lodgment on the westernmost point of the island, where Quebec rose on his view, strong in its natural position, but without artificial defenses. It is washed on two sides by the Rivers St. Charles and St. Lawrence, whose banks are almost inaccessible, while a little below the town the Montmorency falls into the St. Lawrence; the entrance of the harbor is defended by a sandbank; the Castle of St. Louis commanded the approaches; and behind the city rise the rugged steeps called the Heights of Abra-

ham. Quebec at that time contained a population of about 7000; but it had a cathedral, a bishop's palace, and other public buildings. The Marquis de Montcalm, the French governor of Canada, a distinguished officer, lay with an army of 10,000 men, chiefly Canadian colonists or native Indians, outside the city, on the line called Beauport, between the Rivers St. Charles and Montmorency. The ground was steep; in his front lay the Montmorency: his rear was protected by dense woods, and every open space had been fortified. All Wolfe's attempts to draw Montcalm from this position having failed, it only remained to attack him in his intrenchments. An assault on July 31 having been repulsed, Wolfe determined on the hazardous exploit of proceeding up the St. Lawrence and scaling the Heights of Abraham, though, through deaths, sickness, and the necessary detachments for securing important points, he could muster only about 3600 men. On the night of September 13th the army was conveyed silently up the river in boats to a small cove, now called Wolfe's Cove, overhung by lofty rocks. As they rowed along to this place Wolfe repeated in a low voice to the officers in the boat with him Gray's beautiful Elegy in a Country Church-yard, adding at the end, "Now, gentlemen, I would rather be the author of that poem than take Quebec." Wolfe himself was one of the first to leap ashore. The precipitous path was climbed; an outpost of the enemy fled in alarm; and at daybreak the British army stood arrayed upon the heights, but without cavalry, and having no more than a single gun. Montcalm was now obliged to abandon his position and advance to give battle. The English, by Wolfe's direction, reserved their fire till the enemy were within 40 yards, and then delivered a well-directed and destructive volley. Many fell, the rest wavered; Wolfe, though wounded in the wrist, seized the favorable moment, and, springing forward, ordered his grenadiers to charge. At this instant he was struck by another ball in the groin, and shortly after by a third in the breast, which caused him to fall, and he was conveyed to the rear. Before he breathed his last an officer who was standing by exclaimed, "See how they run!" "Who run?" eagerly cried Wolfe. "The enemy," cried the officer. "Then God be praised!" said Wolfe; "I shall die happy:" and immediately expired. Thus fell this gallant officer at the early age of 33. Montcalm, the French commander, was also slain. Quebec capitulated on September 18; the French garrison was conveyed by agreement to the nearest French port; and in the following year the conquest of all Canada was achieved.

This event threw a lustre over the close of the reign of George II., which in other respects had not been inglorious. He died sud-

denly on October 25, 1760, at the age of 77, from the bursting of the right ventricle of the heart.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1727. Accession of George II.
1739. War declared against Spain.
1740. Failure of the expedition against Carthagena in America.
" Anson begins his voyage.
" Accession of Maria Theresa to the Austrian dominions. The English support her against Frederick the Great of Prussia.
1741. Retirement of Walpole.
" Compton (Lord Wilmington) at the head of the treasury, but Carteret in reality prime minister.
1743. Battle of Dettingen.
" Pelham prime minister.
1744. France declares war against England.
1745. Quadruple alliance between England, Holland, Austria, and Saxony.
" Battle of Fontenoy.

A.D.
1745. The Pretender Charles Edward in Scotland.
1746. Battle of Culloden. Defeat of the Pretender.
1748. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.
1751. Death of Frederick, Prince of Wales.
1752. Reformation of the calendar.
1754. Death of Pelham. Duke of Newcastle prime minister.
1756. War with France. Minorca captured by the French.
1757. Execution of Admiral Byng.
" Pitt's first administration.
" Commencement of the Seven Years' War.
1758. Cherbourg destroyed.
1759. Hawke's victory at Quiberon. Quebec taken. Death of General Wolfe.
1760. Canada conquered. Death of George II.



Medal commemorating Battle of Plassy.

Obv.: VICTORY . AT . PLASSY CLIVE . COMMANDER. Victory without wings, bearing trophy and palm, seated on elephant, to left. Below, MDCCLVIII. SOC. P. A. C.

Rev.: INIVRIES . ATTONED . PRIVILEGE . AVGMENTED . TERRITORY . ACQVIRED. Clive, in Roman costume, giving a sceptre to an Indian. Below, A SOUBAH GIVEN TO BENGAL MDCCLVIII (in imitation of the REX PARTHIS DATUS, and the like, of the Roman imperial coinage).

CHAPTER XXXI.

GEORGE III. FROM HIS ACCESSION TO THE RECOGNITION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE, AND THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES. A.D. 1760–1783.

§ 1. Accession of George III., and Settlement of the Government. King's Marriage and Coronation. § 2. State of the Campaign. Negotiations. Pitt resigns. § 3. War with Spain. Lord Bute's Administration. Peace of Fontainebleau. § 4. Rise and Progress of the Indian Empire. § 5. Unpopularity of Lord Bute. Wilkes and the *North Briton*, No. XLV. General Warrants. § 6. Grenville's American Stamp Act. § 7. Lord Rockingham Prime Minister. Succeeded by Lord Chatham. Lord North's American Taxes. § 8. Proceedings against Wilkes. Disturbances in America. Lord North Prime Minister. Royal Marriage Act. § 9. Effect of the Tea Duties in America. Commencement of the Rebellion. Skirmish at Lexington. Battle of Bunker's Hill. § 10. Attempts at Conciliation. American Independence. Progress of the War. § 11. La Fayette. Philadelphia taken. Capitulation of Saratoga. Treaty between France and the Americans. § 12. Death of Chatham. § 13. The French Fleet in America. Actions in the Channel. Spain joins the French and Americans. Paul Jones. § 14. Lord George Gordon's Riots. § 15. Rodney's Victory at Cape St. Vincent. The "Armed Neutrality." American Campaign. Battles of Camden and Eutau Springs. Capitulation of Yorktown. § 16. Naval Engagements. Losses and Disasters. Lord Rockingham's second Ministry. Independence of the Irish Parliament. Parliamentary Reform. § 17. Rodney's Victory in the West Indies. Lord Shelburne's Ministry. Foundering of the Royal George. Siege of Gibraltar. § 18. Treaty with America, and Recognition of American Independence. Peace of Versailles.

§ 1. THE young prince who now ascended the throne of his

grandfather with the title of George III. was 22 years of age. His person was tall and strongly built, his countenance open and engaging. In his first address to the Parliament he inserted, with his own hand, a paragraph stating that "he gloried in the name of Briton"—an expression which could not but awaken a cordial echo in a country which, during the greater part of a century, had been governed by foreigners. His conduct answered to his professions. The party distinctions which had prevailed during the reign of his grandfather seemed to be forgotten; the Jacobites, who had absented themselves, returned to court, and some of the principal of them obtained places in the royal household. The old ministers were retained; but it was soon evident that the Earl of Bute would be the king's principal adviser, and both he and Prince Edward were made privy councilors. After the dissolution of the Parliament the seals of secretary of state were transferred from Lord Holderness to Lord Bute—a step in which Pitt acquiesced, though he had not been consulted. At the same time Legge vacated the chancellorship of the exchequer, and was succeeded by Lord Barrington; and Lord Henley, who, after the resignation of Lord Hardwicke, had been made lord keeper only, now became lord chancellor. The vigorous administration of Pitt had nearly annihilated all party feeling: in the Commons he reigned supreme, and was regarded with a kind of awe.

In the following year the king concluded a marriage with Charlotte, second sister of the Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, then only 17 years of age. In person she was short, thin, and pale; but she was sensible, cheerful, and good-tempered. George is said to have been captivated by a spirited letter which she wrote to the King of Prussia, beseeching him to spare her country. She arrived at St. James's September 8, 1761, and the marriage was celebrated on the same day. The coronation followed, September 22.

§ 2. During the last two or three years the campaign in Germany had proceeded with various success, and, on the whole, the contending parties stood much in the same position. The British contingents, under the Marquis of Granby and General Conway, had made some atonement for the disgrace of Lord Sackville at Minden. The losses sustained by France had made her sincerely desirous of peace. The affairs of that country were now conducted by the Duke de Choiseul, always, however, under Madame de Pompadour, the mistress of Louis XV. A conference at Augsburg was agreed to by all the belligerents; but between France and England Choiseul preferred a separate negotiation, with which view M. de Bussy was accredited to London, and Mr. Hans Stanley to Paris. In order to strengthen his negotiations, Pitt sent

an expedition under Commodore Keppel, with 9000 troops under General Hodgson, against Belleisle, a barren island, but strongly fortified, on the coast of Brittany. Belleisle was taken; and it was considered that it might be set off against Minorca, not for its importance, but as a point of honor in the sight of France. Good news also arrived from other quarters. The island of Dominica had been reduced by Lord Rolls; and in the East Pondicherry had been captured, the last of the French strongholds in India.

Choiseul might probably have yielded all the points demanded by Pitt had not the court of France been supported by that of Madrid. Ferdinand VI. had died in 1759, and his brother Charles, formerly King of Naples, now ruled Spain and the Indies with the title of Charles III. Naples he had been obliged to relinquish to his third son Ferdinand, as by the treaty of Vienna the crowns of Spain and Naples could not be united on the same head. Charles naturally regarded the French Bourbons as the head of his house; he was desirous of acting with them, and he had, besides, several causes of complaint against England. He now proposed that the contemplated peace between England and France should be guaranteed by Spain, and that, at the same time, certain claims of Spain on England should be adjusted. Pitt at once refused to mix up the claims of France and Spain; and the latter court was informed that no negotiations could be opened with it through the medium of France. The consequence of this refusal was what has been called the FAMILY COMPACT, concluded August 15, 1761, by which France and Spain mutually agreed to regard for the future the enemy of either as their common enemy, and to guarantee their respective dominions. The King of Naples, as a Bourbon, also acceded to this alliance. A secret convention was also entered into, that in case England and France should be still at war on May 1, 1762, Spain should declare war against England, in consideration of which France was to restore Minorca to Spain.

As soon as Pitt obtained certain intelligence of this agreement, he strongly advised that the Spanish declaration should be anticipated, and war at once begun against Spain. He urged the importance of striking the first blow, and he showed that expense would be saved by taking the Spaniards unawares, and seizing their merchantmen and treasure-ships; but he could find none to second him in this bold yet prudent counsel, except his relative Temple, and they therefore tendered their resignation, which was received by the king with many gracious expressions toward Pitt. Thus fell the renowned administration of Pitt, which had raised England to a great pitch of glory. He was offered the governor-

ship of Canada, without residence, and £5000 a year; or the duchy of Lancaster, with about the same emolument. These offers he rather haughtily refused, but he accepted the title of Baroness Chatham for his wife, Lady Hester Pitt, and a pension of £3000 per annum for three lives—his own, Lady Chatham's, and their eldest son's. Pitt's retirement paved the way for the ascendency of Lord Bute.

§ 3. The Spanish business turned out precisely as Pitt had foretold. No sooner were the Spanish West Indiamen safe in harbor than the Spaniards began to alter their tone, and before the close of the year the embassadors on both sides were dismissed from London and Madrid. The Spanish minister, before his departure, inveighed against Pitt by name, in an angry memorial which he presented to Lord Egremont, the new secretary. War was declared against Spain, January 4, 1762. Shortly afterward France and Spain made a joint demand on Portugal to renounce her neutrality, and large bodies of Spanish troops were collected on the Spanish frontiers to enforce it. The King of Portugal gave a spirited refusal, and applied to England for assistance, which Bute, in spite of his pacific policy, could not, of course, refuse.

The Duke of Newcastle still continued at the head of the treasury, though Bute had the chief share of power. The latter, however, having refused to support the King of Prussia and withdrawn the subsidy, Newcastle tendered his resignation, and was somewhat surprised to find it accepted. Bute immediately named himself first lord of the treasury; George Grenville became secretary of state in his stead, and Sir Francis Dashwood was made chancellor of the exchequer. Bute owed his rapid promotion not to any merit of his own, but to the ascendency he possessed over the king. Wilkes, who was now beginning to emerge into notice, directed the popular indignation against him in the *North Briton* and other papers, and he was assisted by his friend and fellow-satirist Churchill.

The thoughts of Bute were constantly directed toward peace, though the arms of Great Britain and her allies had been on every side successful. In Germany, Frederick and Prince Ferdinand had been victorious. In Portugal, the British troops under Burgoyne arrested the progress of the Spaniards. In the West Indies, an armament under Admiral Rodney and General Monckton had taken Martinico in January. Grenada, St. Lucia, and St. Vincent subsequently surrendered; Guadaloupe had been taken in 1759, and thus the whole of the Caribbees were now in the power of England. The Havana also capitulated after a desperate siege, where the booty, in treasure and merchandise, was computed at three millions. About the same time, in the eastern

hemisphere, the Philippine Islands were taken, and several rich Spanish prizes were made at sea.

In spite of these brilliant successes, overtures for a peace were made through the neutral court of Sardinia, and eagerly caught at by France. Bute seems to have been alarmed at the great increase of the national debt, which had doubled during the war, and now amounted to £122,600,000. A treaty was concluded at Paris (Feb. 10, 1763). The peace of Paris put an end to the Seven Years' War. By this treaty Minorca was exchanged for Belleisle; the provinces of Nova Scotia, Cape Breton, and Canada were ceded to England; the islands of Guadaloupe, Martinico, and St. Lucia were restored; but Tobago, Dominica, St. Vincent, and Grenada were retained. These were the principal provisions with regard to the interests of England. By a clause in the treaty, all conquests made in any part of the world during the negotiations were to be given up. This involved the cession of the Havana and of the Philippine Islands, the conquest of which was not yet known. Bute seemed inclined to yield them without an equivalent; and it was only at the pressing instance of George Grenville and Lord Egremont that Florida or Porto Rico was demanded in return. The former was readily yielded.

§ 4. Among the places restored to the French was also Pondicherry in the East Indies; but they could never recover their lost influence in that country, and soon after their East India Company was dissolved. The courage and genius of Clive had now converted an association of traders into the rulers of a large and magnificent empire. Though established in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign, it was not till the time of Charles II. that the East India Company made any considerable advances in wealth and power. Charles granted them a new charter, conveying many exclusive rights and privileges, and also ceded to them the settlement of Bombay, which he had received as a marriage portion with Catherine of Braganza. Fort St. George and the town of Madras had already been founded in the Carnatic. The first English factories were at Bantam and Surat, but these were subsequently abandoned. At the period of the Revolution a new company was instituted, the rivalship of which produced much mischief, till in 1702 they were both united. In 1698 a grant of land on rent having been obtained from Aurungzebe, the Mogul emperor, at Chuttanuttee, on the River Hooghly, Fort William was erected, under shelter of which ultimately expanded the town of Calcutta, the magnificent capital of modern India. Thus, before the accession of the house of Hanover, the three presidencies of Madras (Fort St. George), Calcutta (Fort William), and Bombay had already been erected; but no central government yet ex-

isted; these settlements had but little territory attached to them, and often trembled for their own safety.

The French, who had established an East India Company in the reign of Louis XIV., were the only formidable rivals we possessed in India. The Portuguese were our allies, and their power was but small; the Dutch chiefly confined their attention to Java and the neighboring islands. The French had two important settlements: Chandernagore, on the Hooghly, higher up than Fort William, and Pondicherry, on the coast of the Carnatic, about 80 miles south of Madras. They also possessed two fertile islands in the Indian Ocean, the Isle of Bourbon, and Mauritius, or the Isle of France. The wars of the mother countries extended to these colonies. In 1746, the French under La Bourdonnais took Madras; and Dupleix, Governor of Pondicherry, in violation of the capitulation, carried the principal inhabitants to that town, and paraded them through the streets in triumph. Madras was restored at the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. During the peace, Dupleix, by intrigues with the native princes, endeavored to extend the French empire in India at the expense of the English; but he was encountered by the superior genius and valor of Clive, a writer, or clerk, who had been among the captives of Madras. The taking of Arcot, the victory over Rajah Sahib at Arnee, the capture of the Great Pagoda, and the other wonderful exploits of that merchant-soldier, our limits will not permit us to detail. After a two years' visit to England for the sake of his health, Clive returned to India in 1755 with the rank of lieutenant colonel in the king's service, and the appointment from the company as governor of Fort St. David.

Clive's abilities were soon called into action. The Surajah Dowlah, Viceroy of Bengal, had taken Calcutta, and thrust the English inhabitants, to the number of 146, into a small and loathsome dungeon known as the Black Hole, where in one night the greater part of them were stifled (June 20, 1756). But a signal vengeance was soon taken. In the following January Clive retook Calcutta, with an army of 900 Europeans and 1500 sepoys, kept at bay the surajah's army of 40,000 men, and compelled him to make peace. Shortly after Clive took Chandernagore, as before related. His next exploit was to defeat the Surajah Dowlah at PLASSY (1757). The nabob had 50,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon, Clive only 1000 Europeans and 2000 sepoys, with eight field-pieces and two howitzers; yet the rout was complete, and the surajah lost all his artillery and baggage. This victory decided the fate of India, and laid the foundation of our empire. Meer Jaffier, a rebellious vassal of the surajah's, was installed in the capital of Moorshedabad as nabob of Bengal, Orissa, and Ba-

har; his predecessor was put to death, and the new nabob ceded to the English all the land within the Mahratta ditch or fortification round Calcutta, and all the country from Calcutta to the sea. Clive was now made Governor of Bengal by the East India Company. In return for Clive's assistance against the Emperor of Delhi, Meer Jaffier presented him with a domain worth £27,000 a year. In 1760 Clive returned to England, having previously defeated an attempt of the Dutch upon Calcutta. He received an Irish peerage as Lord Clive and Baron Plassy, and obtained a seat in the House of Commons.

The hostilities between the French and English in India, after the declaration of war in 1758, have already been related, to which it may be added that the defeat of Lally Tollendal by Sir Eyre Coote, at Wandebash (Jan. 22, 1760), secured the Carnatic. The farther history of India will be resumed lower down.

§ 5. The difference of opinion between George Grenville and Lord Bute respecting the cession of the Havana occasioned the resignation of the seals by the former, but he still retained office as first lord of the admiralty. The Earl of Halifax took Grenville's place; and the leadership of the Commons, with a seat in the cabinet, was given to Mr. Fox, who still remained paymaster of the forces. The peace was very unpopular out of doors, and Lord Bute was hissed and pelted; but, in spite of an eloquent speech against it by Pitt, the address was carried by a large majority in the Commons. Another cause of Lord Bute's unpopularity was his almost exclusive patronage of his Scotch countrymen. Wilkes branded him with the epithet of *favorite*. In some of the rural districts he was burnt under the effigy of a *jack-boot*, a rustic pun on his name (John, Earl of Bute); and when he walked the streets he was followed by a gang of prizefighters hired to protect him. These symptoms of popular dislike frightened him into a resignation (April 8), to the surprise both of king and people. At the same time Fox was raised to the Upper House with the title of Lord Holland, still, however, retaining his office. Bute was succeeded by George Grenville, who became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The two secretaries of state were Lords Egremont and Halifax.

A few days afterward the king closed the session by a speech, in which he adverted to the late peace as honorable to the crown and beneficial to the people. This was immediately attacked in the next and last number of the *North Briton* (April 23), the celebrated **No. 45.** Grenville was bold and impolitic enough to order its prosecution, to which circumstance it owes its notoriety, for it does not equal, either in ability or virulence, many of the preceding numbers. On April 30 Wilkes was arrested in his own

house by virtue of what was called "a general warrant," that is, a warrant not specifying any particular person, but directed against "the authors, printers, and publishers" of the obnoxious paper. At the same time Wilkes's papers were seized, and he was committed to the Tower; but a few days afterward the judges, waiving the question of the legality of general warrants, pronounced him entitled to his discharge by virtue of his privilege as a member of Parliament. He was again imprisoned, however, during the recess.

In the next session warm debates ensued in the Commons on the subject of the paper; and they at length decided that No. 45 was a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, and ordered it to be burnt by the hangman. Some delay was produced in the measures against Wilkes from his having been wounded in a duel by Mr. Martin, who challenged him on account of a libel in some former numbers of the *North Briton;* but at length he was expelled from the House by a unanimous vote.

The attempt to burn No. 45 in the Royal Exchange produced a serious riot. A jack-boot and a petticoat, the latter denoting the Princess of Wales, were thrown into the fire prepared for the paper, the mob shouting "Wilkes and liberty forever!" A few days after he recovered £1000 damages against Mr. Wood, the under secretary of state, for the forcible entry of his house. A verdict, however, was obtained against him for No. 45, as well as for a piece called an *Essay on Woman*, an obscene and scurrilous libel in parody of Pope's *Essay on Man*, in which Lord Sandwich and Bishop Warburton had been reflected on and ridiculed. Wilkes now thought proper to go abroad; and, not appearing to receive judgment, was outlawed. Wilkes's case derives its chief importance from the question which it raised respecting the legality of general warrants. Chief Justice Pratt and all the most eminent lawyers of the day declared them illegal from their form, their tenor being to apprehend all persons guilty of a certain crime, thus assuming a guilt which remained to be proved. For the present, however, the government had influence enough to postpone a resolution to that effect being carried in the Commons.

§ 6. Another impolitic step of Grenville's, but attended with far more momentous consequences, was the extending of the Stamp Act to the North American colonies. The late war had been very expensive; and, as it had been partly undertaken for the defense of those colonies, it occurred to Grenville, in an evil hour, that they might not unjustly be called upon to bear part of the burden. He consulted the agents of the several North American colonies in London upon his project, inquired whether any other tax would be more agreeable, and gave a year's notice of

his plan by a resolution entered in the Journals of the Commons in 1764.

These colonies had been continually increasing in strength and prosperity, and at this time consisted of 13 states, with a population of about two millions of whites and half a million of colored people. They were, 1. The New England colonies, settled by the Puritans, consisting of the four states of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Rhode Island; 2. New York; 3. New Jersey; 4. Pennsylvania; 5. Delaware; 6. Maryland; 7. Virginia; 8. The two states of North and South Carolina; and, 9. Georgia. Each of these colonies was governed on the English model, and had a House of Assembly elected by the people. There was also a governor appointed by the crown, and a council. In Connecticut the governor was elective.

Hitherto the mother country and her colonies had lived in tolerable harmony; but at this time the American colonists were in a distressed and irritable condition. They were suffering from the effects of a terrible border war with the Indians; they considered themselves aggrieved by some new duties which had been imposed on their foreign trade, as well as by the stringent regulations by which their illicit traffic was repressed. All of them were decidedly opposed to a stamp act, which from its nature was far more obnoxious than any custom-house duties. The latter might be regarded as imperial, the former was a sort of local excise. Nor would they suggest any substitute, but based their opposition on the broad constitutional principle that there should be no taxation without representation, and that they were not represented in the House of Commons. They intimated, however, a wish that, as in former instances, a letter from the secretary of state, in the king's name, requiring contributions for his service, should be laid before the different Houses of Assembly; and there seems little reason to doubt that, if this course had been pursued, the minister would have raised at least as much as he expected from the Stamp Act, the produce of which was estimated at less than £100,000 a year.

In 1765, however, the measure passed through Parliament with little debate or opposition. Pitt was absent from illness, only one or two of his party made a slight resistance, and it attracted no public notice whatever. Nobody suspected that this little spark would burst out into a vast and inextinguishable flame. Even Dr. Franklin, the agent for Pennsylvania, one of the chief and ablest representatives of the views of the colonists, expected nothing but acquiescence from his countrymen, which he inculcated.*

* This is an error, originating doubtless in a statement made in a pamphlet written by Dean Tucker at that time. Franklin opposed the Stamp

Far different was the spirit which it excited in America. The act was reprinted, with a death's head at top in place of the king's arms, and was hawked about under the title of "The Folly of England and Ruin of America." The vessels in Boston harbor hoisted their colors half-mast high, and the muffled bells of the churches tolled out a death-knell. The Virginian House of Assembly, roused by the eloquence of Patrick Henry, took the lead in opposition, and drew up a series of resolutions, accompanied with a petition to the king, denying the right of the mother country to tax the colonists without their consent. Most of the other assemblies followed this example, and a general Congress was appointed to meet at New York in October, when resolutions and petitions, much the same as those of Virginia, were adopted. In some parts associations were formed against the importation or use of British manufactures; and presently a small party began to appear who promulgated their views of a united republic. When the ships arrived with the stamps it became necessary to put them away in some place of safety. Nobody would use them, and the persons who had been appointed distributors resigned their posts.

§ 7. While these things were going on the author of the mischief had been compelled to resign his office. George III. had this year been attacked with a severe illness, accompanied with symptoms of that dreadful malady which darkened his later years. He himself was the first to propose a regency. The ministers wished to leave out his mother's name, and surprised the king's consent; but he afterward repented, and it was restored by the House of Commons. This was the cause which chiefly alienated the king's mind from Grenville; and when he recovered, for his illness was but short, he entered into negotiations with Pitt and Temple. These, however, went off; and resort was then had to a confederacy of the great Whig houses, with the Marquis of Rockingham at their head. That nobleman, who was descended, on the female side, from Lord Strafford, and inherited the honors of Wentworth, now became first lord of the treasury. He was one of the greatest landowners in England. He had no great ability, but his judgment was sound and his character honorable. His chief passion was horse-racing. Under him the Duke of Grafton and General Conway became secretaries of state; Mr. William Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer; and the veteran Duke

Act from its first inception. To Charles Thompson he wrote from London, on the 11th of July, 1765: "Depend upon it, my good neighbor, I took every step in my power to prevent the passage of the Stamp Act." And when asked by a committee of Parliament whether the Americans would pay the stamp duty, he said, emphatically, "No, never, unless compelled by force of arms."—AM. ED.

of Newcastle was propitiated with the privy seal. Pitt was conciliated by raising his confidential friend Chief Justice Pratt, to the peerage, with the title of Lord Camden.

The state of America was a very embarrassing question for the new ministry. To withdraw the Stamp Act would be an ill precedent and a confession of weakness; to press it by force would be painful, and might lead to the most dangerous consequences. The vigor and eloquence with which Pitt denounced Grenville, and attacked this measure, in the session of 1766, decided the wavering cabinet. Adopting the advice of the "great commoner," they brought in two bills: one to repeal the Stamp Act, the other declaring the power of Parliament over the colonies to be supreme. Both were carried. The majority of the colonists were still loyal, and the news of the repeal of the obnoxious act was received with great joy and satisfaction in America. It was not, however, in human nature, but that some soreness should be left behind, as well as a still more dangerous feeling of secret triumph at the recognition of their strength.

Lord Rockingham adopted other measures of a popular nature. A silk bill, introduced by the late ministry, had occasioned serious riots the preceding year among the Spitalfields weavers; siege had been laid to the Duke of Bedford's house in Bloomsbury Square, and it became necessary to disperse the rioters by means of the military. Rockingham now restrained the import of foreign silks. He also repealed the unpopular cider-tax, obtained a resolution of the House of Commons declaring general warrants illegal, and another condemning the seizure of papers in cases of libel. The ministry however was tottering through internal dissensions; Lord Northington, the chancellor, told the king at the end of the session that they could not go on, and advised him to send for Mr. Pitt. This time Pitt accepted, and succeeded in forming a ministry; but, to the surprise of all, he reserved for himself the office of privy seal, with a peerage! The king signed his warrant as Earl Chatham on July 29. Pitt named the Duke of Grafton as head of the treasury; Charles Townshend became chancellor of the exchequer; General Conway continued secretary of state and leader of the House of Commons, with the Earl of Shelburne* as his colleague; and Lord Camden was made chancellor.

The prospect of Pitt's support in the House of Commons had been the chief inducement with most of the ministers to take office, and they were naturally much disappointed to find themselves deprived of it by his elevation to a peerage. But their dis-

* The Earl of Shelburne, an Irish peer, became prime minister in 1782 (see p. 659), and was created Marquis of Lansdowne in 1784: father of the present marquis.

appointment did not end here. Constant fits of the gout allowed Lord Chatham to appear but seldom even in the Lords; and in the spring of 1767 a mysterious malady, arising apparently from suppressed gout, prostrated him to such a degree that he would neither see any body nor open any papers on business. Edmund Burke, who was now rising into eminence, adverted to him in one of his speeches as a great invisible power—a being so immeasurably high that not even his own cabinet could get access to him. Affairs went wrong in his absence. The opposition carried a motion to reduce the land-tax, by which the revenue lost half a million. In order partly to repair this loss, Charles Townshend, in spite of the warning so recently received, resolved to raise some supplies in America by small taxes on tea, glass, paper, and painters' colors, the whole amount of which would not exceed £40,000 a year. For such a sum did he risk the fidelity of those magnificent colonies. In the following September Townshend died, and Lord North accepted the vacant office of chancellor of the exchequer. Soon after some changes occurred in the ministry, and the new office of colonial secretary was established, in which the Earl of Hillsborough* was installed. At this time the name alone of Lord Chatham supported the administration.

§ 8. In the elections for a new Parliament in 1768, Wilkes, who was still under a sentence of outlawry, though rejected by the city of London, contrived to obtain his return as member for Middlesex, chiefly through the intimidation of the mob. He surrendered in the court of King's Bench, when Lord Mansfield pronounced the outlawry void, from a technical flaw in the proceedings; but the original verdicts were confirmed, and Wilkes was sentenced to two years' imprisonment, computed from the day of his arrest, and to pay two fines of £500 each for No. 45 and the *Essay on Woman*. This sentence occasioned a riot. The mob rescued Wilkes's carriage, dragged it to a tavern in Cornhill, and insisted on his remaining at liberty; but he slipped out at the back door, and surrendered himself at the King's Bench prison. Some desperate riots ensued, and on the day of the meeting of Parliament several persons were killed and wounded by the military in St. George's Fields.

In the session of 1769 the House of Commons pronounced Wilkes guilty of an insolent libel in publishing a letter of Lord Weymouth's, now secretary of state, to the magistrates of Surrey, accompanied with some caustic remarks; and on the motion of Lord Barrington he was expelled the House. Wilkes's popularity, however, had gone on increasing. In the city he had been

* Wills Hill, first Earl of Hillsborough, created Marquis of Downshire in Ireland in 1789: ancestor of the present marquis.

elected alderman of Farringdon Without; and when the election for Middlesex came on, he was again unanimously returned. Three times the House declared him incapable of sitting, and three times was he re-elected. On the third occasion, however, the ministers provided another candidate, Colonel Luttrell; and the House pronounced him to have been duly elected. But, though the ministers carried their point, they had rendered Wilkes the idol of the nation. In the autumn he brought an action against Lord Halifax for having seized his papers, and obtained £4000 damages.

We must now revert to the more momentous disturbances in the North American colonies, where Townshend's ill-advised taxes had revived all the animosity occasioned by the Stamp Act. The State of Massachusetts took the lead in the opposition. A violent altercation arose between the House of Assembly and Bernard, the governor of that state. The latter, in the exercise of his prerogative, finally dissolved the Assembly, July 1, 1768. Riots of the most serious description ensued at Boston. The other American states, though not so violent, displayed a sort of passive resistance. Associations were formed calling themselves "Sons of Liberty," and even "Daughters of Liberty," to enter into non-importation agreements, and to forbear the use of tea. Subsequently it became customary to strip those who would not enter into these agreements, and to cover them with tar and feathers.*

The cabinet now deemed it prudent to repeal the obnoxious taxes; but Lord North, on the suggestion of Lord Hillsborough, carried an exception in favor of the tea-duties. Lord Hillsborough communicated the determination of the ministry in a circular to the governors of the North American colonies, drawn up in harsh and ungracious terms, which increased the irritation occasioned by a merely partial concession. Lord Chatham, who had never taken any active part in the administration, had resigned in October, 1768. In the spring of the following year a return of the gout restored him to health and society, and in July he attended the king's levee, a sort of apparition from the dead. When the Parliament was opened in January, 1770, he appeared in his place, and denounced in severe terms both the foreign and the American policy of the ministers. Shortly afterward the Duke of Grafton resigned, when the king prevailed upon Lord North to accept the place of first lord of the treasury, in addition to that of chancellor of the exchequer, and he thus became prime minister.

During the following year or two nothing of much importance

* This statement implies that this kind of argument was common. On the contrary, such acts of cruelty were very rare, and were indulged in by violent persons of both parties.—Am. Ed.

occurred. Two of the king's brothers, the Dukes of Cumberland and Gloucester, having degraded themselves by private marriages, the former with Mrs. Horton, sister of Colonel Luttrell, the latter with an illegitimate daughter of Sir Edward Walpole, George caused the Royal Marriage Bill to be introduced into the House of Lords, by which every prince or princess, the descendant of George II., except only the issue of princesses married abroad, was prohibited from marrying without the king's consent before attaining the age of 25. After that age they might be relieved from the king's veto by consent of the privy council and both houses of Parliament. This statute is still in force.

§ 9. With the exception of some disturbances in Massachusetts, affairs had been going on pretty quietly in America. The tea-duty, which was only 3*d.* per pound, seemed to be acquiesced in, when in 1773 an act was committed which, though far from being so intended, finally estranged the American colonies. The East India Company had contracted a large debt, but they had also an enormous stock of tea in their warehouses, for which they could find no sale. Lord North, in order to relieve them by finding a market for their stock, now proposed that the tea exported to America, which had a drawback of only 3-5ths of the duty paid in England, should have a drawback of the whole duty, thus leaving it subject only to the 3*d.* duty in that country. This appeared to be a boon not only to the East India Company, but also to the American colonists, as it would enable them to purchase their tea cheaper than they could even before the 3*d.* duty was imposed. Accordingly, the East India Company freighted several ships with tea, and appointed consignees in America for its sale. But meantime a circumstance had occurred which embittered the feeling against England. Mr. Thomas Whately, Grenville's private secretary, and under secretary of state to Lord Suffolk, had been engaged in a private correspondence with Hutchinson, Governor of Massachusetts, Oliver, the lieutenant governor, and other officers of the crown in that province. Whately having died, these letters were purloined, and came into the possession of Dr. Franklin, who, finding that they contained expressions inimical to the liberty of the colonies, sent them to America, but with strict injunctions of secrecy, and that they should not be permitted to circulate beyond a few of his friends. Such a caution, as might have been foreseen, turned out quite nugatory; the letters found their way into the House of Assembly of Massachusetts, were voted subversive of the Constitution, and petitions were drawn up for the removal of Hutchinson and Oliver. The whole matter was subsequently referred to the privy council, where Wedderburn, the solicitor general, attacked Franklin for his breach of confidence

in a most biting and sarcastic speech. The privy council decided that the petition was founded on false and erroneous allegations, and that it was groundless, vexatious, and scandalous. Two days after Franklin was deprived of his post as deputy postmaster general in America.

Meanwhile, the arrival of the tea-ships in America—nay, the very anticipation of their arrival—had caused a violent outburst of popular feeling. It was given out that they were only the forerunners of farther taxation; some said that the ships were laden with fetters instead of tea. The consignees were threatened and obliged to fling up their engagements. At Charleston the teas were allowed to be landed, but not to be sold, and were stowed in cellars, where they perished from damp. The Boston people went farther. On December 16, 1773, a body of men, disguised as Mohawk Indians, boarded the tea-ships and scattered their cargoes in the water, to the value, it is computed, of £18,000.

By way of punishment, Lord North now transferred the Boston custom-houses to Salem, another port of Massachusetts, and also made some important alterations in the charter granted to that state by King William. This last step excited the jealousy and alarm of the other states. Even the most moderate men began to tremble for their liberties; and they were encouraged to resistance by finding that they were supported by a powerful party in the British Parliament, which numbered in its ranks Chatham, Burke, Charles Fox, son of Lord Holland, and other eminent men. Virginia, where the popular feeling was directed by Patrick Henry and Thomas Jefferson, was one of the first provinces to give in its adhesion to Massachusetts. The conduct of the English Puritans in Charles's reign was taken as a model, and a combination was set on foot with the ominous title of the "Solemn League and Covenant." Committees of correspondence were established, and a congress summoned at Philadelphia. Delegates from twelve colonies met in September, and debated with closed doors. The assembly drew up a Declaration of Rights, claiming all the liberties of Englishmen, and adopted resolutions to suspend all trade between England and America till their grievances were redressed. Addresses were prepared to the people of Great Britain, the people of Canada, and to the king; and after appointing another Congress for May 10th, 1775, the meeting quietly dispersed.

When the Parliament met in January, 1775, Lord Chatham denounced the attempts which were making to coerce the Americans as pregnant with the most fatal consequences, and foretold their utter failure. But all his warnings were disregarded. Meanwhile a militia had been raised in Massachusetts, called *Minute Men*, because they were to be ready at a minute's notice;

arms also were provided and deposited at Concord, a town about 16 miles from Boston. General Gage, commandant at Boston, dispatched a few hundred light troops on the night of April 18th, on a secret expedition to destroy these stores. The secret, however, had oozed out; and the van, on reaching Lexington, a place about three miles from Concord, found about 70 militiamen under arms, and drawn up on the parade. A collision took place, about the manner of which accounts vary; but several Americans were killed and wounded. The troops then proceeded to Concord, spiked three guns, and destroyed some stores. Meanwhile, however, the whole country had been roused; the British were surrounded and galled on every side by an incessant fire, and before they got back to Lexington their retreat had become a perfect rout. Had not General Gage dispatched some re-enforcements, the whole body would have been annihilated. Their loss was 273 killed, wounded, and prisoners, while the Americans did not lose a third of that number. This victory, if such it can be called, excited the ardor of the Americans. A force of 20,000 men was raised in the New England provinces, and blockaded General Gage in Boston; while a party of Connecticut men marched to Lake Champlain, and surprised and captured forts Ticonderoga and Crown Point.

On the appointed day the Congress met at Philadelphia. They prohibited the export of provisions to any British colony, the supply of necessaries to the British army and navy, the negotiation of bills drawn by British officers, etc. They took measures for providing supplies of men and money, and they appointed, as commander-in-chief, Colonel George Washington, who had distinguished himself in the wars with the French. On June 21st he set out to take the command of the army blockading Boston. The English then had been re-enforced by divisions under General Burgoyne, General William Howe, brother of Lord Howe, and General Sir Henry Clinton, which raised their whole force to about 10,000 men. A considerable body of Americans, having been sent to occupy Bunker's Hill, proceeded by mistake to Breed's Hill, which also forms part of the peninsula on which Charlestown stands; and as that frontier overlooks Boston, from which it is separated only by an arm of the sea about as broad as the Thames at London, it became necessary to dislodge them. But this was not effected till after three assaults, and with the loss of 1000 men, while the Americans did not lose half that number. This was called the battle of Bunker's Hill.

§ 10. A civil war seemed to be now fairly kindled; yet on July 8th the Congress signed a petition to the king, expressing their loyalty and their desire of a reconciliation, and sent it over to Lon-

don. This petition they called the "Olive Branch," and they determined that it should be their last appeal. The king, however, declined to answer it, on the ground that he could not recognize the Congress, a self-constituted body that had taken up arms against him; and in his opening speech to Parliament in October he expressed his determination to put down the rebellion by force. This occasioned several changes in the ministry, and especially the American secretaryship was transferred to Lord George Germaine, formerly Lord Sackville, of Minden notoriety (see p. 628), a man of ability, but of a violent temper.

In November Lord North obtained a repeal of the acts respecting the port of Boston and the Massachusetts charter; but, on the other hand, all commerce with the insurgent colonies was strictly forbidden so long as they remained in a state of rebellion, and the capture of American goods and vessels was authorized. The burning of the town of Falmouth (now Portland), in Maine, and soon after of Norfolk, in Virginia, farther incensed the Americans. They had this year invaded Canada, and laid siege to Quebec, which they blockaded during the winter; but in the following summer they were forced to evacuate the province.

As Boston did not afford a good point for entering the country, and as they were surrounded by a superior force, the British evacuated Boston in March, 1776, by a sort of tacit convention with the "Select Men," that, if their embarkation was not molested, the town should not be injured. They proceeded by sea to Staten Island, and Boston was immediately occupied by Washington's troops. The recovery of this place was regarded as a sort of triumph by the Americans. The inhabitants of Staten Island were loyally disposed, and admitted the British without resistance.

About this time the question of independence began to be agitated in Congress. As is usual in such cases, the views of the Americans had expanded with the progress of the rebellion. At first they had merely contemplated a redress of grievances; now, a large party was inclined to a separation and an independent republic. These sentiments were kept alive by a host of writers, and especially by Thomas Paine, an Englishman settled in America. A committee of five was appointed to draw up a Declaration of Independence, which was written by Jefferson, corrected by Adams and Franklin, and subsequently amended by the Congress. It was signed on July 4th, 1776,* as the act of the whole American people, though three or four of the colonies did not agree to

*. It was signed by John Hancock, the president of Congress, only, on that day. It was copied on parchment, and all but two of the signers affixed their names a few weeks afterward.—Am. Ed.

it; and the United Colonies were declared free and independent states. Only a few hours after the proclamation of Independence, Lord Howe arrived off Sandy Hook, furnished with full powers to treat.* He dispatched a friendly letter to Franklin, to which a hostile answer was returned. He then sent a flag of truce and a letter to Washington, who had gone with his army to Brooklyn in Long Island; but as the letter was addressed to G. Washington, Esq., instead of *General* Washington, he refused to receive it.

The British government had collected a body of about 17,000 German troops, for which they paid enormous subsidies to the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick, and other petty German sovereigns. Having received re-enforcements of these men, General Howe sent over in August a detachment of 8000 to Long Island, and compelled the Americans to evacuate it. In this affair the American general Sullivan had been captured, through whom Lord Howe induced Congress to send three members to Staten Island to discuss an accommodation in the character of private gentlemen. The Congress deputed three members known to be most inimical to the British connection, namely, Dr. Franklin, John Adams, and Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina; and as these gentlemen at once declared that the colonies could enter into no peace except as independent states, the conference was of course abortive.

In September General Howe crossed the water and attacked New York, which was abandoned on his approach.† A great portion of the inhabitants were loyally disposed. During the autumn the Americans gradually retired before the British, till they had crossed the Delaware into Pennsylvania. Howe had been very remiss in following up the advantages which he gained, and he now ordered Lord Cornwallis, who was conducting the pursuit, not to attempt to follow the enemy over the Delaware, but to disperse his troops in winter-quarters through the Jerseys. Washington, on the other hand, recrossed that river, and by some skillful manœuvres recovered nearly the whole of the Jerseys. These successes produced a great moral effect on the Americans, and the Congress which met at Baltimore conferred extraordinary powers upon Washington.

§ 11. The American cause was very popular in France, out of hatred to this country. Franklin and Silas Deane had been sent as envoys to Paris, to solicit the support of the French; and,

* His arrival occurred several days afterward.—AM. ED.

† Howe did not attack New York. After a severe engagement on Long Island, he crossed, with the larger portion of his troops, to Manhattan or York Island, on which the city stands, when the Americans evacuated it, and the British took possession.—AM. ED.

though the latter were not yet prepared to declare openly in favor of the Americans, they gave them secret assistance. Many French officers proceeded to America to offer their services, among whom the most distinguished by rank and fortune was the young Marquis de la Fayette, who was not yet 20 years of age. The Americans gave him the rank of major general, and he undertook to serve without emolument. In England, Chatham again appeared in the House of Lords this summer, and made an eloquent appeal for conciliating America, but without success. The exertions of Chatham in this cause were noble, enlightened, and patriotic; but there was a class of turbulent demagogues, to whom it served as an occasion to excite sedition and disturbance. The Rev. Mr. Horne, better known by his subsequent name of Horne Tooke, was convicted before Lord Mansfield of a libel, for having, in advertising for subscriptions for the relief of the Americans, stigmatized the affairs at Lexington and Concord as inhuman murders; and he was sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment.

In 1777 Howe abandoned the design of reaching Philadelphia through the Jerseys, and, withdrawing his troops, embarked them at New York with the intention of proceeding by water. Finding the banks of the Delaware well fortified, he proceeded up the Chesapeake and landed his men at the head of Elk. Midway between that place and Philadelphia runs the stream called the Brandywine, where the Americans occupied a strong position. But they were defeated and completely routed (Sept. 11th), and the British vanguard took possession of Philadelphia without resistance. In an attempt to recover it the Americans were repulsed at Germantown. These successes were more than counterbalanced by reverses in the north. General Burgoyne, who had more talent for writing plays than commanding armies, was directed to operate on the Hudson in order to prevent any farther attempts on Canada. Two advanced divisions, consisting chiefly of Germans, which he had thrown across the Hudson, were defeated at Bennington by General Stark; but, after collecting provisions, Burgoyne again crossed that river and advanced beyond Saratoga.* He defeated the Americans at Bemis's Heights (Sept. 19), but gained no advantage by the victory; and he was himself defeated shortly afterward, near the same spot, by Arnold.† Burgoyne was now obliged to retreat to Saratoga, where he found himself almost surrounded by the enemy; and as his provisions

* Burgoyne and his army were all on the east side of the Hudson, and none of them had yet crossed. Bennington is 35 miles eastward from that river.—Am. Ed.

† Gates was in chief command of the Americans opposed to Burgoyne, but to Arnold, more than to him, belongs the honor of the victory.—Am. Ed

were nearly exhausted, while at the same time no news arrived from Sir H. Clinton, by whom he expected to be joined, he found himself compelled to enter into convention with General Gates, by which he agreed to lay down his arms (Oct. 17). His fighting men had been reduced to 3500, while Gates had upward of 15,000 fit for duty.* The capitulation of Saratoga was the turning-point in the American war. It was not faithfully observed by the Americans, who, because the English soldiers had retained their cartouche-boxes, which they pretended came under the description of "arms," detained them several years at Boston as prisoners.†

The news of Burgoyne's disaster raised a patriotic spirit in England. Voluntary subscriptions were opened, and a sum was raised sufficient to maintain 15,000 soldiers without the aid of government. In France the news had a decisive effect. It was officially announced to the American envoys that Louis XVI. was prepared to acknowledge the independence of America; and two treaties of commerce and alliance with that country were signed at Paris, February 6, 1778.

Now, when it was too late, Lord North attempted measures of conciliation. He formally renounced the right of the British Parliament to tax America; he appointed five commissioners with the most ample powers, who were instructed to raise no difficulties respecting the rank or legal position of those who might be appointed to treat with them; and it seemed to be intimated that any terms short of independence would be conceded. The bills were received by Parliament with astonishment and dejection; but no opposition was made, and they received the royal assent

* The exact number of prisoners surrendered was 5791, of whom 2412 were Germans.—AM. ED.

† Gates made generous terms with Burgoyne, and the Congress at first ratified them; but circumstances soon afterward made them suspicious that the terms would not be complied with on the part of the British. Burgoyne was required to furnish a complete roll of his army, the name and rank of every officer, and the name, age, etc., of every non-commissioned officer and private soldier. He murmured and hesitated. At the same time, General Howe was very illiberal in the exchange of prisoners, and exhibited much duplicity. Under these circumstances, the Congress resolved not to allow any of the captives, except Burgoyne, to leave America until a formal ratification of the convention at Saratoga should be made by the British government. The troops were accordingly marched from Boston into Virginia, to await the action of the two governments, and were well provided for. On account of this prudential measure, the British ministry charged the Congress with actual perfidy. The latter retorted by charging the ministers with *meditated* perfidy; and subsequent correspondence between a New Jersey and Pennsylvania Tory (Isaac Ogden and Joseph Galloway, proved the suspicions of the Congress to be just and their measures wise.—AM. ED.

March 11, 1778. Two days after the Marquis de Noailles, the French embassador, delivered a note, couched in ironical and insulting terms, announcing the treaties concluded between France and the United States. And now, in the hour of danger, Lord North deserted his post. On the very next day he tendered his resignation to the king, and advised him to send for Lord Chatham; but the king's mind was embittered against that statesman by the invectives which he continued to utter, often groundless, it must be confessed, as when he inveighed against Bute's secret influence, which had long ceased to exist. The king expressed his determination not to accept the services of "that perfidious man," except in a subordinate post, which it was well known Chatham would not accept.

§ 12. But the days of that great statesman were drawing to a close. On April 7, although so extremely ill that he was obliged to be supported, nay, almost carried into the House by his second son, William, and his son-in-law, Lord Mahon, Chatham went down to oppose a motion of the Duke of Richmond's for an address to the king recommending peace at any price, even the recognizing of American independence; for, though Chatham had always been the warm advocate of conciliation, he regarded such a step with the utmost abhorrence, as a dismemberment of the empire, and especially under present circumstances, when it would seem to be taken at the dictation of France. He made a speech against the motion, in which, though traces of faltering were sometimes visible, all his former glowing eloquence seemed to be revived as for some grand and last occasion. He was answered by the Duke of Richmond, and, stung by some of his remarks, he rose to reply; but his strength had been overtasked: he staggered and fell back in convulsions. The peers crowded round him with marks of the deepest sympathy. He was carried to a neighboring house, where, with the aid of a physician, he in some degree rallied; thence he was carried to his house at Hayes, where, after lingering a few weeks, he expired on May 11, in the 70th year of his age. A public funeral was voted, with a monument in Westminster Abbey, an annuity of £4000 attached forever to the Earldom of Chatham, and a sum of £20,000 to discharge his debts.

The king now prevailed upon Lord North to continue in office; and the ministry was strengthened in the House of Lords by conferring the great seal upon Thurlow.

§ 13. The Americans had been encouraged by the French alliance, and by the retreat of Sir Henry Clinton from Philadelphia to New York; and Congress refused to hold any conference with Lord North's commissioners, unless the British fleets and armies were first withdrawn from America, or, at all events, the inde-

pendence of the United States acknowledged—conditions which were, of course, inadmissible, and all communications were consequently broken off. In July a French fleet of 12 ships of the line and 6 frigates, under the Count d'Estaing, appeared off the coast of America. Sir Henry Clinton reduced this summer nearly the whole province of Georgia, the inhabitants of which were loyally inclined. By orders from home, 5000 of his troops had been dispatched to the West Indies, and effected the conquest of St. Lucia, St. Pierre, and Miquelon; but, on the other hand, the French took Dominica.

Several actions were fought in the Channel, where Admiral Keppel commanded the English fleet. In July a general engagement took place off Ushant. The French fleet, under D'Orvilliers, was much superior in force: but the action was indecisive, and the respective fleets retired to Brest and Plymouth. Keppel had signaled Sir Hugh Palliser, his second in command, to bear up with his squadron and renew the combat; but Palliser's ship being much crippled, he was unable to comply. Both admirals were in Parliament, and political adversaries; and they now began to criminate each other. Keppel was brought to a court-martial on some charges made against him by Palliser, and after a trial of 32 days was honorably acquitted. As he was the popular favorite, all London was illuminated on his acquittal, while Palliser was burned in effigy. The latter, having demanded a court-martial on himself, was also acquitted.

In the next summer (1779) Spain joined France in the war against England, and manifestoes were published, both at Paris and Madrid, containing long statements of alleged grievances. In answer to the former, Gibbon the historian drew up a *Mémoire Justificatif*, or justifying memorial, which, though not exactly official, was circulated in the different courts of Europe as a state paper. The combined Spanish and French fleets amounted to 66 sail of the line, besides frigates and other smaller vessels. The French began to threaten an invasion, and 50,000 men were spread along the coast of France, from Havre to St. Malo. The threat, as usual, created considerable alarm in England, which was perhaps all that was contemplated. Sir Charles Hardy, who now commanded the English fleet, had only 38 ships, and was therefore obliged to remain on the defensive; but dissensions broke out between the enemy's admirals about the mode of conducting the war, and, the Spanish commander having retired into port, it became necessary for the French admiral to follow his example. It was at this time that Paul Jones, a Scotchman by birth, but holding a commission in the American service, appeared off the eastern coast of Scotland with three small ships of war and one

armed brigantine. He attacked our Baltic fleet, captured the Serapis and the Scarborough that were convoying it, and carried his prizes to Holland. He then appeared in the Frith of Forth, and filled Edinburgh with alarm and humiliation, till a steady west wind blew him out of the Frith.

The war was now raging in various quarters of the globe. The Spaniards formed the siege of Gibraltar; the French made an attempt upon Jersey, took Senegal in Africa, but lost Goree. In the West Indies, D'Estaing, in the absence of Admiral Byron, reduced St. Vincent and Grenada; but an attempt which he made, in conjunction with some American land-forces, on Savannah, the capital of Georgia, was repulsed.

§ 14. The year 1780 is memorable for the No Popery riots excited by Lord George Gordon. To explain their origin it will be necessary to go back a year or two. In 1778 Sir George Saville had procured the repeal of a very severe act against the Roman Catholics, passed in 1700 in consequence of the number of priests that came over to England after the peace of Ryswick. By this law priests or Jesuits exercising their functions, or teaching, were liable to imprisonment for life; and all Catholics who within six months after attaining the age of 18 refused to take the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy, and to subscribe the declarations against transubstantiation and the worship of saints, were declared incapable of purchasing, inheriting, or holding landed property. The very severity of this law had rendered it inoperative, yet its repeal excited among the more bigoted Protestants, especially in Scotland, and among the English populace, a feeling of the most violent animosity against the Roman Catholics. Protestant associations were formed both in England and Scotland; and Lord George Gordon, a younger son of the Duke of Gordon, a young man of a turbulent temper, fond of notoriety, but without either ability or principle, had put himself at the head of the movement. He made many silly and violent speeches in the House of Commons, and even went so far as to insinuate that the king himself was at heart a Roman Catholic. On June 2 he assembled a vast mob in St. George's Fields, to accompany him to the House with a petition against the recent changes in the penal laws. Many of the members of both houses were insulted and ill treated; the mob broke into the lobby of the House of Commons, and, knocking violently at the door, shouted out "No Popery!" while Lord George appeared now and then at the top of the gallery stairs to encourage and incite them. There was then no organized police; but Lord North, who displayed the utmost courage and firmness, privately sent for a detachment of the Guards. Colonel Murray, a kinsman of Lord George's, drew his sword and

threatened to run him through the body if a single man of the mob entered the House. The Guards arrived and cleared the lobby. Lord Gordon's proposal for immediate deliberation was rejected by an immense majority; and the rioters dispersed, but not before they had burned the chapels of the Sardinian and Bavarian legations. On the following day (Saturday) the mob was tolerably quiet, but on Sunday the blue cockades reassembled in great numbers, and burned two or three Catholic chapels. On Monday more chapels were burned, as well as the house of Sir G. Saville in Leicester Fields. On Tuesday, Lord George having appeared in the House with a blue cockade, Colonel Herbert desired him to remove it, or threatened to do so himself, upon which he submitted rather tamely. For two or three days the mob were in possession of London. Fiercer spirits had now appeared—men who thirsted for plunder and revolution. On Tuesday evening Newgate was broken open, the prisoners to the number of 300 released, and the building, lately rebuilt at a cost of £140,000, reduced to a heap of smouldering ruins. Clerkenwell was also entered, and the houses of three or four magistrates were destroyed. Toward midnight the mob proceeded to the residence of Lord Mansfield, in Bloomsbury Square, destroyed all his furniture, and his valuable library, containing letters which he had been collecting nearly 50 years, with a view to write the history of his times. Lord and Lady Mansfield had barely time to escape by the back door. On the 7th the riot was at its height. All the shops were shut, the mob were uncontrolled masters, and most of the prisons were forced and their inmates released. The magistrates seemed paralyzed; and Kennett, the lord mayor, displayed a great dereliction of duty, for which he was afterward prosecuted and convicted; while Alderman Wilkes, on the contrary, was active in suppressing the tumult. The king himself showed the greatest resolution on this occasion. Having assembled a council, he caused a proclamation to be issued warning the people to keep within doors, and intimating that the military had instructions to act without waiting for orders from the civil magistrates. That night London bore the aspect of a place taken by storm. In various quarters parties of soldiers were firing upon the mob, and the fire was sometimes returned; people were seen removing their goods in haste and alarm from the numerous houses which had been set on fire; and the streets resounded with the groans and yells of the wounded and the drunken. Nearly 500 persons were killed or wounded. But the riot was at an end: next day London was tranquil. Lord George Gordon was apprehended on the 9th, and committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason; and shortly afterward 60 or 70 of the rioters were convicted, of

whom 21 were executed. On this occasion, Wedderburn, the solicitor general, was made chief justice of the Common Pleas, with the title of Lord Loughborough, his predecessor De Grey having resigned in alarm.

§ 15. Admiral Sir G. Rodney gained a signal victory this year (Jan. 16) over the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent. Eight Spanish ships were taken or destroyed, and only four of their fleet escaped into Cadiz. He had previously captured a rich Spanish convoy in the Bay of Biscay. But the Spaniards amply avenged their losses by intercepting, off the Azores, our East and West India fleets, which had been sent to sea with a convoy of only two men-of-war. These escaped; but nearly 60 sail of merchantmen, freighted with valuable cargoes, were carried into Cadiz. Besides her declared enemies, England had now to contend with the neutral powers, who, under cover of their flags, supplied our enemies with warlike stores. Our first quarrel on this account was with the Dutch; and in February the Empress Catherine of Russia issued a declaration to the belligerent courts, in which it was insisted that free ships make free goods; that no goods are contraband except those declared such by treaty; and that blockades, to be acknowledged, must be effective. This declaration became the basis of the "armed neutrality" subsequently established between Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, to which Holland and Prussia, and eventually Spain and France, also acceded. Its object was to support the claims of neutrals, if necessary, by force of arms. Thus all the most powerful nations of Europe seemed arrayed against England, if not actively, at all events in a sort of sullen and indirect hostility; and before the end of the year the Dutch were added to the number of her active enemies. On board an American packet that had been captured there was found among the papers of Mr. Laurens, an envoy to Holland, the plan of an alliance between Holland and America, dated as far back as September, 1778. Remonstrances and negotiations ensued; and on December 20, 1780, war was declared against the Dutch.

With regard to this year's campaign in America, Sir Henry Clinton, after a rather long siege, succeeded in taking Charleston. All the American naval force at that place was destroyed or seized by Admiral Arbuthnot, and 400 guns and a great quantity of stores were captured. On the news that a French fleet, with a considerable number of troops on board, had sailed for New England, Clinton re-embarked for New York with a portion of his force, leaving Lord Cornwallis, with about 4000 men, to hold Charleston and South Carolina, and, if possible, to annex North Carolina. General Gates was now approaching with a consider-

able army; and on August 16 an engagement ensued at Camden, in which the Americans were completely routed and dispersed, with the loss of all their baggage. The French expedition against New England appeared off Rhode Island in July; but Admiral Arbuthnot, having been re-enforced by Admiral Graves, blockaded the French in Newport harbor the remainder of the year.* Sir H. Clinton had now arrived at a just appreciation of the war. He perceived that his force was not strong enough, by some thousands, effectually to reduce the revolted provinces, and he wrote home to that effect, at the same time tendering his resignation of the command.

The campaign in America ceased in the next year (1781), though the war was not absolutely terminated. The last action, at Eutaw Springs, about 60 miles from Charleston, fought on September 8, was one of the sharpest of the whole war. The American artillery was taken and retaken several times, and several hundreds were slain. The English, who were commanded by Colonel Stewart, remained masters of the field; yet, in spite of their apparent victory, they were obliged to retreat to Charleston Neck, and the Americans recovered the greater part of South Carolina and Georgia.

At this juncture the Count de Grasse arrived from the West Indies with 28 sail of the line and about 4000 troops. Sir Samuel Hood had followed him with only 14 ships; but, being re-enforced by Admiral Graves with five ships, the French were brought to an action off the coast of Virginia, September 5. It proved indecisive, and both fleets then retired—the English to New York, the French to the Chesapeake Bay.

Meanwhile, Lord Cornwallis, with a force of 7000 men, had taken up a position at Yorktown, an ill-fortified place, in which he was soon surrounded by an army of 18,000 men, with 50 or 60 pieces of artillery, and commanded by Washington and Rochambeau, assisted by La Fayette and other French officers. The

* The French fleet that arrived at Newport on the 10th of July, 1780, was not "an expedition against New England," but a naval armament sent to assist the Americans, and bearing a large French land force, under the Count de Rochambeau. The English fleet on the American stations attempted to blockade the French fleet in Narraganset Bay, but failed. Three French frigates went out the 20th of July to attack the advance sail of the British fleet, when, falling in with nine or ten ships, they retreated to the harbor. Shortly afterward Sir Henry Clinton, lately returned from Charleston, sailed from New York with 8000 troops to drive the American forces and their allies from Rhode Island, but proceeded no farther than Huntington Bay, in Long Island Sound, having been informed of the strong position of the French at Newport, the rapid gathering of the militia at the call of General Heath, and the approach of Washington toward New York. The expedition was abandoned.—AM. ED.

bombardment commenced on October 9; by the 14th two redoubts had been carried, and the town more closely invested. As all relief or escape was impossible, Cornwallis was now obliged to capitulate, and obtained certain honors of war. With this capitulation the American war, which had been conducted without any adequate plan or vigor, may be said to have ceased; at all events, there were no military operations afterward.

§ 16. In other quarters the British were more successful. Among the feats of arms this year was the relief of Gibraltar by Admiral Darby. In the Channel the immense superiority of the combined fleet, 49 sail of the line to 21, compelled Admiral Darby to retire into Torbay, and remain on the defensive. Here the enemy dared not to attack him, and in September they were dispersed by some boisterous weather. About the same time Admiral Hyde Parker, convoying a fleet from the Baltic, fell in with a Dutch fleet and convoy off the Dogger Bank; but, though the Dutch admiral, Zeuthman, was beaten, and bore away for the Texel, Parker was in no condition to pursue. In the West Indies Admiral Rodney captured the Dutch island of St. Eustatia, with an immense amount of property and ships. The Dutch shipping in the rivers Demerara and Essequibo was also captured by English privateers, and these settlements were surrendered to the Governor of Barbadoes. On the other hand, the French took Tobago.

In the next session of Parliament the ministers intimated their intention of confining their attempts to the retaining of certain ports and harbors in America. The tidings of fresh disasters added to the depression of the nation. Before the close of the year the Marquis de Bouillé had retaken the island of St. Eustatia. Shortly afterward we lost Demerara and Essequibo, together with St. Kitt's, Nevis, and Montserrat; so that, of all the Leeward Islands, England retained only Barbadoes and Antigua. A little previously an attempt which we made upon the Dutch settlement at the Cape of Good Hope had been frustrated. All these misfortunes were crowned by the surrender of Minorca (Feb. 5, 1782), after an heroic defense, and when, chiefly from the ravages of disease, only about 700 men were left fit for duty.

On February 27, 1782, General Conway carried a resolution in the House of Commons against any farther attempts to reduce the insurgent colonies, and subsequently an address to inform the sovereign that those who should advise the prosecution of the war would be regarded by the House as enemies of their king and country. On March 15, the ministry having escaped a vote of non-confidence, proposed by Sir John Rous, only by a majority of 9, Lord North announced his resignation. His administration had

lasted 12 years, and had been characterized by harsh and rigorous measures, though he himself was eminently gentle and good-tempered. The Marquis of Rockingham now became again prime minister, with Lord John Cavendish as chancellor of the exchequer, Admiral Viscount Keppel first lord of the admiralty, the Duke of Richmond master of the ordnance, the Earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox secretaries of state, and General Conway commander-in-chief. The Tory chancellor, Lord Thurlow, retained the seals. Burke was not admitted into the cabinet, but was made paymaster of the forces; and a small appointment was given to his son.

In the preceding year two young men of distinguished ability had entered on the career of public life; Richard Brinsley Sheridan, and William Pitt, the second son of Lord Chatham. Sheridan's maiden speech was a failure; but he was not discouraged, and soon retrieved his reputation. Pitt's first address, on the contrary, seemed to be that of a practiced orator, and was received with applause and warm congratulations even by Fox and the opposition. Sheridan accepted the place of under secretary of state in the new ministry; and a choice of some of the smaller posts was offered to Pitt, but, though only 23 years of age, he had already declared in the House of Commons that he would not accept any subordinate situation.

The ministry were embarrassed at the very outset by the state of Ireland, where great discontent prevailed on account of some alleged commercial grievances. The Catholic question had not yet arisen, but the question of the independence of the Irish Parliament was agitated with great warmth. The eloquent Henry Grattan, the leader of the opposition, was a Protestant. On April 16 he carried an address to the crown declaratory of the legislative independence of the Irish houses. Such an independence was clearly an anomaly which might lead to the greatest practical inconvenience: as, for instance, if the Irish Parliament should vote for peace with a foreign country against which England had declared war. The English ministers could not but perceive this glaring evil; but the present state of the country rendered a breach with Ireland highly inexpedient, and Fox carried a motion (May 17) which, by repealing the act 6 Geo. I., acknowledged the independence of the Irish Legislature. The gratitude of the Irish was unbounded. They immediately passed a vote to raise 20,000 seamen, and they prevailed upon Grattan to accept £50,000 for himself.

The question of Parliamentary reform had now begun to excite considerable attention in England. Lord Chatham had been its warm advocate; and Pitt, who took up his father's views on this subject, moved for a committee to inquire into the state of the

representation. Opinions were divided in the cabinet, but the motion was negatived by 20 votes. Some measures of reform were, however, introduced by the ministry, such as a bill to prevent revenue officers from voting at elections, and another forbidding contractors to sit in the House of Commons. A great many useless offices were abolished, the pension list was reduced, and the amount of secret service money limited.

§ 17. About this time the disgraces of England were in some measure retrieved by a brilliant naval victory. On April 12 Admiral Rodney succeeded in bringing the French fleet under De Grasse to an engagement, which, with a large body of troops on board, had sailed from Martinico to attack Jamaica. Each fleet consisted of upward of 30 ships of the line. The action lasted nearly 11 hours, and was desperately contested, but ended in the decisive victory of the English. The Ville de Paris, carrying Admiral de Grasse's flag, the largest ship in the French navy, together with four more first-rate vessels, was taken, and another was sunk. Admiral Hood captured two more that were retreating. Owing to the French vessels being crowded with troops, they are said to have lost 3000 killed and 6000 wounded, while the loss on the side of the English did not exceed 900. On board the Ville de Paris were 36 chests of money to pay the soldiers, and their whole train of artillery was on board the other captured ships. The remainder of the French fleet were scattered, and could not contrive to reunite. Thus was Jamaica saved. The ministry had just previously recalled Rodney, with every mark of coolness and disgrace; but they now found themselves called upon to reward him with a barony and a pension. An Irish barony was bestowed on Hood.

Negotiations for a peace were soon after opened at Paris. Dr. Franklin, the American minister there, refused to treat on any other terms than the recognition of the independence of the United States, to which also he at first added a demand for the cession of Canada. In the midst of these negotiations Lord Rockingham died (July 1). The king now sent for the Earl of Shelburne, who accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, upon which a large part of the ministry, including Fox, Lord John Cavendish, the Duke of Portland, Burke, and Sheridan, resigned. Under Lord Shelburne, Pitt became chancellor of the exchequer; Thomas Townshend and Lord Grantham secretaries of state.

The combined French and Spanish fleets again swept the Channel this summer, yet Lord Howe, with a far inferior force, contrived to screen from them the East and West India merchantmen convoyed by Sir P. Parker. After Howe's return to Portsmouth, the Royal George, of 108 guns, reckoned the first ship in

the British navy, having been laid slightly on her side in order to stop a leak, was capsized at Spithead by a squall; and all her ports being open, immediately sank, when a great part of the crew, and many women and children who had come on board, as well as Admiral Kempenfeldt, who was writing in his cabin, were drowned. Rodney's prizes also, including the Ville de Paris, unfortunately foundered on their way from the West Indies.

In September Lord Howe sailed with 34 ships of the line to relieve Gibraltar, which had now endured a memorable siege of more than three years. It was defended by General Elliot, with a garrison of more than 5000 men. They had been relieved on different occasions by Admirals Rodney and Darby, but they were at times reduced to such distress as to feed off vegetables and even weeds. In the spring of 1781 the bombardment was terrible. It is computed that the enemy fired 56,000 balls and 20,000 shells from the middle of April till the end of May, yet the casemates afforded so effectual a protection that only 70 men were killed. The bombardment was relaxed during the summer, but renewed again in the autumn. On the night of November 26 Elliot made a sortie with 2000 men. The Spaniards were taken by surprise, and fled on all sides; their works were destroyed, their guns spiked, their ammunition blown up. It was long before the bombardment was renewed, and then not with the previous vigor. Early in 1782 the Spaniards were encouraged by the arrival of De Crillon, the victor of Minorca, who assumed the chief command. The total French and Spanish force now collected before Gibraltar amounted to 33,000 men, with 170 pieces of heavy artillery. The English had likewise been re-enforced, and had a garrison of 7000 men, with 80 guns of large calibre. The siege now attracted the eyes of all Europe. The Comte d'Artois and Duke of Bourbon came from Paris to share the expected glory of its termination. Charles of Spain was accustomed to ask every morning on waking, "Is it taken?" and to the invariable "No," invariably replied, "It will be soon." De Crillon, deeming the land side impregnable, caused some immense floating batteries to be constructed, mounted with 142 guns; and on the morning of September 17 a fire was opened on the English works at a distance of about 600 yards, the batteries on the land side playing at the same time. All day the terrible bombardment continued, but toward evening the effect of the red-hot shot from the English batteries began to tell. Before midnight one of the largest floating batteries, as well as the Spanish flag-ship Pastora, was in flames. The light served to direct the aim of the besieged, and at last every one of the battering ships was on fire. The enemy lost 1600 men on this occasion. Soon after Lord Howe entered the bay,

and the combined fleet did not venture to attack him. The siege was continued till the peace in 1783, but only nominally. General Elliot, on his return to England in 1787, was raised to the peerage as Lord Heathfield* of Gibraltar.

§ 18. As France and Spain seemed desirous of continuing the war, Lord Shelburne hastened to renew the negotiations for a separate treaty with America; and though the terms of the American alliance with France, which had been carried out in the most liberal spirit by the latter country, strictly precluded a separate peace, yet, as it was obvious that the continuance of the war for any object beyond the recognition of the independence of the American States could serve only French or Spanish interests, Dr. Franklin, and the other three American commissioners in Paris, did not hesitate to respond to the advances of the British government. Articles were signed on November 30, 1782, the chief of which were the recognition of the independence of the United States, an advantageous arrangement of their boundaries, and the concession of the right of fishing on the Banks of Newfoundland. Great Britain recognized and satisfied the claims of the American Loyalists to the extent of nearly ten millions sterling for losses of real or personal property, and of £120,000 per annum in life annuities for loss of income in trades or professions—a splendid instance of good faith after so expensive a war. In England the treaty was received with various feelings. It was not till June, 1785, that George III. had an interview with Mr. Adams, the first minister from the United States, which naturally occasioned considerable emotion on both sides. The king received Mr. Adams with affability and frankness. He remarked that he wished it to be understood in America that, though he had been the last to consent to a separation, he would be the first to welcome the friendship of the United States as an independent power.

During the Christmas recess the ministers exerted themselves to bring to a close the negotiations with France and Spain. The latter power at first insisted on the restoration of Gibraltar, and Lord Shelburne seemed not unwilling to exchange it against Porto Rico, while his colleagues required the addition of Trinidad. But, since its gallant defense, the heart of the nation was fixed on that barren rock; Lord Shelburne perceived that to cede it would bring great unpopularity upon the ministry, and he informed the Spaniards that no terms would tempt to its surrender. The Spanish court were indignant; but, finding that they were not backed by France, they sullenly acquiesced, and the preliminaries of a peace between the three countries were signed at Versailles, Jan-

* The title became extinct on the death of the second Lord Heathfield in 1813.

uary 20, 1783. England restored St. Lucia and ceded Tobago to France, receiving in return Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica, Nevis, and Montserrat. In Africa England yielded Senegal and Goree, retaining Fort James and the River Gambia. In India the French recovered Chandernagore, Pondicherry, Mahé, and the Comptoir of Surat. French pride was gratified by the abrogation of the articles in the treaty of Utrecht relative to the demolition of Dunkirk, a place which no outlay whatsoever could have rendered capable of receiving ships of the line.

To Spain were ceded Minorca and both the Floridas, while King Charles guaranteed to England the right of cutting logwood within certain boundaries to be hereafter determined, and agreed to restore Providence and the Bahamas. The latter, however, were recovered before the suspension of hostilities. Some months after a treaty was also concluded with the Dutch on the basis of mutual restitution.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.	
1760.	Accession of George III.
1761.	The *Family Compact* between France, Spain, and Naples.
"	Resignation of Pitt.
1762.	Lord Bute prime minister.
"	War with Spain.
1763.	Peace of Paris. End of the Seven Years' War.
"	Resignation of Bute. George Grenville prime minister.
"	Arrest of Wilkes on a "general warrant."
1765.	Grenville's American Stamp Act.
"	Resignation of Grenville. Marquis of Rockingham prime minister.
1766.	Repeal of the American Stamp Act.
"	Resignation of Rockingham.
"	Pitt created Earl Chatham. His second ministry. Duke of Grafton at the head of the treasury.
1767.	An act to levy a tax on tea and other articles in America.
1768.	Resignation of Chatham.
"	Duke of Grafton continues at the treasury.
1769.	Repeal of the taxes imposed upon America in 1767, with the exception of the duty upon tea.
1770.	Resignation of the Duke of Grafton.
1770.	Lord North prime minister.
1773.	Popular outbreak at Boston.
1775.	Commencement of the American War of Independence. Battles of Lexington and Bunker's Hill.
1776.	American Declaration of Independence.
1777.	Capitulation of Saratoga.
1778.	Alliance between America and France.
"	War with France.
"	Death of Lord Chatham.
1779.	War with Spain.
1780.	Lord George Gordon's riots.
"	Rodney's victory at Cape St. Vincent.
1781.	Capitulation of Lord Cornwallis and end of the American war.
1782.	Resignation of Lord North. Marquis of Rockingham prime minister a second time.
"	Irish Parliament declared independent.
"	Rodney's victory over De Grasse in the West Indies.
"	Death of the Marquis of Rockingham.
"	Lord Shelburne prime minister, and Pitt chancellor of the exchequer.
"	Gibraltar relieved by Lord Howe after a siege of three years.
"	Recognition of the Independence of the United States.
1783.	Peace of Versailles.



Medal in commemoration of Lord Howe's victory over the French fleet, June 1, 1794.

Obv.: EARL HOWE ADMl OF THE WHITE K : G : Bust to right. Below, MUDIE . D : W : WYON . F : Rev.: FRENCH FLEET DEFEATED OFF USHANT VII SAIL OF THE LINE CAPTURED I JUNE MDCCXCIV. Neptune, drawn by two sea-horses, to right.

CHAPTER XXXII.

GEORGE III. CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF VERSAILLES TO THE PEACE OF AMIENS. A.D. 1783–1802.

§ 1. Coalition Ministry. Fox's India Bill. Pitt Prime Minister. His India Bill. § 2. Impeachment of Warren Hastings. Affairs of India till his Governor-generalship. Vote of Censure on Lord Clive. His Suicide. § 3. Administration of Warren Hastings. § 4. His Extortions in Oude. Charges against him. Result of his Impeachment. § 5. The King's Illness. Outbreak of the French Revolution. § 6. Riots at Birmingham. Attitude of Europe. State of Feeling in England. The French declare War. § 7. Campaign in Flanders. Insurrection of Toulon, and Siege of that City. § 8. Campaign of 1794. Holland overrun by the French. § 9. Naval Successes. Lord Howe's Victory. § 10. Sedition in England. Expedition to Quiberon. Dutch Colonies taken. § 11. Alliance between France and Spain. Lord Malmesbury's Negotiations. Attempted Invasions of England. Bank Restriction Act. § 12. Battle of Cape St. Vincent. Duncan's Victory off Camperdown. § 13. Mutinies at Portsmouth and the Nore. Threatened Invasion. § 14. Expedition to Ostend. The French in Egypt. Battle of the Nile. Its Consequences. § 15. English and Russian Expedition to Holland. The Helder taken. The Duke of York capitulates. Siege of Acre and Flight of Bonaparte from Egypt. § 16. Disturbances in Ireland. Irish Union. § 17. Pitt's Opinions on Parliamentary Reform and Catholic Emancipation. Warlike Operations. The armed Neutrality. § 18. Pitt resigns. Lord Addington Prime Minister. Expedition against Copenhagen. Dissolution of the armed Neutrality. § 19. Threatened Invasion, and Attack on Boulogne. The French in Egypt. Battle of Alexandria, and Death of Abercromby. § 20. The French expelled from Egypt. Peace of Amiens.

§ 1. THE war had added upward of 100 millions to the national debt, and the country was so exhausted that it would have been

difficult to send 3000 men on any foreign expedition. These particulars, however, were not generally known; and when the conditions of the peace were communicated to the Parliament, they were received by the opposition with a perfect storm of disapprobation. The cession of Chandernagore and Pondicherry was especially the object of animadversion. The ministers having been twice left in minorities in the Commons, Lord Shelburne resigned. The state of parties rendered it difficult to form a new administration. Mr. Pitt declined the task, and for some weeks there was a sort of interregnum. At length a coalition ministry was formed. The Duke of Portland, a man of small abilities, became first lord of the treasury. The virtual ministers were Lord North and Fox, the secretaries of state; yet only a little previously Fox had publicly declared that, if ever he could be persuaded to act with Lord North, he should consider himself worthy of eternal infamy! Their power, however, was not of long duration. In November Fox brought in a bill to reform the government of India, which passed the Commons, but was rejected by the Lords. The ministers, having a large majority in the former house, did not think it necessary to resign; but the king, who had always viewed the coalition with disgust, sent messages to Lord North and Fox, requiring them to deliver up the seals. Mr. Pitt, as first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer, now became the head of a ministry of which the principal members were Lord Thurlow, chancellor; Earl Gower, president of the council; the Duke of Rutland, privy seal; Lord Caermarthen and Lord Sydney, secretaries of state; and Lord Howe, first lord of the admiralty.

Pitt, like his predecessors, was defeated on a bill which he introduced to regulate the government of India; but he resorted to a dissolution, and the elections, which took place in April, 1784, secured a large majority for the ministry. In August he succeeded in carrying his bill, the main feature of which was the creation of the Board of Control, consisting of six privy councilors nominated by the king, who, with the principal secretaries of state and the chancellor of the exchequer, were to be commissioners for India, with supreme control over the civil and military government and the affairs of the company. Pitt also adopted some measures to remedy the disordered state of the finances, and imposed various new taxes, amounting to nearly a million per annum. In the following year he brought in a bill for a reform of Parliament, which was supported by some of his opponents, and opposed by some of his supporters, but finally lost by a majority of 74. The public at that period took little interest in the subject, and it was not resumed.

George, Prince of Wales, the king's eldest son, had attained his majority in 1783, when he had a separate establishment assigned him, with Carlton House as a residence, which stood in Pall Mall, on the site now occupied by the Duke of York's column. Like most preceding heirs-apparent, he had thrown himself into the ranks of the opposition, from which his friends were chiefly selected, as Lord North, Fox, Burke, Sheridan, Windham, Erskine, and others. By improving his residence, by losses at the gaming-table and on the turf, as well as by other expenses incident to his station, and to a youthful prince of gay and voluptuous habits, he had contracted a large amount of debt; and such was his distress that in 1786 an execution was put into his house for the sum of £600. The king, whose regular and moral habits led him to view the prince's course of life with high disapprobation, refused to assist him, especially as it was believed that he had contracted a private marriage, contrary to the Royal Marriage Act, with Mrs. Fitzherbert, a Roman Catholic lady of great personal charms, correct conduct, and elegant manners. The prince was obliged to reduce his establishment, sell off all his horses, and suspend the works at Carlton House. At length the prince's embarrassments were forced upon the notice of Mr. Pitt by the opposition; and to avoid a threatened motion upon the subject, the king instructed the minister to propose, on the understanding that the prince would reform his expenditure, an increase of £10,000 per annum to his income, together with the sum of £161,000 for the discharge of his debts, and £20,000 for the works at Carlton House.

§ 2. In 1786 Burke brought forward his celebrated impeachment of Warren Hastings. In order to understand this subject, it will be necessary briefly to resume the history of affairs in India.* During the absence of Clive great disorder had prevailed. The government had fallen into the hands of Mr. Vansittart, father of Lord Bexley, who was by no means competent to conduct it. The native princes could no longer be kept in subjection; the servants of the Company were amassing great wealth by bribery and extortion, while the Company itself was on the verge of bankruptcy. In May, 1765, Lord Clive again landed at Calcutta, having, after an arduous struggle, obtained the appointment of governor and commander-in-chief in Bengal. There was as yet no central government, and the three presidencies of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were on a footing of jealous rivalry. Clive first applied himself to remedy the abuses in the Company's service. He made the civil officers bind themselves in writing to accept no more presents from the native princes; and he ordered the military to relinquish the double *batta*, or additional allowances,

* See p. 637.

granted to them by Meer Jaffier after the battle of Plassy. This order produced a mutiny. Nearly 200 officers, and among them Sir Robert Fletcher, the second in command, conspired to throw up their commissions on the same day. Clive immediately repaired to the camp at Monghir, and having assembled the officers, pointed out to them the guilt of their conduct, declared his resolution to suppress the mutiny, and to supply the place of the mutineers by other officers from Madras, or even by the clerks and civil servants of the Company. He then cashiered Sir R. Fletcher, and caused the ringleaders to be arrested and sent to Calcutta for trial. The rest now entreated to be allowed to recall their resignations—a request which was in most instances granted, but only as an act of grace and favor, while the vacancies were supplied by a judicious promotion of subalterns. Clive also placed the jurisdiction of the Company on a satisfactory footing, and procured from Shah Alum, Emperor of Delhi, a deed conferring on them the sole administration of the provinces of Bengal, Orissa, and Bahar. Clive returned to England in January, 1767.

In his absence affairs again went wrong. In the Madras presidency Hyder Ali, founder of the kingdom of Mysore, the most daring and skillful enemy the English had ever encountered in India, finding his advances neglected by the company, joined the Mahratta chieftains, threatened the capital itself, and extorted an advantageous peace. The Company's trade suffered to such an extent that in the spring of 1769 India stock fell sixty per cent. In 1770 Bengal was afflicted by a famine which is computed to have carried off one third of the inhabitants. The disasters and misrule in India, and the declining state of the Company's affairs, at length attracted the attention of government, and committees of inquiry were appointed in 1772. In the spring of the following year, Lord North, by the act called the Regulating Act, made several reforms in the constitution of the Company, both with regard to the court at home and the management of affairs in India. The most remarkable feature of this act was that the Governor of Bengal was invested with authority over the other presidencies, and with the title of Governor General of India, but he was himself subject to the control of his council. Warren Hastings, who had been appointed to the government of Bengal in the previous year, was the first Governor General of India.

In the same year General (then Colonel) Burgoyne, who afterward contributed to the loss of our empire in the West, moved a vote of censure on the man who had established our empire in the East. Clive's wealth, and his magnificent seat at Claremont, had attracted envy, and there were circumstances in his extraordinary career which might afford a handle to malignity. Such especially

was his sanctioning the forgery of Admiral Watson's signature in order to deceive the traitor Omichund, who had threatened to reveal the conspiracy to dethrone Surajah Dowlah, though Clive does not appear to have derived any private advantage from the act. This and other matters were objected to him, while all his eminent services seemed to be forgotten or overlooked. Burgoyne carried the first part of his resolutions, affirming certain matters of fact that had been proved against him; the second part, censuring him for having abused his powers, was negatived; and, on the motion of Wedderburn, it was unanimously added to the resolutions carried, "that Robert, Lord Clive, did at the same time render great and meritorious services to his country." But the taunts to which he had been subjected had sunk deep into his mind; he was accustomed to complain that he had been examined like a sheep-stealer; and his melancholy temperament, which even in early youth had displayed itself in an attempt at suicide, now farther aggravated by ill health, and perhaps also by a life of inaction, led him to lay violent hands on himself (Nov., 1774) before he had attained his 50th year.

§ 3. The administration of Warren Hastings was also able and beneficial. He reformed and improved the revenues of India; he transferred the government of Bengal to the Company, leaving only a phantom of power at Moorshedabad; he resumed the possession of Allahabad and Corah, and discontinued the tribute to Shah Alum. But his measures for replenishing the Company's treasury were not always marked by scrupulous honor. The Vizier of Oude being desirous of subjugating the neighboring country of Rohilcund, Hastings did not hesitate to lend him some British bayonets for that purpose, in consideration of a payment of 40 lacs of rupees when the conquest should have been accomplished. But the measures of Hastings were impeded and disconcerted by his council. In October, 1774, General Clavering, Colonel Monson, and Mr. Philip Francis arrived in India, having been appointed members of the governor general's council. These men were utterly ignorant of Indian affairs, yet they united together in opposing every measure of Hastings. Francis was their leader, and he and his confederates formed the majority of the council, which consisted, besides them, only of Hastings himself and Mr. Barwell. Thus they were able to control all the steps of the governor, and to wrest from him his patronage; nay, they even took steps to bring him to trial on a charge of corruption; but Hastings refused to submit to their jurisdiction. He afterward prosecuted in the Supreme Court some of the natives who had been incited to accuse him; and in August, 1775, one of them, the Rajah Nuncomar, was hanged. By this decisive step Hastings re-

covered the respect of the natives, of which the conduct of the council had deprived him.

After the death of Colonel Monson in September, 1776, Hastings recovered his authority in the council by virtue of his casting vote. Attempts were made both in India and at home to deprive him of the government, but without success; and when the war with France broke out in 1778, it was felt, even by his enemies, that his great abilities could not be spared. It was under his auspices, and with the assistance of Sir Hector Munro, that Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and the other French settlements in India were captured. An expedition against the Mahratta chiefs proved not so fortunate. The British force, hemmed in at Wargaum, was obliged to capitulate, on condition of restoring all the conquests made from the Mahrattas since 1756. All India seemed now combining against us. Hyder Ali availed himself of our entanglement in the Mahrattas to overrun the Madras presidency; a body of 3000 of our troops, under Colonel Baillie, was surprised and cut to pieces. Munro, at the head of 5000 more, only saved himself by a precipitate flight; all the open country lay at Hyder's mercy; and the smoke of the burning villages around struck alarm into the capital itself. At this juncture Hastings signally displayed his genius and presence of mind. He immediately abandoned his favorite scheme of the Mahratta war, and, conceding to the chiefs the main points at issue, tendered offers not only of peace, but even of alliance. He then dispatched every available soldier in Bengal, under the command of Sir Eyre Coote, by whose military genius he was ably seconded, to the rescue of Madras. Coote defeated Hyder Ali in a great battle at Porto Novo, July 1, 1781, and again in August at Pollilore. These victories led to the recovery of the open country, and saved the Carnatic. After again defeating Hyder Ali at Arnee in 1782, Coote retired a while to Calcutta. In December of that year Hyder died, and Coote, anxious to measure swords with his son and successor Tippoo, proceeded in 1783 to the Carnatic. The vessel in which he sailed was chased two days and nights by some French men-of-war. Coote's anxiety kept him constantly on deck; his feeble health received a fatal blow, and two days after landing at Madras he expired.

§ 4. The exertions for the relief of Madras had exhausted the resources of Bengal; yet the India proprietors at home expected large remittances. In order to raise them Hastings had recourse to the feudatory rajahs, and above all to Cheyte Sing, Rajah of Benares, from whom he extorted an exorbitant fine of £500,000 for having delayed to pay £50,000. He is said also to have received from this rajah two lacs of rupees for his private use, which he

seems to have retained some time, and then to have placed to the credit of the Company. But the worst feature in his conduct was his treatment of the Begums of Oude. The government had large claims on Asaph ul Dowlah, nabob vizier of Oude, to satisfy which Hastings compelled him to extort large sums from the Begums, his mother and grandmother, the mother and widow of Sujah Dowlah; although Asaph ul Dowlah, after previously wringing large sums from them, had signed a treaty, sanctioned by the Council of Bengal, by which he pledged himself to make no farther demands upon them. This treaty, however, had been made contrary to the wish of Hastings, when his authority in the council was controlled, and he now disregarded it. In order to extort the money from the Begums, two aged eunuchs, their principal ministers, were thrown into prison and deprived of all food till they consented to reveal the place where the treasure of the princesses was concealed. Tortures and other severities were continued through the year 1782, till upward of a million sterling had been extorted.

Hastings concluded a peace with Tippoo in the autumn of 1783 on the basis of mutual restitution, and then proceeded to Lucknow to tranquilize that district. Toward the close of 1784 he announced his intention of retiring; and when he sailed for England in the spring of 1785, peace prevailed throughout India. Mr. M'Pherson, senior member of the council, succeeded to the vacant government, till in February, 1786, Lord Cornwallis was appointed governor general.

Such were the chief transactions which gave rise to the impeachment before alluded to of Warren Hastings by Burke, who brought forward 22 articles, comprehending a great variety of charges. The first, on the subject of the Rohilla war, was negatived by a considerable majority, and the whole impeachment seemed to be upset. But on May 13th Fox moved the charge respecting Cheyte Sing and the proceedings at Benares; when Pitt, after a speech which at first appeared quite to exculpate Hastings, concluded by observing that he had acted in an arbitrary and tyrannical manner in imposing a fine so shamefully exorbitant. This conclusion took the house by surprise, and in a division the impeachment was voted. Nothing farther was done in the matter till February, 1787, when Sheridan moved the Oude charge in a most brilliant speech. This motion was also supported by Pitt, and an impeachment voted. Other articles were subsequently carried, and Burke, accompanied by a great number of members, proceeded to the bar of the House of Lords, and impeached Hastings of high crimes and misdemeanors, whereupon he was committed to custody, but released on bail. We shall

here anticipate the result of this impeachment. The trial did not commence till the spring of 1788, and lasted seven years, when Hastings was acquitted by a large majority on all the charges. Whatever may be thought of the acts which he committed for the interest of the East India Company, his personal disinterestedness was proved by the fact that he was indebted to the bounty of the directors for the means of passing the remainder of his days in a manner becoming his high station.

§ 5. In 1788 the king was seized with a violent illness, which terminated in symptoms of lunacy, so that in October it became necessary to subject him to medical treatment, and he was put under the care of Dr. Willis, who was both a physician and a clergyman. In this seclusion of the crown Fox insisted on the exclusive right of the Prince of Wales to be appointed regent, a position which Pitt triumphantly refuted; not, however, that he opposed the nomination of the prince; he merely denied that he had any natural or legal right without the authority of Parliament. Committees were appointed in both houses to search for precedents; but, while the bill for a regency was in progress, the king's convalescence was announced, February, 1789.

An event was now impending which was to shake Europe to its foundations. To all outward appearance France was in a most prosperous condition. She was at peace with all Europe; she had achieved a triumph over England, her ancient rival, by helping to emancipate her rebellious colonies; yet she was herself on the brink of a terrible convulsion. To trace the causes or to detail the events of the French Revolution comes not within the scope of this book, and we shall here confine our view to those results which, from the vicinity of the two countries, and the constant intercourse between them, could not fail to produce a great effect in England. The French had been regarded in England as the slaves of an absolute monarch, and the first efforts of the Revolution were looked upon by a large number of persons in this country as the first steps toward a system of constitutional freedom. The storming of the Bastile was almost as much applauded in London as in Paris. But the burnings, the plundering, the murders which ensued, by which the politest nation in the world seemed to be degrading itself by acts which would disgrace a horde of savages, soon alienated most English hearts. The inoculation of the political virus embittered party feeling in England; the names of Democrat and Aristocrat bade fair to supplant those of Whig and Tory; and a stronger line of demarkation was drawn between political sections. Friends who had long acted together now parted forever; and, in particular, the separation of Burke from Fox and his party was conspicuous from the genius and em-

inence of the men. The congratulations addressed to the National Assembly of France by a club in London, called the Revolution Society, established to commemorate the Revolution of 1688, under the signature of Earl Stanhope, their chairman, incited Burke to publish his "Reflections on the Revolution in France, and on the Proceedings of certain Societies in London," in which, in the most eloquent and impressive language, he denounced the proceedings in France, and almost prophetically foretold the future destinies of that country. This publication called forth many attacks and answers, of which the most remarkable were Thomas Paine's "Rights of Man," and the "*Vindiciæ Gallicæ*" of Sir James Macintosh. The former is written in a coarse but forcible style; the latter, in elegant and polished language, extenuates the most atrocious excesses, on the ground that they are the necessary concomitants of all revolutions: a position sufficiently refuted by our own, and especially by that of 1688. These three works produced a prodigious effect on public opinion in England, and became, as it were, the arsenals from which men of different parties drew their weapons of attack and defense. It was not, however, till May, 1791, in a debate concerning Canada, that Burke, in a powerful and affecting speech, publicly separated from Fox.

§ 6. The sect of the Unitarians were the most ardent admirers of the French Revolution. Dr. Priestley, a leading member of it, proposed to celebrate at Birmingham the anniversary of the capture of the Bastile by a dinner, which was prepared on the appointed day (July 14, 1791) at an hotel in the town, in spite of the plainest symptoms of an intended riot. The party of upward of 80 gentlemen were received with hisses by the mob; the windows of the hotel were smashed; two meeting-houses were destroyed, as well as the dwelling of Dr. Priestley, together with his valuable library and philosophical instruments, and the manuscripts of works which had cost him years of labor. Several persons were apprehended for this disgraceful riot, and three were executed.

The decree of the Constituent Assembly, September 14, 1791, wresting Avignon and the Venaissin from the Pope, showed that the French, after the overthrow of their own government, would cease to respect the territorial rights of others, and inspired alarm in Germany. The Emperor Leopold and the King of Prussia, attended by many of their chief nobility, had a conference in August at Pilnitz, near Dresden, toward the conclusion of which the Count d'Artois, brother of Louis XVI., and several of the leading French emigrants, who had passed over in great numbers into Germany, unexpectedly presented themselves, and pressed for the forcible re-establishment of order in France. Hopes of succor were held out,

and Russia, Spain, and the principal states of Italy subsequently declared their adherence to the emperor's views. England alone observed a strict neutrality. But the war was begun by France. Leopold died in March, 1792; and Dumouriez, the minister for foreign affairs in the Jacobin administration which had now been forced upon the King of France, demanded from Leopold's son Joseph, now King of Hungary and Bohemia, an explanation of his views with regard to France. His answers being considered evasive, war was declared against him March 20th. An army of Austrians and Prussians now took the field under the command of the Duke of Brunswick, who on July 25th published, against his own better judgment, that ill-considered manifesto which probably hastened the dethronement and murder of Louis XVI. The irritating and offensive language of the manifesto was not supported by vigorous action. The deposition of the king, the massacres of September in Paris, the defeat of Valmy, and, finally, the retreat of the Duke of Brunswick, followed in rapid succession.

These events occasioned a great ferment in London. The militia was embodied, the Tower was fortified and guarded. A numerous meeting of merchants, bankers, and traders, signed a loyal declaration, pledging themselves to uphold the Constitution. The execution of the French king, January 19th, 1793, awoke a still deeper sensation throughout the country. The French embassador was dismissed, and immediate hostilities were anticipated. The ancient jealousies and rivalries between the two nations still subsisted, in spite of the imitation of English fashions, and some ill-understood admiration of English literature, which had been introduced into France by the Duke of Orleans, and which had obtained the name of *Anglo-mania*. The French had displayed their willingness to interfere in the domestic affairs of other countries by the decree of November 19, 1792, declaring themselves ready to fraternize with all nations desirous of recovering their liberty. In England various meetings and societies had voted congratulatory addresses to the French on their proceedings: Monge, the French minister of marine, in a circular letter of December 31, 1792, distinctly avowed the notion of flying to the assistance of the English Republicans against their tyrannical government; and on February 3 the French declared war against England and Holland.

§ 7. Nearly the whole of Europe was now arrayed against the French, who had not a single ally; yet the vigor of their measures enabled them to disconcert the ill-conceived and dilatory schemes of the allies. In a short time they had no fewer than eight armies on foot; but into the detail of military operations we can not enter, even briefly, farther than England is concerned. In

the course of the spring (1793), 10,000 British troops, under the Duke of York, landed at Ostend, and, having joined the imperial army under the Prince of Coburg, assisted to defeat the French at St. Amand. The success of the attack on the French camp at Famars, May 23d, was chiefly owing to the British division, which turned the enemy's right. They were next employed in the siege of Valenciennes, which surrendered July 25th. The Duke of York subsequently undertook the siege of Dunkirk, but without success; he was obliged to retreat upon Furnes, and in November the armies went into winter quarters. In the East and West Indies the English arms were more successful. In the former, Chandernagore, Pondicherry, and one or two smaller French settlements fell into our hands; in the latter, Tobago, St. Pierre, and Miquelon were captured, but the attempts on Martinico and St. Domingo failed.

In the same year the insurrection at Toulon was aided by the fleet cruising in the Mediterranean under the command of Lord Hood, and consisting of English, Spanish, and Neapolitan vessels. A French fleet of 18 sail of the line lay at Toulon harbor; but, after a little show of resistance, Hood and the Spanish commander took possession of the place in the name of Louis XVII. General O'Hara arrived from Gibraltar with re-enforcements, and assumed the command. But even then the garrison was too small for the defense of Toulon against a besieging army of 30,000 men, especially as they had to struggle with jealousies and dissensions among themselves and treachery on the part of the inhabitants. It was on this scene that first appeared the extraordinary man who was to wield for a brief period the destinies of Europe. Napoleon Bonaparte, then a *chef de bataillon*, was dispatched to Toulon by the Committee of Public Safety as second in command of the artillery; but the siege was in reality conducted by his advice. By degrees, the heights which surround the place were captured by the French; and when the eminence of Pharon fell into their hands, Toulon was no longer tenable. Before retiring, it was determined to burn the fleet and arsenal, a task which was intrusted to the Spanish under Admiral Langara, and a body of British under Captain Sir Sydney Smith; but, owing to the remissness of the former, the operation was badly conducted. Nevertheless, three sail of the line and 12 frigates were carried to England, and nine sail of the line and some smaller vessels burnt by Sir S. Smith. The allies also carried off as many of the Royalist inhabitants as possible, to save them from the vengeance of the Republican army.

§ 8. In September Garnier des Saintes proposed and carried in the Convention a vote denouncing Pitt as an enemy of the human

race. This patron of mankind wished to add to the resolution that any body had a right to assassinate the English minister; but the Convention was not quite prepared to adopt so abominable a doctrine. The manufactures of Great Britain were strictly prohibited in France; and it was ordered that all British subjects in whatever part of the republic should be arrested, and their property confiscated.

The preparations for the campaign of 1794 seemed to promise something of importance. The French had three armies on their northern frontier, those of the North, the Rhine, and the Moselle, amounting to 500,000 men, and mostly animated with an enthusiastic spirit. Voltaire, one of the literary patriarchs of the Revolution, had laughed at the English shooting Admiral Byng, "pour encourager les autres;" but the French themselves had on this occasion provided a little stimulus for defective patriotism or valor. An ambulatory guillotine, under the superintendence of St. Just and Le Bas, accompanied the march of the French army, and in cases of failure it was put into operation. The forces of the allies were also large, but inferior to the French. The emperor commanded in person 140,000 men, and had, besides, an army of 60,000 Austrians on the Rhine; the Prussians amounted to 65,000; the Duke of York was at the head of 40,000 British and Hanoverians; and there was also a body of 32,000 emigrants and others. But division reigned among the allies. Austria and Prussia were jealous of each other, and intent on objects of selfish aggrandizement, to which the affairs of France were quite subordinate. Prussia demanded and received large subsidies from England, nor would Russia move an army without the same support.

The plan of the campaign was to take Landrecies and advance upon Paris. The siege was assigned to three divisions of the allied army, under the Duke of York, the Prince of Cobourg, and the hereditary Prince of Orange. There was much manœuvring along the whole line of frontier from Luxembourg to Nieuport, and several skirmishes and battles, attended with various success. The most remarkable of these was the battle of Turcoing. The object was to cut off the left wing of the French and drive them toward the sea, when they must have surrendered. The emperor superintended the attack in person, which was made with 90,000 men; but the operation proved a failure, in consequence of the various divisions not arriving at the appointed time. On the following morning, May 18th, the Duke of York was surrounded at Turcoing by superior bodies of French, who took 1500 prisoners and 50 guns, but left 4000 men on the field. The duke himself escaped only through the fleetness of his horse. The British

troops retrieved this disgrace a few days afterward at Pont Achin, where Pichegru, with 100,000 men, made a general attack on the right wing of the allies. The battle had raged from 5 A.M. to 8 P.M., and the allies were beginning to give way, when the Duke of York dispatched to their support seven battalions of Austrians and the 2d brigade of British infantry. The latter threw themselves into the centre of the French army, bayonet in hand, and completely routed them. The Convention were so alarmed at the display of British valor on this and other occasions, that they passed a dastardly and ferocious decree ordering that in future no quarter should be given to British or Hanoverians. But most of the French generals were unwilling to execute it.

On June 26th the allies were totally defeated on the plains of Fleurus and compelled to retreat. This battle sealed the fate of Flanders, nearly all the towns of which fell into the hands of the French. Led by Generals Moreau, Jourdan, and Pichegru, they were equally successful on the Rhine and wherever they were engaged. During this time the Reign of Terror was in full vigor in France; but it was drawing toward its close, and on July 28th Robespierre was executed.

The Prince of Orange and Duke of York had been compelled gradually to retire before the overwhelming armies of the French. Toward winter they entered Amsterdam, and a little afterward the duke resigned his command to General Walmoden and returned to England. The Dutch had determined to defend themselves by inundating the country; but of this resource they were deprived by a severe frost. The French crossed the rivers and canals on the ice; and then was beheld the singular spectacle of a fleet frozen up at the entrance of the Zuyder Zee captured by land-forces and artillery. The Stadtholder and a great number of Dutch of the higher classes fled to England. The British troops, unable to maintain their position in the province of Utrecht, retreated toward Westphalia, enduring the most dreadful sufferings, both from the rigor of the season and the barbarity of their allies, who plundered, insulted, and sometimes murdered the sick and wounded. They at length reached Bremen, and embarked for England in March. A large portion of the Dutch nation were willing to fraternize with the French, and the whole of Holland submitted to them almost without resistance.

§ 9. As in the preceding year, the disasters of England on the Continent were in a great degree compensated by her naval successes and her victories in other quarters. In the summer Corsica was taken by Admiral Lord Hood, and annexed to the British crown; but in the following year the French recovered it by a revolt of the inhabitants. In this expedition Colonel Moore and

Captain Nelson highly distinguished themselves. At the siege of Calvi, Nelson received a wound which destroyed the sight of his right eye. But the most brilliant victory of the year was that gained by Lord Howe. The French had resolved to dispute the sovereignty of the seas, and had prepared at Brest a fleet of 26 ships of the line, commanded by Jean Bon St. André, once a Calvinist minister. Howe fell in with them May 28th with about the same number of vessels; but in weight of metal the French were much superior, having 1290 guns to our 1012. A general engagement ensued on June 1st, when, after an hour's hard fighting, Howe succeeded in breaking the French line. The French admiral then made for port, followed by all the ships capable of carrying sail: seven ships were captured and one sunk during the action. For this victory Lord Howe and the fleet received the thanks of Parliament; London was illuminated three nights; and the king and queen, accompanied by some of the younger branches of the royal family, visited the fleet at Spithead, when the king presented Howe with a magnificent sword set in diamonds. Success also attended our arms in the West Indies, where Admiral Sir John Jervis and Lieutenant General Sir Charles Grey captured Martinique, St. Lucie, and Les Saintes. But an attack upon the French portion of St. Domingo proved a failure.

§ 10. In England attempts were made this year by seditious admirers of the French Revolution to excite disturbances; but the great mass of the public remained unmoved. Several prosecutions were instituted by government, the most remarkable of which were those of Hardy, Horne Tooke, and Thelwall; but convictions were obtained only in two instances at Edinburgh, where one individual was hanged and another transported for life. The ill success of the Continental campaigns had increased the peace party; but Mr. Pitt warmly supported the war as just and necessary, though in the spring of 1795 Prussia made a separate treaty with France, and the emperor required a loan of four or five millions to continue the war, which was granted. The western provinces of France were still in arms in favor of monarchy, and Pitt entertained their applications for assistance. A considerable body of French Royalists, accompanied by a few English troops, were landed at Quiberon; but discord prevailed among the emigrants, and they had opposed to them the brave and skillful General Hoche, who speedily obliged them to lay down their arms.

After the flight of the Stadtholder to England an embargo was laid on all Dutch shipping in English ports; and as the United Provinces had submitted to French domination, orders were issued for reprisals against them. In the West Indies, the Dutch colonies of Demerara, Berbice, and Essequibo were captured; in

the East, the greater part of the island of Ceylon, Malacca, Cochin, and the other Dutch settlements on the continent. About the same time the Cape of Good Hope was taken; and the whole of a squadron sent out by the Dutch in the following year to recapture it fell into the hands of Admiral Elphinstone. Against these successes must be set off the retaking of St. Lucie and St. Vincent's by the French. It would exceed our limits to recount the detached naval actions which took place in various parts. Toward the close of the year a great disaster occurred. To retrieve our losses in the West Indies, a large fleet was dispatched under Admiral Christian, with 15,000 troops commanded by Sir Ralph Abercrombie. Scarcely had they passed the isle of Portland when they were caught in a violent gale from the west; many transports were wrecked; the Chesil beach was strewed with corpses; and the fleet was so much damaged that the expedition was wholly disconcerted. In the following year, however, the remains of it were refitted and dispatched under Admiral Cornwallis, and St. Lucie and St. Vincent's were recovered.

In England sedition was inflamed by a bad harvest and the high price of bread. The king, proceeding to open Parliament in October, was assailed with groans and hootings, and a bullet, or marble, supposed to have been discharged from an air-gun, passed through his carriage window. The same scene took place on his return. Missiles of every kind were hurled at his coach, which, when he had alighted, the rabble followed to the Mews, and broke into pieces. During these outrages the king displayed the greatest composure, and delivered his speech with his usual firmness and propriety.

§ 11. A peace had been effected between France and Spain by Don Emanuel Godoy, afterward styled the Prince of Peace; and in the spring of 1796, an offensive and defensive alliance, with regard to England only, was concluded between those powers at St. Ildefonso. The design of this alliance was to injure British commerce by coercing Portugal; a French army was to march through Spain upon Lisbon; and the Queen of Portugal, in her alarm, consented to declare that city a free port. Spain, which soon afterward declared war against Great Britain, was by this alliance placed as much at the disposal of France as by the Family Compact; but she only prepared the way for her own subsequent misfortunes.

After their retreat from Holland the English for a long time took no part in the struggle on the Continent, and the war was confined to France and Austria on land, and France, Spain, and Great Britain at sea. This was the year of Bonaparte's splendid campaign in Italy; but, in spite of their great successes in that

quarter, the French had met with reverses on the Rhine. The Directory seemed not disinclined for peace, and Lord Malmesbury, who was dispatched to make overtures, was received with acclamations by the Parisians; it was soon evident, however, from the arrogant and insincere tone of the French minister, that peace was not really desired, and, above all, Napoleon was opposed to it. Every opportunity was taken to insult and irritate Lord Malmesbury, who admirably retained his temper, and in December he received a rude message to quit Paris in 48 hours. The negotiations had been protracted so long merely to prepare an expedition against Ireland; and two days after Lord Malmesbury's departure a French fleet sailed from Brest. It was, however, dispersed by a storm; only a small portion of it succeeded in reaching Bantry Bay; but the inhabitants proved hostile, and the attempt was frustrated. It was connected with another scheme for the invasion of England. A body of about 1200 malefactors and galley-slaves were to have ascended the Avon and burnt Bristol; but, having been landed at Fishguard Bay, in Pembrokeshire, they surrendered to about half their number of fencibles and militia collected by Lord Cawdor. The two frigates which brought them were captured on their way home.

The war had pressed heavily upon the resources of the country, and early in 1797 it was evident that the Bank of England, which had advanced 10½ millions for the public service, would be unable to meet its payments in specie. In February an order of council appeared prohibiting the bank from paying their notes in specie. At a meeting of the principal bankers and merchants in London it was resolved to take bank notes to any amount; notes of £1 and £2 were issued, and in March Pitt brought in his Bank Restriction Bill, the main provisions of which were to indemnify the bank for refusing to make cash payments, and to prohibit them from so doing except in sums under 20s. The bill was to be in force till June 24th; but the term was afterward prolonged, and the bank did not resume cash payments till some years after the conclusion of the war. (See p. 725.)

§ 12. The French, to whom Spain and Holland were now subsidiary, determined upon an invasion of England on a grand scale, and large fleets, amounting to more than 70 sail, were got ready at the Texel, Brest, and Cadiz. Commodore Nelson, while sailing with a convoy to Gibraltar, descried a Spanish fleet of 27 sail of the line off Cape St. Vincent, and hastened to notify it to Admiral Jervis, who was cruising with 15 sail of the line. Nelson accepted an invitation to hoist his pendant on board the Captain 74; and the hostile fleets came in sight at daybreak on Feb. 24th. The Spaniards were not only superior in number, but also in the

size of their ships, among which was La Santissima Trinidad, of 136 guns on four decks, supposed to be the largest man-of-war in the world; but the unseamanlike way in which their ships were handled caused the English to disregard the disparity of force. Jervis cut off nine of their ships before they could form their line of battle, eight of which immediately took to flight. Of their remaining ships, Nelson, supported by Captain Trowbridge in the Culloden, engaged no fewer than six, namely, the Santissima Trinidad, the San Josef, and the Salvador del Mondo, each of 112 guns, and three seventy-fours. After the action had lasted an hour Nelson was re-enforced by the Blenheim, Captain Frederick, and the Excellent, Captain Collingwood. When Nelson's ship, which had been engaged in close combat with three first-rates, was nearly disabled, and his ammunition almost expended, he boarded and took the San Josef, and then the San Nicholas, he himself leading the way, exclaiming "Westminster Abbey or victory!" The Spanish admiral declined renewing the fight, though many of our ships were quite disabled, and at the close of the day he made his escape in the Santissima Trinidad. For this victory Sir John Jervis was raised to the peerage with the title of Earl of St. Vincent, with a pension of £3000 a year. Nelson was included in a promotion of rear admirals, and received the Order of the Bath. In July Admiral Nelson, with a small squadron, made an unsuccessful attempt on the town of Santa Cruz, in Teneriffe. Nelson himself, when on the point of landing, had his arm shattered by a shot, and was obliged to have it amputated.

Notwithstanding the defeat of their Spanish auxiliaries, the French did not abandon their project of an invasion, and during the summer a fleet of 15 sail of the line, with frigates, under Admiral De Winter, was preparing in the Texel to convey 15,000 men to Ireland. In October they put to sea with the intention of proceeding to Brest without embarking the troops, when Admiral Duncan, who had been watching their motions with a nearly equal force, placed himself between them and a lee shore, off Camperdown, and after a desperate engagement, which lasted four hours, captured eight sail of the line, two ships of 56 guns, and a frigate (Oct. 11th). For this victory he was made Viscount Duncan* of Camperdown, with a pension of £3000.

§ 13. Thus our navy formed both the glory and safeguard of the country, yet in this very year it had threatened to be the source of our disgrace and ruin. Discontent was lurking among our seamen, who complained that they only received the wages fixed in the reign of Charles II., though the prices of articles had risen at least 30 per cent.; that their provisions were deficient in weight

* His son was created Earl of Camperdown in 1831.

and measure; that they were not properly tended when sick; that their pay was stopped when they were wounded; and that when in port they were detained on board ship. In April a mutiny broke out in the fleet at Spithead. Upon the signal being given to weigh, the crew of the Queen Charlotte, the flag-ship, instead of obeying, ran up the shrouds and gave three cheers, which were answered from the other ships. Two delegates from each then went on board the Queen Charlotte, where orders were framed for the government of the fleet, and petitions drawn up to the House of Commons and the Lords of the Admiralty for a redress of grievances. This alarming mutiny was at length suppressed by some judicious concessions, and by the personal influence of Lord Howe, who was deservedly popular among the seamen, and who, at the king's request, proceeded on board the fleet. But no sooner was the mutiny at Spithead quelled than another still more dangerous broke out among the ships in the Medway. One Richard Parker was the ringleader—a man, though illiterate, of quick intellect and determined will; and he obtained the name of Rear-admiral Parker. The ships were moved from Sheerness to the Nore to be out of reach of the batteries; the obnoxious officers were sent on shore, and the red flag hoisted. The demands of the mutineers were both more peremptory and more extensive than those made at Portsmouth, and embraced important alterations in the Articles of War. Altogether 24 or 25 ships were included in the mutiny. The mutineers seized some store-ships, fired on some frigates that were about to put to sea, and had even the audacity to blockade the mouth of the Thames. Gloom and depression pervaded the metropolis, and the funds fell to an unheard-of price. All attempt at conciliation having failed, it became necessary to resort to stringent measures. Pitt brought in a bill for the better prevention and punishment of attempts to seduce seamen; and another forbidding all intercourse with the mutineers, on the penalty of felony. Several ships and numerous gun-boats were armed; batteries were erected on shore; the mutineers were prevented from landing to obtain fresh water or provisions; and all the buoys and beacons were removed, so as to render egress from the Thames impossible. A great part of the crews had in their hearts continued loyal, and the proposition to carry the fleet into a French port was rejected with horror. One by one the ships engaged in the mutiny began to drop off, and at last the Sandwich, Parker's flag-ship, ran in under the batteries and delivered up the ringleaders. Parker was hanged on the yard-arm of that vessel.

Duncan's victory was an effectual bar to all projects of invasion; nevertheless, the French still continued their empty menaces. Bonaparte, who was now rapidly advancing toward supreme

power, had conceived a deadly hatred of this country. After compelling the Austrians to the peace of Campo Formio he had returned to Paris, where he was enthusiastically received; the Directory called him to their councils, and consulted him on every occasion. An army, called the army of England, was marched toward the Channel; a proclamation was issued in which it was difficult to say whether the abuse of England or the vaunting laudation of France were the most silly and extravagant; and a loan of about four millions sterling was proposed to be raised on the security of the contemplated conquests, but the money-lenders did not seem inclined to advance their cash upon it. The threatened invasion was in a great degree intended to conceal an expedition which Bonaparte was now meditating against Egypt.

§ 14. The English, in turn, were not backward in offensive operations, which, however, did not prove very successful. In May, 1798, Havre was ineffectually bombarded by Sir Richard Strahan, and in the same month an expedition under Sir Home Popham was undertaken against Ostend. General Coote landed with 1000 men, and destroyed the basin, gates, and sluices of the Bruges canal, in order to interrupt the navigation between France and Flanders. But the surf did not permit him to return to the ships, and on the following morning they were surrounded by several columns of the enemy drawn from the adjacent garrisons, and, being outnumbered, were obliged to surrender.

At the same period Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with 13 ships of the line and transports, conveying 20,000 men, on his Egyptian expedition, accompanied by some generals of renown and a body of *savans*. It was undertaken from a mere desire of spoliation and aggrandizement, for the French had not a shadow of a grievance to allege against the Porte. On the way, Malta, then governed by the Grand Master and Knights, was surprised and seized with as little pretense. At the beginning of July the French landed between 3000 and 4000 men at Marabou, near Alexandria, and captured the latter city after a slight resistance, as well as Aboukir and Rosetta, which gave them the command of one of the mouths of the Nile. The French committed an indiscriminate massacre of men, women, and children, which lasted four hours; and Bonaparte issued a blasphemous proclamation, in which he declared that the French were Mussulmans, and took credit for driving out the Christian Knights of Malta. He then crossed the desert, fought the battles of Chebreisse and the Pyramids, and seized Cairo, the capital of Egypt.

Meanwhile Nelson had been vainly looking out for the French fleet, and it was not till August 1st that he discovered their transports in the harbor of Alexandria. Their men-of-war were an-

chored in the Bay of Aboukir, as close as possible to the shore. Nevertheless, Nelson determined to get inside of them with some of his vessels, a manœuvre for which they were not prepared; and, though the Culloden grounded in the attempt, Nelson persevered. Thus a great part of the enemy's fleet was placed between two fires. The battle began at 6 in the evening. By 8 o'clock four of the French van had struck, but the combat still raged in the centre. Between 9 and 10 o'clock, L'Orient, the French admiral's ship, having caught fire, blew up with a terrible explosion, which was followed by a deep silence of several minutes. The battle was then renewed, and continued through the night, with only an hour's pause. Separate engagements occurred throughout the following day, and at noon Rear Admiral Villeneuve escaped with four ships. On the following morning the only French ships remaining uncaptured or undestroyed were the Timoléon and the Tonnant, when the latter surrendered, and the former was set on fire and abandoned by the crew. Such was the battle of the Nile. From the heights of Rosetta the French beheld with consternation and dismay the destruction of their fleet, which deprived them of the means of returning to their country. Soon afterward the islands of Goza and Minorca fell into the hands of the English.

The news of Nelson's victory was received with the sincerest demonstrations of joy not only at home, but through a great part of Europe. He was created Baron Nelson of the Nile and of Burnham Thorpe in Norfolk; the thanks of both houses of Parliament were voted to him, and an annuity of £2000. He also received some magnificent presents from the Grand Seignor, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sardinia. His return to the Bay of Naples animated the king to undertake an expedition against Rome, which was recovered from the French. At the same time Nelson landed 6000 men and captured Leghorn. These enterprises, however, were rash and ill-considered. In a few days the French retook Rome and marched upon Naples itself, when the king took refuge on board Nelson's ship and proceeded to Sicily, which for some time became his home. Naples, deserted by the sovereign and the greater part of the nobility, was heroically defended by the lower classes and the lazzaroni; but, as they had no artillery, they were forced to succumb, and the French established the Parthenopeian Republic.

In consequence of the battle of the Nile an alliance was formed between England, Russia, and the Porte, and early in 1799 hostilities were recommenced between Austria and France. The Congress of Rastadt, which had been some time sitting with the view of arranging a general pacification, was dissolved, and the

French, being defeated by the Archduke Charles at the battle of Stockach, were obliged to recross the Rhine. At the same time the Russians under Suwarrow, advancing into Italy, recovered with extraordinary rapidity all the conquests made by Bonaparte with the exception of Genoa. Suwarrow then invaded Switzerland, but all his successes were compromised by the want of cordial co-operation between him and the Austrians.

§ 15. After the alliance between England and Russia, a joint expedition was agreed upon for the recovery of Holland, which was to be undertaken with 30,000 British troops under Sir Ralph Abercrombie and 17,000 Russians (1799). The first division of the British, under Sir James Pulteney, General Moore, and General Coote, effected a landing, and after two severe encounters took the towns of the Helder and Huysduinen. About the same time the Dutch fleet of 13 ships of war, together with some Indiamen and transports, surrendered by capitulation to Admiral Mitchell. About the middle of September, by the arrival of some Russian divisions, and of the Duke of York with three British brigades, the allied army amounted to 33,000 men, of which the duke was commander-in-chief. Several actions took place, attended with varying success and considerable losses on both sides. At length the duke, sensible of the advancing season, and finding that his army was reduced by 10,000 men, retired to a fortified position at the Zype, which he might have maintained by inundating the country; but, as such an operation would have destroyed an immense amount of property, and occasioned great misery to the Dutch, he preferred a capitulation, by which it was agreed that he should restore the Helder in the same state as before its capture, together with 8000 Dutch and French prisoners, and that the allied army should re-embark without molestation before the end of November. Thus ended an expedition which, though unfortunate, can hardly be called disgraceful. As a sort of compensation, the Dutch colony of Surinam was conquered this summer.

Meanwhile the situation of the French in Egypt had become very critical. The army was seized with alarm and dejection; many committed suicide; but Bonaparte retained his presence of mind. Having dispatched Desaix against the Mamelukes in Upper Egypt, he himself undertook an expedition into Palestine against Djezzar Pasha. El Arish, Gaza, Jaffa, yielded to his arms; at which last he massacred in cold blood between 3000 and 4000 prisoners. But at St. John d'Acre, the key of Syria, he was met by Sir Sydney Smith, to whom the sultan had intrusted his fleet. Sir Sydney destroyed the flotilla that was conveying the French battering-train; nevertheless, they continued the siege with

field-pieces. After a siege of two months, and several assaults, Bonaparte was compelled to retreat, though he had resorted to the treacherous action of ordering an assault after sending in a flag of truce. Having returned to Egypt toward the end of August, he went on board a French man-of-war in the night, accompanied by some of his best generals, leaving letters by which he delegated the command of the army to Ménou and Kléber. By hugging the African coast, he escaped the English cruisers and arrived safely at Fréjus. Notwithstanding his ill success, his popularity had, if possible, increased in Paris. Toward the end of the year, the Assembly of Five Hundred having been dissolved, Bonaparte, Siéyès, and Ducos became consuls.

§ 16. A measure was now in agitation in England for consolidating the power and integrity of the empire by a union with Ireland. That country had been for some years in a very disturbed state. The examples of America and France had inspired many with the idea of establishing an independent republic; and in 1791 was formed the society of United Irishmen, consisting mostly of Protestants, whose principles would have led to that result. Its projector was a barrister named Theobald Wolfe Tone, who, having become secretary of the committee for managing the affairs of the Irish Roman Catholics, effected an alliance between the two parties. The ramifications of this society extended throughout Ireland. Tone having been detected in a treasonable correspondence with the French, was obliged to fly to America, whence he soon afterward passed over to France, and employed himself in forwarding the projected invasions already mentioned in 1796 and 1797. Notwithstanding the frustration of these expeditions, the Irish malcontents did not abandon their plan of an insurrection. One of their principal leaders was Lord Edward Fitzgerald, a brother of the Duke of Leinster; and he was seconded by Arthur O'Connor, Napper Tandy, Thomas Addis Emmet, Oliver Bond, and others. But the conspiracy was divulged by one Thomas Reynolds, and some of the principal conspirators were arrested, March 12, 1798, at a meeting which they held in Bond's house. Lord Fitzgerald happened not to be present, but he was discovered and seized about two months afterward. He made a desperate resistance, wounding two of the officers sent to apprehend him, one of whom died of his injuries. But he himself was shot with a bullet in the shoulder, the effects of which proved fatal. After this discovery martial law was proclaimed in Ireland, and many acts of violence and cruelty took place on both sides. Numerous engagements occurred in various quarters, in which the rebels were almost invariably defeated, except in Wexford, where they were in greatest force, and where they sometimes made head against the

king's troops. At Vinegar Hill, near the town of Wexford, was their principal camp or station; and here they were defeated (June 21) by General Lake, the commander-in-chief. Lord Cornwallis, the new viceroy, who arrived shortly afterward, succeeded in reducing the country to comparative tranquillity.

The union of England and Ireland had been many years discussed as a speculative question, and these disturbances forced it upon the serious attention of the government. The king, in his speech on opening the Parliament (Jan. 22, 1800), alluded to the subject, and a few days afterward Pitt brought forward a series of resolutions, which were carried after considerable debate. A bill embodying these resolutions passed both houses in the following May. The main provisions were, that 100 Irish members should be added to the English House of Commons, and 32 Irish peers to the House of Lords—four spiritual and 28 temporal—whose seats were to be held for life. The measure also passed both houses of the Irish Parliament, and it was agreed that the Union should commence on Jan. 1, 1801. We shall here anticipate what occurred on that day. A council was held consisting of the most eminent dignitaries of Church and state, including the royal princes, etc., by which proclamations were issued for making the necessary changes in the king's title, the national arms, and the Liturgy. The only thing worth noting on this occasion is, that the title of "King of France" was dropped and the *fleurs de lys* expunged from the royal arms; a pretension that for some centuries had been a vainglorious one, and which had proved inconvenient in recent negotiations with France.

§ 17. When Pitt brought forward this measure, he publicly renounced the opinions which he had formerly held on the subject of Parliamentary reform. The chief reasons which he assigned for his change of views were the altered state of circumstances produced by the French Revolution, and the fact that England had ridden safely through the revolutionary storm.

During the debates on the Union the Irish Catholics had remained almost entirely neutral, and what little feeling they displayed was in its favor. This is attributable to their hatred of the Orangemen, the warmest opponents of a union, as well as to the expectation that their demands would be more favorably considered in a united Parliament than by a separate Irish Legislature; and, indeed, Pitt, who was not adverse to their claims, had held out to them some hopes to that effect.

On May 15th this year the king was shot at in his box at Drury Lane Theatre. The assassin, being apprehended, was found to be a lunatic named James Hatfield, and the attempt was not in any way connected with politics. But the deficient harvest this

year, and consequent high price of bread, occasioned much distress and discontent. Attacks on the property of farmers, millers, and corn-dealers were frequent in the country, and mobs and riots occurred in London.

In the warlike operations of the year the battle of Hohenlinden, gained by Moreau in December, opened to the French the way to Vienna, and their progress was only arrested by the armistice of Steyer. On the other hand, they were obliged to surrender Malta after a blockade of two years.

Disputes had again occurred between England and the northern powers respecting the right of search, and they were artfully fomented by France. The Emperor Paul was also offended by the rejection of his claims upon Malta, to which he thought himself entitled as Grand Master. In November he proceeded to lay an embargo on British vessels, and to sequester all British property in Russia. The masters and crews of about 300 ships were seized and carried in dispersed parties into the interior, where only a miserable pittance was assigned for their subsistence. Toward the end of the year an armed neutrality was formed between Russia and Sweden, and was soon after joined by Denmark.

§ 18. Thus new difficulties were gathering around England, while the statesman who had hitherto so ably directed her course was about to retire from the helm. Pitt, as we have said, had previously to the Union expressed himself in favor of the Catholic claims, and before the first Parliament of Great Britain and Ireland assembled he addressed a letter to the king (Jan. 31, 1801), in which he expressed the opinion of himself and his colleagues that Roman Catholics should be admitted to sit in Parliament and to hold public offices. George III. entertained very strong scruples on this subject. He regarded any relaxation of the Catholic disabilities as a breach of his coronation oath, and in this opinion he had been confirmed by Lord Kenyon, chief justice of the King's Bench. In his reply the king entreated Pitt not to leave office; but he would make no concessions to his views, and Pitt determined to resign. The king then sent for Mr. Addington, the speaker, who, after some delay, succeeded in forming a ministry. Lord Eldon obtained the chancellorship, his predecessor, Lord Loughborough, retiring with a pension and the higher title of Earl Rosslyn.

The threatening nature of the northern league now demanded serious attention. In March the King of Prussia had notified to the Hanoverian government his accession to it, and the closing of the mouths of the Elbe, the Weser, and the Ems; and he demanded and obtained immediate military possession of Hanover. A little previously Hamburg had been seized in the name of the King

of Denmark by Prince Charles of Hesse, at the head of 15,000 men, and an embargo laid on all British property. Remonstrances having failed, a fleet of 18 sail of the line, with frigates, gun-boats, and bomb-vessels, was dispatched to Denmark under the command of Sir Hyde Parker, with Nelson as his second; but the latter was in reality the commander. The Danish navy itself was considerably superior to the force dispatched against it, and Nelson pressed the necessity of hastening operations before the breaking up of the ice should enable the Russians to come to the assistance of the Danes. The passage of the Sound was preferred to that of the Belt, though more exposed to the guns of the enemy, and by keeping near the Swedish coast the fire of Kronborg Castle was avoided. Between Copenhagen and the sand-bank which defends its approach the Danes had moored floating batteries mounting 70 guns; and 13 men-of-war were also posted before the town. Nelson led in with the greater part of the fleet, and anchored off Draco Point, while Sir Hyde Parker, with the remainder, menaced the Crown batteries. Two of Nelson's ships grounded in going in, so that he could not extend his line. The action was hot, and Sir Hyde Parker hoisted the signal to desist, but Nelson would not see it, and, hoisting his own for closer action, ordered it to be nailed to the mast. The Danes, encouraged by the presence of the crown prince, fought with desperate valor; but by half past three the Danish ships had all struck, though it was impossible to carry them off on account of the batteries. Nelson now sent a note ashore, addressed "to the brothers of Englishmen, the Danes," in which he remarked that if he could effect a reconciliation between the two countries he should consider it the greatest victory he had ever gained. Subsequently he had an audience of Christian VII., the effect of which was that Denmark was detached from the league.

The happy effects of this blow were seconded by an accident. Just at this time the Emperor Paul was assassinated. His son and successor Alexander immediately declared his intention of governing on the principles of Catherine, and he ordered all British prisoners to be liberated and all sequestrated British property to be restored. When Nelson proceeded from Copenhagen to Cronstadt he found that the pacific disposition of Alexander rendered all attack superfluous, even had the strength of the place permitted one. Lord St. Helens negotiated a treaty at St. Petersburg, to which the King of Sweden acceded. On June 17th a definitive treaty was signed by Great Britain, Russia, Denmark, and Sweden, by which the rights of neutral navigation were placed on a satisfactory footing. The neutrality of the Elbe was re-established, the troops withdrawn from Hamburg and Lubeck, and the

embargo on British property removed; while, on the other hand, England restored all captured vessels belonging to the northern powers, and the islands in the West Indies which she had taken from the Danes and Swedes. All these happy results were in great part due to the unhesitating vigor of Nelson.

§ 19. Foiled in their northern projects, the French renewed the threat of an invasion. Camps had been formed at Ostend, Dunkirk, Brest, and St. Malo, but the main force was assembled at Boulogne. It was rumored that an immense raft, to be impelled by mechanical power, and capable of conveying an army, was to be constructed; but no such machine appears to have been begun. However chimerical such a project might be, precautions against it were adopted in England. Lord Nelson, having taken the command of a squadron commissioned to operate between Orfordness and Beachy Head, sent a few vessels into Boulogne, which succeeded in destroying two floating batteries, two gun-boats, and a gun-brig. An attempt to cut out the flotilla in that harbor with boats proved abortive, and the French triumphed as if the memory of Copenhagen and the Nile had been obliterated.

Ever since the accession of Mr. Addington to power negotiations had been attempted for a peace with France, but the haughty views of the first consul rendered them abortive. The eyes of the English ministry were still anxiously directed toward Egypt, from which, on account of our East Indian possessions, as well as for other reasons, it was highly desirable that the French should be expelled. Toward the close of 1800 an army of about 15,000 men, under the command of Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was dispatched to Egypt. The French force there had been greatly underrated. In spite of our cruisers they had managed to procure re-enforcements. Their army numbered more than 32,000 men, with upward of 1000 pieces of artillery and some excellent cavalry, while the English were very deficient in both the latter arms. Early in March, 1801, the first British division, of between 5000 and 6000 men, landed in boats in Aboukir Bay under a hot discharge of shot, shell, grape, and musketry from Aboukir Castle, and from artillery planted on the sand-hills. In the midst of this fire, the British troops formed on the beach as they landed, and without firing a shot drove the French from the position at the point of the bayonet. Their loss, however, was very considerable. On March 18th Aboukir Castle surrendered. Early in the morning of the 21st, Ménou, who had succeeded Kléber as commander-in-chief, advancing from Cairo with a large force, attempted to surprise the English camp. The combat was sustained with great obstinacy, and, the ammunition of both parties being exhausted, was carried on with stones. At length, after a struggle of nearly

seven hours and the loss of 4000 men, Ménou retired. The English loss was only about 1500, but among them was Abercrombie, who received a wound of which he expired in a week.

§ 20. General Hutchinson, on whom the command now devolved, being re-enforced by some Turks, successively captured Rosetta, El Aft, and Cairo, which last surrendered June 24th, after a siege of 20 days. It was agreed that the garrison, consisting of about 13,000 French, should be conveyed to France at the expense of the allied powers. Ménou still held out in Alexandria. General Hutchinson, being again re-enforced by 7000 or 8000 Sepoys from India as well as by British troops, laid siege to that city on August 3d, and on the 22d it surrendered in spite of Ménou's boast to hold out to the last extremity. The French garrison of 11,500 men obtained the same terms as that of Cairo. Six ships of war in the harbor were divided between the English and Turks. The *savans* were permitted to retain their private papers, but all manuscripts and collections of art and science made for the republic were surrendered.*

The French now began to listen to the proposals for peace, and preliminaries were signed October 1st. England was to cede all the French, Spanish, and Dutch colonies acquired during the war except Trinidad and Ceylon; the Cape of Good Hope to be open to both the contracting parties; Malta to be restored to the Order of St. John, Egypt to the Porte; the French to evacuate Naples and the States of the Church, the English Porto Ferrajo. On these terms a definite treaty was signed at Amiens, March 28th, 1802. It was joyfully received in London as well as in Paris; yet even the ministers did not venture to call it great or glorious. It left France in a state of unjust aggrandizement, while we acquired little or nothing by the expenditure of so much blood and treasure. France retained the Austrian Netherlands, Dutch Flanders, the course of the Scheldt, and part of Dutch Brabant, Maestricht, Venloo, and other fortresses of importance, the German territories on the left bank of the Rhine, Avignon, Savoy, Geneva, Nice, etc. Yet Bonaparte's ambition was not satisfied. Charles Emmanuel, King of Sardinia, having abdicated his throne in favor of his brother (June 4), Bonaparte annexed Piedmont to France as the 27th military department, on the pretense that, this being the king's second abdication, his subjects were released from their allegiance. Soon after, on the death of the Grand Duke of Parma, his territories were also seized. In all the neighboring countries the influence of France was paramount. Spain was her abject

* It was on this occasion that the celebrated Rosetta stone, together with many statues, Oriental MSS., etc., now in the British Museum, was acquired.

vassal; her troops, under pretense of a Jacobin plot, still occupied Holland, contrary to the treaty of Amiens; and in Switzerland, whose constitution had been overthrown by Bonaparte, he reigned supreme under the title of Mediator. France herself was rapidly passing from anarchy to despotism. On May 9th Bonaparte was elected consul for life, and in his court at the Tuileries and St. Cloud displayed as much magnificence as the ancient sovereigns of France. His power was supported by the establishment of the Legion of Honor, a sort of new nobility, consisting of 7000 men receiving honors and pensions, and dispersed throughout the republic. But amid these selfish aims much was also effected for the public good by the establishment of the civil code, of the means of public instruction, and by other measures of the like nature. The Church and the authority of the Pope were restored by a concordat, though the clergy were still held in an oppressed and degraded state.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A. D.	
1783.	Resignation of Lord Shelburne. Coalition ministry.
"	Fox's India Bill.
"	Pitt prime minister. His India Bill.
1786.	Impeachment of Warren Hastings.
1789.	Outbreak of the French Revolution.
1793.	Execution of Louis XVI.
"	War declared between France and England.
1794.	Defeat of the Duke of York. Conquest of Holland.
"	Lord Howe's victory.
1797.	Bank Restriction Act.
"	Victory of Jervis off Cape St. Vincent.
"	Victory of Duncan off Camperdown.
"	Mutiny at Spithead and the Nore.
1798.	French expedition to Egypt.
"	Nelson's victory at the Nile.
1799.	Failure of the British expedition to Holland.
"	Bonaparte first consul.
"	Irish rebellion.
1800.	Union with Ireland.
"	Armed neutrality of the northern powers against England.
1801.	Resignation of Pitt. Addington prime minister.
"	Battle of Copenhagen.
"	Battle of Alexandria.
1802.	Peace of Amiens.
"	Bonaparte consul for life.



Medal in commemoration of the Battle of Trafalgar.

Obv.: HORATIO . VISCOUNT NELSON . K : B . DUKE OF BRONTE . &. Bust to left.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

GEORGE III. CONTINUED. FROM THE PEACE OF AMIENS TO THE DEATH OF THE KING. A.D. 1802–1820.

§ 1. Hostile Feelings between France and England. Declaration of War. Hanover seized. § 2. Change of Ministry. Pitt Premier. War with Spain. Violent Measures of Bonaparte. § 3. Impeachment of Lord Melville. League between England, Russia, and Sweden. Bonaparte enters Vienna. § 4. Nelson chases the French Fleet to the West Indies. Sir Robert Calder's Action. Battle of Trafalgar, and Death of Nelson. § 5. Death of Pitt. The "Talents" Ministry. Fox vainly attempts a Peace. § 6. Battle of Maida. War between France and Prussia. Berlin Decree. § 7. Death of Fox. Duke of Portland Prime Minister. Abolition of the Slave-trade. § 8. Expedition to Rio de la Plata, to Constantinople, and Egypt. § 9. Peace of Tilsit. Expedition to Copenhagen and Capture of the Danish Fleet. § 10. Bonaparte seizes Lisbon. Milan Decree. The Throne of Spain seized for Joseph Bonaparte. Sir Arthur Wellesley proceeds to Portugal. § 11. Battle of Vimiera. Advance and Retreat of Sir John Moore. Battle of Corunna, and Death of Moore. § 12. Colonel Wardle's Charges against the Duke of York. Sir A. Wellesley Commander-in-chief in Portugal. Battle of Talavera. § 13. Napoleon conquers the Austrians. Expedition to Walcheren. Expedition to Calabria. Ionian Islands captured. § 14. Change in the Ministry. Mr. Perceval Premier. Burdett Riots. Massena advances into Portugal. Battle of Busaco. Wellington occupies the Lines of Torres Vedras. § 15. George III.'s Illness. The Regency. Retreat of Massena. Battles of Barrosa, of Fuentes de Onoro, and of Albuera. § 16. Perceval shot. Lord Liverpool Prime Minister. Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajoz taken. Battle of Salamanca. Wellington enters Madrid. § 17. War with the Americans. Napoleon's Russian Expedition. Treaties with Sweden and Russia. § 18. Wellington advances into Spain.



REV.: ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN WILL DO HIS DUTY. English and French fleets engaged. Below, TRAFALGAR OCT. 21. 1805.

Battle of Vittoria. Retreat of the French, and Battles of the Pyrenees. Wellington enters France. § 19. Coalition against Napoleon. Battles of Orthez and Toulouse. Abdication of Napoleon. § 20. Congress of Châtillon. The Allies enter Paris. Restoration of Louis XVIII., and Peace of Paris. § 21. Progress of the American War. Peace of Ghent. § 22. Congress of Vienna. Escape of Napoleon. Battle of Waterloo. § 23. The Allies enter Paris. Napoleon carried to St. Helena. Peace of Paris. § 24. Distress and Discontent in England. Hampden Clubs. Spa-fields Riot. Algiers reduced. § 25. Hone's Trial. Death of the Princess Charlotte. Royal Marriages. Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. § 26. Peel's Act to repeal the Bank Restriction. Manchester Riots. Repressive Measures. Death and Character of George III.

§ 1. IT was soon felt that the peace could not last. Bonaparte evidently designed to exclude England from all Continental influence or even commerce. Libels and invectives appeared both in the French and English newspapers. The harboring of French emigrants in England, and the allowing them to wear orders which had been abolished, were prominent topics of complaint. In order to remove one cause of dissatisfaction, Peltier, the editor of a French paper published in London, called the *Ambigu*, was prosecuted and convicted of a libel on Bonaparte; but he escaped punishment from the altered state of the relations between the two countries before his sentence.

It was known that extensive preparations were making in the ports of France and Holland, which it was pretended were designed for the French colonies; but George III., in a message to Parliament, March 8, 1803, adverted to the necessity of being prepared, and it was resolved to call out the militia and augment

the naval force. This message excited the high indignation of the first consul. In a crowded court at the Tuileries he addressed our embassador Lord Whitworth, on the subject, in an angry and indecent tone; he even lifted his cane in a threatening manner; when Lord Whitworth laid his hand on his sword, and afterward expressed his determination to have used it, had he been struck. Satisfaction for this insult having been demanded and refused, after some farther negotiations and an ultimatum to which no satisfactory answer was returned, Lord Whitworth quitted Paris, May 12th, and at the same time General Andréossy, the French embassador, was directed to leave London. Thus, after a short and anxious peace, or rather suspension of hostilities, the two nations were again plunged into war.

Lord Whitworth's departure was protracted as long as possible by Talleyrand; nevertheless, there was time to seize about 200 Dutch and French vessels, valued at nearly three millions sterling. Bonaparte, in retaliation, ordered all English residents or travelers in France, and in all places subject to the French, to be seized and detained. About 10,000 of every class and condition, and of all ages and sexes, were apprehended and conveyed to prison. Subsequently a considerable portion of them was cantoned at Verdun and in other French towns. Immediately after the declaration of war, a French army, under Marshal Mortier, marched to Hanover; the Duke of Cambridge, the viceroy, capitulated, and retired beyond the Elbe, and the French entered the capital June 5th. On the other hand, the French and Dutch colonies in the West Indies soon fell into our possession. The most enthusiastic patriotism was exhibited in England. No fewer than 300,000 men enrolled themselves in different volunteer corps and associations. The French camp at Boulogne still held out an empty menace of invasion, and in July the "Army of England" was reviewed by Bonaparte; but our cruisers swept the Channel, and occasionally bombarded some of the French towns.

§ 2. Early in 1804 the king had a slight return of his former malady. Upon his convalescence, Addington, whose decreasing majorities rendered it impossible for him to carry on the ministry, retired from office, and Pitt again became premier. The latter was very popular, especially in the city. After the peace of Amiens a deputation of London merchants had waited upon him and informed him that £100,000 had been subscribed for his use, and that the names of the contributors would never be known; but Pitt declined this magnificent offer. The state of the king's health, as well as the alarming crisis of the country, induced Pitt to waive for the present the question of the Catholic claims.

The friendship of Spain was more than doubtful. A large

armament was preparing in the port of Ferrol, and its destination could hardly be questionable. It was therefore determined to intercept four Spanish frigates on their return to Cadiz from Monte Video with treasure. Commodore Moore, with four English frigates, having in vain summoned them to surrender, an action ensued, in which three of the Spaniards were captured and the fourth blown up. The treasure taken on this occasion was valued at nearly a million sterling. The policy of the act, setting aside the question of justice, may, however, be questioned, as it alienated from us a large party in Spain that was hostile to the French. It was, of course, followed by a formal declaration of war on the part of Spain, December 12th.

This year (May 15) Bonaparte assumed the imperial crown with the title of Napoleon I. His conduct displayed an equal disregard of the laws of nations and those of humanity. In March he caused the unoffending Duke d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince who was residing at the castle of Ettenheim, in the neutral territory of Baden, to be seized by a secret expedition in the night, and to be conveyed to the castle of Vincennes, where he was shot. In October Sir G. Rumbold, the English minister at Hamburg, was in like manner seized in the night in his house at Grindel by a detachment of 250 soldiers of the army occupying Hanover. His papers were likewise seized, and he was conveyed to Paris and confined in the Temple. This case was too flagrant even for the time-serving King of Prussia; and Napoleon, who wished to keep that country neutral, consented to send Sir George to England. By means of an infamous spy named De la Touche, who was receiving money at once both from the French and English governments, Napoleon concocted a charge of encouraging assassination against Mr. Drake and Mr. Spencer Smith, our envoys at Munich and Stuttgardt, and procured their expulsion from the courts of Bavaria and Würtemberg. It is hardly necessary to observe that this charge, which was indignantly repelled by Pitt in the House of Commons, was utterly groundless. Yet the dependent states of Europe were instructed to address Napoleon on the subject, and the base and self-seeking court of Prussia congratulated him on his escape.

§ 3. Pitt's ministry was not strong. Grenville, having coalesced with Fox and the party called the "Talents," offered a formidable opposition. Toward the end of the year, at the suggestion of the king, a reconciliation was effected between Pitt and Addington: the latter was created Viscount Sidmouth, and became president of the council in place of the Duke of Portland. Soon afterward Lord Melville (Dundas), first lord of the admiralty, was compelled to resign, since Mr. Whitbread had carried a charge

(April 6th) against him of conniving at the misapplication of the public money, and even of deriving benefit from it himself. Pitt, with a bitter pang, was compelled to advise the king to erase the name of his old friend and companion from the list of the privy council. Lord Melville acknowledged at the bar of the House of Commons that his paymaster, Mr. Trotter, might have used the public money for his own advantage; and as there were some circumstances of suspicion against Melville himself, Mr. Whitbread, in the name of the Commons of England, impeached him of high crimes and misdemeanors at the bar of the Lords (June 26th). The impeachment was not heard till the following April, when he was acquitted after a trial of 16 days. His culpability appears to have been owing rather to negligence than dishonesty.

In April a treaty was concluded between England and Russia by which they bound themselves to resist the encroachments of France, and to secure the independence of Europe. The league was afterward joined by Sweden and Austria; but the King of Prussia kept aloof, intent on the Hanoverian dominions of his relative and ally.

The year 1805 was the period of Napoleon's most brilliant successes. In May he was crowned King of Italy in the Cathedral of Milan with the iron crown of the Lombard kings; and he appointed his adopted son, Eugene Beauharnais, to be viceroy of that kingdom. At the same time the republic of Genoa was united to France. Napoleon introduced the conscription into Italy, and an army of 40,000 Italians proved of great service to him in his subsequent wars with Austria. On his return from Italy he again repaired to Boulogne; but when the hostile disposition of Austria was ascertained, the army of England, consisting of 150,000 men, was declared to be the army of Germany, and was rapidly marched toward the Rhine (August 28th). The Austrians, who had protracted hostilities too long, afterward precipitated them before the Russians could come to their support; and the power of Austria was completely broken by the disgraceful capitulation of General Mack at Ulm. The road was now open to Vienna, which was occupied without a struggle, Nov. 13th. Meanwhile Massena had driven the Archduke Charles out of Italy, and obtained possession of the Tyrol. Napoleon pushed on into Moravia, the emperor and the czar retreating before him. The court of Berlin, guided by the detestable counsels of its wretched minister Haugwitz, was temporizing, and awaiting the result of another battle. That battle was Austerlitz (Dec. 2), in which the Russians and Austrians were completely defeated. The former retired into their own country; and Austria made a separate peace with France, by which she lost Trieste, her only port, and

recognized the regal titles of Bavaria and Würtemberg. The Confederation of the Rhine was now formed, with Napoleon for its protector.

§ 4. Thus the objects of the English and Russian league seemed completely frustrated. England appeared destined to be successful only when she acted by herself on her own peculiar domain, the ocean. Nelson had been in command of the Mediterranean fleet since 1803. The winter of 1804 was spent in watching the harbor of Toulon, where the French fleet was preparing to embark a large body of troops whose destination was unknown. To draw them out, Nelson sailed for Barcelona, and in his absence Villeneuve, the French admiral, put to sea with 10 sail of the line, besides several frigates and brigs. Nelson concluded that they were bound for Egypt, and made sail for Sicily; but he soon learned that they had passed the Straits of Gibraltar. At Cadiz they were re-enforced by six Spanish and two French line-of-battle ships, thus making their whole number 18 sail of the line. Nevertheless, as soon as the wind permitted, Nelson followed them to the West Indies with 10 sail of the line, but returned to Europe without having been fortunate enough to discover them; when, being in a bad state of health, he struck his flag at Spithead and retired to his seat at Merton.

Sir Robert Calder was more fortunate. On July 22d he fell in with the enemy at some distance from Cape Finisterre, and, though much inferior in force, an action ensued, in which two of the Spanish ships were taken. Calder, having neglected to renew the engagement on the following day, was brought to a court-martial for so unsatisfactory a victory, but was honorably acquitted. Villeneuve ultimately got into Cadiz, where he now found his fleet to amount to 35 sail of the line. Collingwood, who was watching that port, communicated the interesting intelligence to Nelson, who had led his friends to expect that he had finally retired from the service. But at this news his ardor could no longer be restrained. He immediately volunteered his services to the Admiralty, which were gladly accepted, and on the 15th of September he was again on board the Victory, accompanied by the Ajax and Thunderer, and the Euryalus frigate. On the 29th, his birthday, he arrived off Cadiz, and joined Collingwood; but his arrival was kept secret from the enemy, lest they should not venture out of port. No salute was fired, and Nelson kept well out at sea.

On October 19th want of provisions obliged the enemy to leave Cadiz, and the English fleet immediately gave chase, the course being toward the Straits of Gibraltar. It was not till the 21st that Nelson fell in with them about seven miles east of Cape

Trafalgar, there being a light breeze from the west. Nelson felt a sure presentiment of victory, but at the same time of death. The enemy tacked, in order to be able, if necessary, to run back to Cadiz, when Nelson steered a little more to the north in order to cut off their van. He now asked Captain Blackwood, of the Euryalus, who was on board the Victory, whether a signal was not wanted. The latter replied that he thought all knew what they were about; but Nelson ran up to the mast-head his last signal—ENGLAND EXPECTS EVERY MAN TO DO HIS DUTY—which was greeted with three cheers from every ship. Nelson led the weather line in the Victory, but the lee line, under Collingwood, was the first to get into action. The British fleet comprised 27 sail of the line, four frigates, a schooner, and a cutter; the combined French and Spanish fleets numbered 33 sail of the line, five frigates, and two brigs; and they were vastly superior in weight of metal, having 2626 guns to our 2148. The enemy's line had accidentally fallen into the shape of a crescent, which rendered the attack more difficult. It was a little after noon that Collingwood, in the Royal Sovereign, began the action. He was soon surrounded by five French and Spanish vessels; but, finding that they damaged one another, they gradually drew off, and left Collingwood in single combat with the Santa Anna. He had been engaged nearly a quarter of an hour before the other ships got into action. As the Victory bore down, she was made a mark by the enemy; her rigging was much damaged, her wheel shot away, and 50 officers and men killed or wounded before she fired a shot. The foremost ships of the enemy, to the number of 19, closed round Nelson's column, leaving a gap of nearly a mile between the spot where Collingwood and his comrades were engaging the remaining 14. Nelson's ship was first engaged with the Santissima Trinidad, then with the Bucentaur, a Frenchman of 80 guns, and lastly with the Redoutable; that ship and the Victory getting as it were locked together by their anchors. The tops of the Redoutable were filled with riflemen, and Nelson, who on going into action had put on his finest and most conspicuous coat, embroidered with the Order of the Bath, afforded an excellent mark. The action had lasted about half an hour when he was struck by a musket ball and fell on the quarter-deck. On his captain expressing a hope that he was not seriously wounded, Nelson replied, "They have done for me at last, Hardy; my back-bone is shot through." He was carried to the cockpit, where it was found that the shot, having entered the left shoulder at the epaulette, had lodged in the spine, inflicting a mortal wound. While the hero lay there expiring, the battle still raged two hours, distressing him with the concussion of the firing, though ever and anon he was cheered by

the huzzas of the crew as one after another the enemy's ships struck their colors. He had the satisfaction to hear from Captain Hardy before his death that he had gained a complete victory. Almost his last words were to recommend to his country Lady Hamilton, with whom he lived, and his daughter. Then exclaiming, "Thank God, I have done my duty!" he expired almost without a struggle about three hours after receiving his wound. He had said almost prophetically when going into action that he should be content with 20 ships; 19 of the enemy's line actually struck at Trafalgar, and one blew up. The prisoners taken, including the troops on board, amounted to about 12,000. Four French and one Spanish ship that had taken little part in the action were subsequently captured by Sir Richard Strachan, November 4th. By this glorious victory the French navy was nearly annihilated, and England rescued from all chance of an invasion.

Nelson was honored with a magnificent public burial; a lying in state in Greenwich Hospital; a funeral procession by land and water; but, strange to say, his last requests were forgotten or neglected. He had always expressed a wish to be interred in Westminster Abbey, and he was carried to St. Paul's; he had recommended his mistress and her daughter to the care of the country, and no notice was taken of the dying hero's prayer. His brother, a clergyman, was made an earl; £100,000 were voted him to buy an estate, and a pension of £6000 a year; £10,000 were given to each of his sisters.

§ 5. Pitt did not long survive England's greatest naval commander. The cares and anxieties of office, at a crisis so tremendously agitating, had undermined a constitution naturally feeble; and the stimulus with which he sought to relieve them, by indulging too freely in convivial wine, contributed to hasten his decease. He expired at the age of 46, January 23d, 1806. Of his disinterestedness no greater proof can be offered than that, in spite of his apparent opportunities of enriching himself, he died £40,000 in debt. This was discharged by a vote of Parliament, who likewise decreed him a public interment in Westminster Abbey: the latter was ungenerously opposed by Fox and his party. Notwithstanding some errors, Pitt must be regarded as one of the greatest ministers this country ever saw. His counsels chiefly enabled England to stem the overbearing insolence and ambition of the French republic and early empire; but his share in this praise lies more in the skill with which he raised the sinews of war than in the prudence and wisdom with which he directed and controlled its operations.

Attempts were made to patch up the ministry, but failed, and

the king was obliged to have recourse to Lord Grenville and all the "Talents." This involved the readmission of Fox, who was now allied with that party, and the king was obliged to waive his personal dislike of that statesman. Early in February a ministry was formed, with Lord Grenville first lord of the treasury, Fox foreign secretary, Lord Howick (afterward Earl Grey) first lord of the admiralty, Erskine lord chancellor, etc.

It was naturally expected that Fox, who had so long denounced the war both as iniquitous and impolitic, would exert himself to terminate it; and he did, indeed, open communications with the French government through Lord Yarmouth, afterward Marquis of Hertford, one of the *détenus* at Verdun. But he soon discovered that Napoleon would never agree to terms which this country could accept with honor. The financial measures of the new government were universally complained of, and especially the increase of the obnoxious property-tax to 10 per cent.

§ 6. Napoleon had now installed his brother Joseph as King of Naples, his brother Louis as King of Holland, and had bestowed 12 Italian duchies upon as many of his most favored generals. Ferdinand IV. of Naples had, as before related, been driven to take refuge in Sicily; and at the request of his consort, Caroline of Austria, sister of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette, Sir John Stuart, who commanded the British forces in that island, was induced to pass over into Calabria with a small army of less than 5000 men, and to try his fortune against the French General Regnier, who occupied that province. On July 3d an engagement took place at Maida, in which the French, though considerably the stronger, were entirely defeated. Regnier fled across the Apennines, and Stuart cleared the whole of Lower Calabria of the French; but his force was too small to hold it, and he was obliged to return to Sicily. It was one of the mistakes of the government to fritter away the strength of the nation in small expeditions of this fruitless kind. At the same time Sir Sydney Smith's squadron harassed the French on the coast of Italy from the Tiber to the Bay of Naples.

During the negotiations with Napoleon after the accession of the ministry, he had offered to restore Hanover. The desire of possessing that country had induced the court of Prussia to desert the cause of Germany; and they likewise found other causes of complaint against France in the confederation of the Rhine, and in the depreciatory tone in which the *Moniteur* spoke of Prussia and her pretensions. On October 1st Prussia required the French to evacuate Germany; on the 14th the battle of Jena laid her at the feet of Napoleon, a fitting reward of her perfidy and selfishness. On the 25th the French entered Berlin, and Mortier was sent forward

to occupy Hamburg and seize all British property. On November 21st appeared the celebrated Berlin Decree, forbidding all intercourse with England, and all use of her manufactures or colonial products.

§ 7. Fox did not live to see this event. He had been attacked with dropsy, and after July became too unwell to attend to business. On September 13th he expired at the Duke of Devonshire's seat at Chiswick, whither he had proceeded on his way to his own house at St. Anne's Hill. He was in his 58th year. He received a public funeral, and was buried in the Abbey, October 10th, close by the side of his great rival Pitt. Posterity will be rather at a loss to discover in his character any transcendent merits as a statesman, or to point out any great benefits that he achieved for the country. His influence during his lifetime seems to have been principally acquired by his powerful and fervid oratory, and by his engaging qualities, which attached to him a host of personal friends. His death did not break up the ministry; Lord Howick succeeded to his place of foreign secretary, and Mr. Thos. Grenville became first lord of the admiralty.

Lord Grenville had made no compact with the sovereign on the subject of Catholic emancipation, and early in March, 1807, Lord Howick brought in a bill to enable Roman Catholics to serve in the army and navy in England as well as Ireland. In the latter country a Roman Catholic officer could attain any rank except commander-in-chief, master general of the ordnance, or general on the staff. The bill was opposed by Spencer Perceval and others; and as the king had a great repugnance to the measure, it was not difficult to persuade him to dismiss the ministers. Before the end of the month a new administration was formed, with the Duke of Portland as first lord of the treasury, George Canning foreign secretary, Lord Castlereagh secretary at war and colonies, Spencer Perceval chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Eldon chancellor in place of Erskine, etc. A "No Popery" cry was raised, in which Wilberforce and the evangelical party loudly joined; the ministers took advantage of it to dissolve the Parliament, though it had been returned only a few months, and the elections secured them a large majority.

A little before the dismissal of Lord Grenville the abolition of the slave-trade had been carried. That question had now been twenty years in agitation. A society had been formed for its promotion, of which Mr. Granville Sharpe was chairman, and of which Mr. William Wilberforce and Mr. Clarkson were distinguished members. The inhuman traffic had been denounced by several writers, but it required the zeal and enthusiasm of the evangelical party, which had sprung up of late years, in order to

effect its abolition. The society adopted every means by newspaper articles, pamphlets, speeches, etc., to influence the public mind on the subject. Pitt approved the cause, and a board of the privy council had been formed to consider the state of the African trade; but the commercial interests of the country offered a great impediment, and all that could be obtained at first was a mitigation of the horrors of the middle passage.

§ 8. The military expeditions arranged by Lord Grenville's ministry had turned out unfortunate in all quarters. Two expeditions had been dispatched early in 1807 against Constantinople and Egypt. French intrigues, ably conducted by General Sebastiani, had induced the Turks to declare war against Russia, and thus diverted a great part of the force which might have been useful against Napoleon. Sir John Duckworth was dispatched with a squadron to bring the Turks to reason: he succeeded in passing the Dardanelles, and appeared before Constantinople in February; but the Turks amused him with negotiations till they had put their city in a formidable posture of defense; and Duckworth made a disgraceful retreat, for which he was subsequently brought to a court-martial. At the same time, the expedition to Egypt, under Major General Frazer, proved equally unfortunate; the new ministry declined to support it, and in September the remnant of the British force was obliged to return to Sicily. The only effect of these proceedings was that the Turks declared war against us, and confiscated all British property.

§ 9. Meanwhile the Russians, exhausted by the well-contested fields of Eylau and Friedland, and receiving no assistance either in men or money from England, concluded with France the peace of Tilsit, July 7th, 1807, to which Prussia afterward acceded. Both these countries agreed to shut their ports against the English; and, indeed, the French were in possession of those of Prussia. When it was too late Canning dispatched Lord Leveson Gower to conciliate the Emperor Alexander: he could not even obtain an audience, and he returned with the conviction that Alexander, by a secret article of the treaty of Tilsit, had placed not only his own fleet, but also those of Sweden and Denmark, at the disposal of Napoleon. It was no time for hesitation. Denmark commands the entrance to the Baltic; a large fleet was lying in her harbors; the north of Germany was full of French troops; and, however friendly might be the disposition of the Danes, it was evident that their movements would depend on the will of Napoleon. A powerful armament, consisting of 25 sail of the line, 40 frigates and other small vessels, and 377 transports carrying 27,000 troops, was secretly and promptly fitted out, and sailed from Yarmouth Roads, July 26th, under the command of Admiral Gambier.

Lord Cathcart was at the head of the land-forces, under whom served Sir Arthur Wellesley, an officer who had greatly distinguished himself in India. On August 9th the expedition was safely anchored in the roads of Elsinore: negotiations were opened for the delivery of the Danish fleet, under the solemn promise that it should be restored on the conclusion of a peace with France. The proposal being indignantly rejected by the crown prince, preparations were made to enforce it. The fleet proceeded to Copenhagen, the troops were landed, and batteries constructed, and on September 2d a bombardment commenced both by sea and land. On the evening of the 5th the Danish commander surrendered, and on the 8th the troops took possession of Copenhagen. Our whole loss did not much exceed 200 men. By October 20th the whole of the Danish fleet was prepared for sea, and carried off to England, together with an immense quantity of naval stores, and between 2000 and 3000 pieces of artillery. The island of Heligoland was also captured, and served as a dépôt for English goods to be smuggled into the Continent. The rage of Bonaparte at this intelligence was terrific. The entry of the French into Stralsund, September 1st, showed the wisdom of our rapid and decisive movement. The Danes declared war against us, the consequence of which was the capture of the Danish West India islands of St. Thomas, St. John's, and Santa Croce in December.

§ 10. The King of Portugal having refused to enforce the Berlin Decree against England, Napoleon determined to attack that country. For that purpose he entered into a treaty with Spain (October 27th), which was to have a portion of Portugal; and before the treaty was signed he dispatched an army of 30,000 men under Junot across the Bidassoa, which entered Lisbon November 30th. The prince regent, with many of his nobility and 18,000 of his subjects, had sailed the day previously for the Brazils, and Bonaparte proclaimed that the house of Braganza had ceased to reign. Toward winter Napoleon visited Italy, and issued in the capital of Lombardy, December 17th, the celebrated Milan Decree, declaring all vessels, of whatsoever nation, that should submit to the British orders in council, lawful prizes. These orders had been issued in retaliation for the Berlin Decree. They declared the whole French coast in a state of blockade, thus rendering neutral vessels with French goods on board liable to seizure, a proceeding which formed the principal ground of quarrel with the Americans. But, in fact, both the Berlin Decree and the orders in council were in a great degree inoperative.

No sooner was Bonaparte in possession of Portugal than, with the help of Godoy, the Prince of Peace, the prime minister of Spain and paramour of the queen, he treacherously turned his

arms against that country. Murat occupied Madrid with a French division. The imbecile Charles IV., and his son Ferdinand, who was not much better, together with Godoy and the queen, were decoyed to Bayonne, where a renunciation of the Spanish throne in favor of Napoleon was extorted from them in consideration of the palace and domains of Navarre and a pension of 400,000 francs! It was declared that the Spanish Bourbons had ceased to reign: Joseph Bonaparte, much against his will, was compelled to exchange the crown of Naples for that of Spain, while the former was bestowed upon Napoleon's brother-in-law Murat. King Joseph entered Madrid (July 20th, 1808); but by this time the Spaniards, who had risen in insurrection, had established at Seville a "supreme junta of Spain and the Indies," and had declared Ferdinand king with the title of Ferdinand VII., though he was now residing in Talleyrand's house at Valençay. In this struggle the Spaniards displayed the greatest animosity toward the French, and murdered all the stragglers they could lay hands on.

These revolutions were destined again to bring the English into contact with the French on land as well as sea. General Castaños, who commanded the Spanish army of Andalusia, applied to Sir Hew Dalrymple, commandant of Gibraltar, with a view to obtain the assistance of England. The merchants of that place supplied the junta of Seville with some money; Collingwood carried his fleet into Cadiz, and lent the Spaniards what assistance he could in ammunition, stores, etc.; and the English government at length undertook to aid the Spanish Loyalists with some troops. On July 12th Sir Arthur Wellesley sailed from Cork for the Peninsula with about 10,000 men. Preceding the fleet in a fast vessel, he landed at Corunna in order to consult the junta of Galicia as to his proceedings. By their advice, with which his own views entirely coincided, he determined to land near Oporto. Portugal at this time, like Spain, was in full insurrection against the French. In the latter country Joseph had been driven out of his new capital before he had been a fortnight in it. He had taken up his abode at Vittoria in order to be nearer the French frontier, and Madrid had been occupied by Castaños. The British army landed near the town of Figueira, August 1st, and, being re-enforced by some troops from Cadiz, numbered in all about 14,000 men. Junot had 17,000 or 18,000 men in Portugal; but, as many of these were in garrison, his disposable force was not much larger than the British, and the successes of the Loyalists in Spain had cut him off from all communication with his countrymen in that kingdom.

§ 11. Wellesley began his march upon Lisbon August 9th. In about a week he came upon a French division of 5000 men, un-

der Delaborde, occupying a strong position at Roliça, which was carried after a struggle of two hours. On the 19th he reached Vimiera, where he was re-enforced by two British brigades under Generals Anstruther and Acland, making his whole force about 17,000 men, besides 1600 Portuguese. On the 21st was fought the battle of Vimiera, in which in two hours the French were completely defeated, with the loss of 14 guns and many prisoners. But Wellesley was now superseded by Sir Harry Burrard. The government had determined to raise the army in the Peninsula to 30,000, under Sir Hew Dalrymple, with Sir Harry Burrard as second in command, while Sir Arthur Wellesley, Sir John Moore, and others were to be generals of division. Sir Harry Burrard, by suspending the pursuit, lost the fruits of the victory, and the French, to their own great astonishment, got safe to Torres Vedras. Next day Sir Hew Dalrymple arrived, the command being thus twice changed in 24 hours. On August 30th a convention was signed by which Junot agreed to evacuate Portugal. This treaty is often erroneously called the "Convention of Cintra," because Sir H. Dalrymple's dispatches announcing it were dated from that place; but, in fact, Cintra lies between Torres Vedras and Lisbon; and, consequently, had the convention been made there, the British must have been already in possession of the former strong position, which, on the contrary, fell into their hands through the convention. The French were deprived of the spoils of the royal museum and library, church plate, etc., which they were preparing to carry off. A Russian fleet blockaded in the Tagus was surrendered. Early in September the British army entered Lisbon, when Sir A. Wellesley, who was justly of opinion that his achievements with the army deserved something more than a subordinate post, obtained leave to return home.

Soon after the battle of Vimiera Sir John Moore was appointed to the command of 20,000 men destined to co-operate with the Spaniards in driving the French from the north of Spain. On November 11th he crossed the frontier into Leon, and advanced by Ciudad Rodrigo to Salamanca. Meanwhile Napoleon himself had entered Spain at the head of some chosen troops, and, having replaced his brother at Madrid, December 4th, he proceeded to seek Sir John Moore. The latter had discovered that there was no Spanish force on which he could rely for support, and he had been contemplating a retreat; but, in consequence of some false intelligence that he received from Mr. Frere, formerly our minister at Madrid, he determined to advance, and, before Napoleon could come up, strike a blow at Soult, who was on the banks of the Carion with about 18,000 men. But Soult had withdrawn; and Moore, apprehensive of being surrounded, com-

menced a retreat. Napoleon was close at his heels. On January 1st, 1809, he was at Astorga with 70,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and 200 guns, and from this place he could descry the British rear. But he was now called away by news from Austria, and left the pursuit to Soult. The weather was bad, the roads miserable, provisions scanty, and the British had often to face about and repulse the enemy. At last, on January 13th, Moore reached Corunna; but the transports did not arrive till the following day; Soult had got possession of the hills round the town, and it was necessary to fight a battle to cover the embarkation. This took place on the 16th: Moore had between 15,000 and 16,000 infantry in line, Soult about 20,000; the ground was not good for cavalry. In defending the village of Elvina, against which the French were making a concentrated attack, Moore was struck in the breast by a cannon ball, and was carried to Corunna in a blanket, often stopping to look behind on the progress of the battle. The French were beaten off along the whole line, but night coming on prevented all pursuit; and as the remainder of Soult's forces might be expected every hour, it was determined to hasten the embarkation. Sir J. Moore died that evening, and was buried at midnight on the ramparts "with his martial cloak around him," for the Spaniards use no coffins. The embarkation, being covered by some line-of-battle ships, was completed in safety by the 18th. During the whole campaign Moore received no assistance from the Spaniards, who, on the contrary, were a positive hinderance to him by crossing his line of retreat at Astorga.

§ 12. The English ministry, however, were determined to pursue the war in the Peninsula, in which they were encouraged by the distraction caused to the French arms by the war with Austria; and Mr. Canning executed a treaty of alliance with the Spanish insurgents, or rather Loyalists, January 14th. The English nation, in spite of the long struggle it had already maintained, was so little crippled in its resources, that a loan of eleven millions was raised at a lower interest than had ever before been known. Yet many abuses were at this time discovered in the bestowal of military and naval patronage, in some of which the Duke of York himself, the commander-in-chief, was implicated. It appeared, from some charges brought against him in the House of Commons by Mr. Wardle, a Welsh colonel of militia, that the duke, abandoning himself to the influence of one Mrs. Clarke, a profligate but clever and insinuating mistress, had bestowed commissions in the army on several unworthy persons, such as Mrs. Clarke's brother, and even her footman. Before the termination of the proceedings the duke resigned his office, and the investigation was dropped. About the same time the commissioners of

naval and those of military inquiry brought to light a great many abuses and frauds in the method of conducting the business of those departments.

The chief command in the Peninsula was now given to Sir Arthur Wellesley, who advised that in the first instance our exertions should be confined to Portugal. On April 22 he arrived at Lisbon, where, including a body of Portuguese under Lord Beresford, he found himself at the head of about 25,000 men. On the 9th of May he directed his march upon Oporto, now occupied by Soult, who, after the battle of Corunna, had invaded Portugal. In a few days the Douro was crossed and the French driven out in precipitate flight. Wellesley now entered Spain, and formed a junction with the Spanish General Cuesta at Oropesa in Estremadura. Cuesta's army, however, amounting to about 30,000 men, was in very bad condition. On July 26th and the two following days Marshals Victor and Sebastiani attacked the position of the allied armies before Talavera. The attack was mainly directed against the allied left, held by the British, and especially a height occupied by General Hill: the Spaniards on the right were comparatively safe from the nature of the ground. At one time the British centre was broken, the guards after repulsing the French, having got into disorder by pursuing them too far; but the advance of the enemy was arrested by the 48th regiment. On the evening of the 28th all firing ceased, both armies retaining their original position; but in the night the French retreated over the Alberche. This was one of the most bloody and best contested battles in the Peninsular war. The French lost 7000 men killed and wounded, the British upward of 5000. This victory gained Wellesley the title of Viscount Wellington of Talavera. The British, however, were not in a condition to penetrate farther. The French, who had 200,000 men dispersed in Spain, were gathering from all sides, and early in August, besides Victor and Sebastiani, Marshals Soult, Ney, Mortier, Kellermann, and King Joseph himself, were in Estremadura. The English general retired into Portugal by Trujillo and Badajoz; and Sir Robert Wilson also returned, who, at the head of a light corps of Spanish and Portuguese, had pushed on as far as Madrid. Before the end of the year the French had virtually annihilated the Spanish forces, and Lord Wellington now concentrated his attention on the defense of Portugal, fixing his head-quarters at Viseu, with advanced posts toward Ciudad Rodrigo.

§ 13. We must now turn our attention toward another theatre of war. We have already adverted to Napoleon's sudden abandonment of the pursuit of Sir John Moore, which was occasioned by a breach with Austria. In March, 1809, the Emperor Francis

declared war against him. But Napoleon, inflicting a severe defeat upon the Archduke Charles at Eckmühl, marched rapidly to Vienna, which he entered with little resistance May 13th. He had still, however, to fight the battle of Aspern, near Vienna, in which he may be said to have been defeated. But the French army was allowed time to recover from the shock, and the bloody battle of Wagram followed, which laid Austria at Napoleon's feet. This was succeeded by the disgraceful peace of Schönbrunn, October 14th, which subsequently led to the marriage of Napoleon with the Archduchess Maria Louisa. In the same year Napoleon annexed the States of the Church to France, and, having been excommunicated by Pius VII., he caused that pontiff to be carried off to Savona.

In order to support the Austrian struggle, the English ministry resolved to divert the French arms by an expedition to the Scheldt, especially as Napoleon was attempting to convert Antwerp and Flushing into great naval dépôts. Before the end of July 37 sail of the line and an army of 40,000 men were dispatched, but under two most incompetent leaders—the Earl of Chatham, Pitt's elder brother, and Rear Admiral Sir Richard Strachan. The opinion of the more experienced officers was for a *coup-de-main* on Antwerp; instead of which, a fortnight was spent in reducing Flushing, during which time the Scheldt had been strongly fortified, and 40,000 men thrown into Antwerp. The enterprise was then abandoned as impracticable, and the expedition returned home, leaving about 16,000 men in possession of the isle of Walcheren. These, however, began rapidly to disappear, from the effects of the fever and ague common on that unhealthy coast, and in a short time half the force were in hospital. After the treaty of Schönbrunn the occupation of Walcheren was deemed of no advantage, and toward the middle of November it was evacuated, the harbor, arsenal, and magazines of Flushing having been destroyed as far as possible. Such was the end of an expedition said to have cost 20 millions.

Another diversion was attempted in Calabria, where the news of Napoleon's excommunication had created a great sensation among the people. In June Sir J. Stuart again crossed over from Sicily with 15,000 men, while Sir William Hoste's squadron and flotillas of gun-boats and small armed vessels operated upon the coast. The French retired before Sir J. Stuart, but little was effected besides the dismantling of the castles of Ischia and Procida, and the destruction of several forts and batteries; and after the capitulation of the Austrians the army returned to Sicily. In the autumn five of the seven Ionian islands, then held by the French, were captured. Santa Maura held out till the

following spring; and Corfu, the most important of the whole, was not obtained till 1814, when it was ceded by Louis XVIII. We pass over the remaining exploits of this year, the taking of some French West India colonies, and various minor successes at sea.

§ 14. A feeling of jealousy had long existed between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, which being heightened by mutual recriminations after the failure of the Walcheren expedition, a duel ensued, in which Canning was wounded. Both had previously resigned; and the Duke of Portland dying soon after, the ministry seemed tottering to its fall. Mr. Perceval, however, accepted the office of first lord of the treasury, retaining also the exchequer: the Marquis Wellesley, our representative with the Spanish Junta, was sent for and became foreign secretary in place of Canning; Lord Liverpool was transferred from the home office to Lord Castlereagh's place of secretary at war, with Lord Palmerston as under secretary; and the Hon. R. Ryder took the home department.

In April, 1810, some serious riots occurred in London. John Gale Jones being charged with a breach of privilege for abusing the House of Commons for closing their gallery during the discussion on the Walcheren business, Sir Francis Burdett, in defending him, used language for which he was committed to the Tower. On his way thither the mob were very riotous; the windows of several unpopular noblemen and gentlemen were broken, and some lives were lost. On the prorogation of Parliament Sir Francis was of course liberated; but he disappointed the populace of an expected ovation by going home by water.

In the Peninsula the Spaniards had been beaten on every point, and the Junta itself was obliged to take refuge in Cadiz, which in February, 1810, was invested by a French army. A British force of about 6000 men had been thrown into that place to assist in the defense, and the English fleet kept open the communication by sea; but the blockade was not raised till August, 1812. After the peace with Austria Napoleon was enabled to throw large reenforcements into Spain, including some of his best troops. The "Army of Portugal," comprising 90,000 men under Massena, was cantoned in Old Castile and Leon. Massena threatened to drive the English out of Portugal in three months, for which purpose he advanced with a force of more than 60,000 men. Lord Wellington had 24,000 British troops, and more than double that number of Portuguese, who made much better soldiers than the Spaniards; but part of his force was detached south of the Tagus, to watch Soult's army of Andalusia. The French advanced by Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida, which they took, and Wellington fell

back upon a strong position at Sierra de Busaco, near Coimbra. The British line, extending nearly eight miles, but with extensive gaps, was attacked by the French with great vigor on the morning of September 27th. They were repulsed, however, with the loss of 5000 men; and Massena, instead of renewing the attempt, seized the pass of Boialva, thus opening the road to Coimbra by turning the British left. Wellington now retired upon the famous lines of Torres Vedras, nearly 30 miles north of Lisbon, a position which his eagle eye had marked out in the preceding year. These lines were three: the first or outermost ran from Alhandra on the Tagus to the heights of Torres Vedras, and thence along the little river Zizambre to the sea; the second began at Quintilla, lower down the Tagus, and ran, at a distance varying from six to ten miles from the former, by Bucellas and Montachique to the mouth of the little river San Lorenzo; the third or innermost was merely intended, in case of need, to cover the embarkation of the army on board the fleet in the Tagus. The streams were dammed up and reservoirs formed, so that the ground could be inundated if necessary. The right of the lines was covered by the fleet and gun-boats in the Tagus. The lines were fortified with breastworks, abattis, etc., and nearly 100 redoubts or forts, mounting upward of 600 guns. Some of them were capable of holding several hundred men, and one required a garrison of 3000. Wellington entered these lines October 8th. Massena came up three days afterward, and was filled with despair at the sight. After viewing them about a month, he retired in the middle of November into winter-quarters without having attempted any thing.

Our general operations this year were not unattended with success. An attempt of the French upon Sicily was repulsed with great loss. By the end of the year they had been deprived of all their possessions in both Indies. The Dutch had also lost most of their East Indian settlements, and in the following year the remainder were reduced. On the Continent, however, the French empire was extending. Napoleon, having deposed his intractable brother Louis, annexed Holland to France; and the German coast to Hamburg being afterward added, the French empire might be said to extend from Naples to the frontiers of Denmark, embracing a population of 80 millions. Nearly all the rest of Europe were Napoleon's allies; and Bernadotte, one of his marshals, had been elected crown prince of Sweden. Between him and Napoleon, however, there was a great antipathy; and when the former came next year to the Swedish crown, he adopted Swedish views, conciliated the friendship of England, and ultimately declared against his former patron.

§ 15. At home the scene was clouded by a return of the king's malady, brought on, perhaps, by the death of his beloved daughter, the Princess Amelia. Mr. Perceval now proposed the Prince of Wales as regent, under the same restrictions with regard to the creation of peers, the granting of offices, etc., as those laid down by Pitt in 1788. The arrangements were not finally completed till January, 1811. George III. never recovered, and the regency consequently lasted till his death in 1820. At first it was anticipated that there would be a change of ministry, and Lords Grey and Grenville were actually employed to draw up answers to the addresses of Parliament; but, being disgusted by some alterations suggested by Sheridan, they declined any farther interference, and the old ministry was retained. Shortly after the Duke of York was reinstated as commander-in-chief.

Early in 1811 Soult invaded Portugal from Andalusia, in order to co-operate with Massena. He took Olivenza and Badajoz; but by this time Massena's army was in a state of sickness and disorganization, and he was obliged to commence a retreat, closely followed by the English. His march was first directed on Coimbra and Oporto; but, his attempt to pass the Mondego at the former place being repulsed, he retreated up the left bank of that river, much harassed by the British. The French committed the most horrible cruelties and devastations in their retreat, burning every town and village through which they passed, and maltreating the inhabitants. For these excesses, Massena, a man of brutal and ferocious character, must be held responsible. He entered Spain April 6th. In this pursuit much extra fatigue fell upon Lord Wellington, in consequence of several general officers having returned to England on pretense of private business.

The draughts made by Soult for Portugal having reduced the French army blockading Cadiz to 16,000 men, General Graham (Lord Lynedoch), with about 4000 men, partly Portuguese, proceeded by sea to Algeziras, in the Bay of Gibraltar; and having been joined at Tarifa by 7000 Spaniards, marched by way of Medina Sidonia toward the French position, with the view of taking them in the rear. Graham had expected that the Spaniards would have held the heights of Barrosa; but when he arrived there he found them occupied by Marshal Victor with 8000 men and a formidable artillery. With his small division Graham carried them at the point of the bayonet in little more than an hour —with great loss, indeed, though almost twice as great on the side of the French; but, not being supported by the Spaniards, he was unable to follow up his victory, and the whole enterprise led to no result.

Toward the end of April, Massena, who had received re-enforce-

ments which swelled his army to 40,000 foot and 5000 horse, re-entered Portugal with the view of relieving the fortress of Almeida. Wellington marched to oppose him with 32,000 foot and 1200 horse. They met at Fuentes de Onoro on the evening of May 3d: a fierce struggle ensued for the possession of the place, and ultimately the French were driven out. Early on the morning of the 5th Massena vigorously renewed the attack, which was kept up till evening, when the French retired with great loss. A few days after they evacuated Almeida. Napoleon was so dissatisfied with Massena that he superseded him in the command by General Marmont. Marmont, however, could do no better than his predecessor, and retired to Salamanca.

A little after (May 15th) a memorable battle was fought between Marshal Beresford, who was besieging Badajoz, and Soult, who had marched to its relief. Soult had about 23,000 men and 50 guns; Beresford had 27,000; but of these more than a third were Spaniards, who fled at the first attack, and left the centre, where the British were posted, exposed to all the fury of the French assault. The victory was Beresford's, after six hours of desperate fighting; but of 6000 British who contended with the French columns for the ridge of Albuera, only about 1500 were left unwounded. The French lost 9000 men. Soult did not think fit to renew the attack; and Beresford being re-enforced a day or two after with 1500 English, Soult retreated on Seville. On the 19th Wellington himself arrived with two fresh divisions, and the siege of Badajoz was resumed. But a large French force approaching, the siege was abandoned after two unsuccessful assaults, and Wellington fell back on Campo Mayor. A little after, the successes of General Hill obliged the French to evacuate the greater part of Estremadura. But in the eastern provinces of Spain they were every where triumphant.

§ 16. The beginning of 1812 was marked by some ministerial changes. The Marquess Wellesley resigned, objecting to serve under Mr. Perceval, though not *with* him, and Lord Castlereagh occupied his place as foreign secretary. Shortly afterward Perceval himself was removed by the hand of an assassin. He was shot in the lobby of the House of Commons about five o'clock in the afternoon of May 11th, by one Bellingham, a Liverpool broker, whose petitions had been rejected, and expired in a few minutes. The assassin was convicted and hanged within a week. Upon this event all the ministers tendered their resignations, and an attempt was made to construct a Whig cabinet; but it failed. Lord Liverpool now became premier, and Mr. Vansittart chancellor of the exchequer. The financial measures of Perceval were adopted, and it was resolved to push the war with vigor.

Wellington opened the campaign in the Peninsula with the capture of Ciudad Rodrigo, which was taken Jan. 19, after less than a fortnight's siege. The Spaniards now first began to appreciate his genius: the Cortes voted him their thanks, and the title of Duke of Ciudad Rodrigo. The English Parliament granted him an annuity of £2000, to be annexed to the earldom to which he was now raised. Shortly after Badajoz was again invested (March 16), and was carried April 6, but with a terrible slaughter. Soult, who was advancing to its relief, now again retreated toward Seville, pursued by the British, who overtook and routed his rear guard at Villa Garcia. General Hill having by a masterly movement cut off the communication between Soult and Marmont by seizing Almaraz, which covered the passage of the Tagus, Wellington, no longer reduced to the defensive, prepared to advance into Spain. He had now 40,000 men, but one division consisted of Spaniards. Marmont had about 50,000, and was much superior in cavalry and artillery, yet he evacuated Salamanca when Wellington appeared before it (June 16). As an instance of the barbarous manner in which the French conducted the war in Spain, it may be mentioned that during their occupation of this celebrated university town they had destroyed 22 out of 25 colleges. In July both armies were facing each other on the banks of the Guarena. On the 20th, Marmont, who had been re-enforced, put his army in motion to regain the banks of the Tormes, and cut off Wellington's communication with Salamanca. Wellington immediately started after him, the two armies moving in parallel columns within sight of each other, yet refraining from all hostilities, except the occasional exchange of a cannon-shot. It was a sort of race which should arrive first at the Tormes. The armies crossed that river, the British at the bridge of Salamanca, the French at the fords higher up, and both took up positions on the south bank. On the 22d, Marmont having too much extended and weakened his left, Wellington took advantage of the error and completely defeated him. Wellington in his dispatch calculates the French loss at from 17,000 to 20,000 men, and says it was admitted that their whole army would have been in his hands had there been an hour more daylight. Marmont himself was wounded by a shell. The French, now under General Clausel, fled precipitately to Valladolid, which they abandoned on the approach of the British. Hearing that King Joseph, with 20,000 men, was threatening his flank and rear, Wellington, leaving a force on the Duero to watch Clausel, turned upon him, pursued him on the road to Madrid through St. Ildefonso, and entered the Spanish capital August 12, the French and their Spanish partisans hurrying from it in the greatest haste. On the 14th

the French garrison in the Retiro palace surrendered, when 180 guns, 20,000 stand of arms, and an immense quantity of warlike stores were captured.

One of the first results of the fall of the capital was that Soult abandoned the blockade of Cadiz and retired to Granada; but Wellington soon found that it would be impossible with his force to hold an open town like Madrid in the presence of the large and well-disciplined French armies both in the north and south of Spain, and he retired on Salamanca, and subsequently went into winter quarters at Ciudad Rodrigo.

§ 17. During our arduous struggle with the French the Americans had displayed no friendly disposition toward this country. They were incensed at our exercise of the right of search, which had been forced upon us by the Berlin Decree,* and they insisted on the doctrine that the neutral flag makes free goods. In 1811 Napoleon released the Americans from the observance of the Berlin and Milan decrees; and in the same year the Americans passed against us a non-intercourse act, by which all British goods arriving in America were to be seized, unless we recalled the obnoxious orders in council before alluded to. These were revoked in favor of America in June, 1812, although we had been already subjected to many insults from the Americans, which we had disregarded. But the concession, it was said, came too late; the Americans had declared war a few days previously. They had long been making preparations for a struggle which promised to be profitable to them,† and they immediately dispatched to Canada a body of 2500 men under General Hull. Proclamations were issued inviting the Canadians to throw off the British yoke;

* Much earlier than the Berlin decree (1806) the British had exercised the right of search, and justified it by the doctrine that a British subject can never become an alien, and that Great Britain had the right to take her native-born subjects wherever found. Ten years before this famous decree, Mr. King, the American minister in London, had, in the space of nine months, made application for the release of 271 seamen, mostly Americans, who had been seized and pressed into the naval service of Great Britain. —Am. Ed.

† The only *profit* which the Americans expected from a war was the restoration, or, at least, the protection of their commerce, which had been so ruthlessly and wickedly destroyed by Great Britain and France in their desperate efforts, from 1806 until 1811, to damage each other. So overbearing and insolent had been the conduct of the British toward the Americans for many years, that war between the two countries appeared inevitable. Insults to our flag on the high seas finally became more and more frequent; and because the Americans forbore to engage in hostilities, the British press, in 1811 and 1812, began to boast that the United States "could not be kicked into a war." Then forbearance became no longer a virtue; war was declared against Great Britain, and carried to a successful termination.—Am. Ed.

but they remained faithful, and the military measures adopted by General Brock were so judicious that in less than two months Hull was obliged to capitulate. A second expedition to invade Canada was arranged on the Niagara frontier soon afterward. It was repulsed with great loss. At sea the Americans succeeded in capturing some of our frigates, owing to their own being much more heavily armed.*

Meanwhile that breach between France and Russia had occurred which ultimately proved one of the chief causes of Napoleon's downfall. Both Russia and Sweden had declined to carry out the Berlin Decree; and in March, 1812, a treaty was concluded between those powers, in consequence of which Napoleon made active preparations for war. Before entering on it he was willing to patch up a peace with England, and was ready to make large concessions; but, as he still demanded Spain for his brother Joseph, his proposals were not entertained. Napoleon then undertook his disastrous expedition into Russia, which it does not belong to our subject to narrate. The burning of Moscow, which he entered September 15, forced him to a retreat, during which the greater part of his vast host was annihilated either by the inclemency of the weather or the sword of the enemy; while Napoleon himself, with his usual intolerance of reverses, abandoning his army to its fate, traveled post-haste to Paris, where he arrived December 18, thoroughly beaten and discomfited. During the summer a treaty was concluded between England and Sweden, and subsequently between England and Russia; and when the British Parliament assembled in November, a grant of £200,000 was voted for the relief of the sufferers in Russia, in addition to a large amount raised by private subscription. The Parliament also voted £100,000 to Lord Wellington.

§ 18. The French reverses, which not only prevented Napoleon from sending re-enforcements into Spain, but also obliged him to recall Marshal Soult and 20,000 men from that country in order to oppose the advance of the Russians, opened a brightening prospect for the British arms in the Peninsula. The Spanish provisional government, at last throwing aside their ridiculous pride, made Lord Wellington commander-in-chief of the Spanish forces —a proceeding, however, which did not add much to his strength, as they were little better than an undisciplined rabble. The great-

* This is not the whole story. It is estimated by both American and English writers that during the year 1812 upward of 50 British armed vessels, and 250 merchantmen, with an aggregate of more than 3000 prisoners, and a vast amount of booty, were captured by the Americans. It was not so much the superior weight of metal as greater activity that gave so many naval victories to the Americans. The ocean swarmed with their privateers.—AM. ED.

est service the Spaniards rendered was in guerrilla warfare. The whole force on which Wellington could rely was under 70,000 British and Portuguese, of which about 6000 were cavalry. In May, 1813, he entered Spain in three divisions, the centre being led by himself, the right by Sir Rowland Hill, the left by Sir Thomas Graham. The advance was made by Valladolid, the French retreating before them till they took up a strong position in front of the town of Vittoria. This was attacked June 21, and carried after an obstinate resistance, the French being driven through the town, and pursued till it grew dark. The whole of the French artillery, baggage, and ammunition, together with property valued at a million sterling, was captured on this occasion; and King Joseph himself was nearly seized by a party of the 10th hussars. The French army fled in the greatest disorder to Pampluna; but, as the place would evidently have to sustain a siege or blockade, the garrison would admit none of their countrymen except King Joseph. The remainder of the fugitives pursued their flight, and did not rally till they reached the Pyrenees. Pampluna and St. Sebastian were soon invested by the allies, and the passes of the Pyrenees occupied from Roncesvalles to Irun, at the mouth of the Bidassoa.

Napoleon now sent Soult, with the title of "lieutenant of the emperor," to reorganize the defeated army and defend the frontiers of France. The former commission he executed with great promptitude and skill at St. Jean Pied de Port; the latter was beyond his power, though he made some desperate attempts, and even succeeded in regaining two of the mountain passes. On four consecutive days (27th to 30th July) bloody and persevering attacks were made upon the allied line, but they were repulsed; and on the 31st Soult was in full retreat for France. These engagements have been called the "Battles of the Pyrenees." Soult would have been fairly entangled and surrounded at San Estevan but for the imprudence of three drunken English soldiers who were surprised near his quarters. His army suffered severe losses in that terrible pass. He now retired behind the Bidassoa, and Wellington halted.

On August 31 St. Sebastian was carried by assault, but with terrible loss; and the castle surrendered in a few days after. Pampluna held out till October 31; but Wellington, leaving that fortress invested, crossed the Bidassoa early in that month with his left wing, and Soult retreated to the Nivelle. Before the middle of November all the allied army was on French ground. Wellington had issued a proclamation containing the strictest injunctions not to molest the peaceable inhabitants, which the Spaniards could not be brought to obey, and at last he was obliged to send

most of them back over the frontier. The peasants of the south of France, oppressed by the conscription, welcomed the English as deliverers. On November 10 the French position on the Nivelle was forced. Soult then retired to his intrenched camp at Bayonne, whence he made some skillful attacks on the English posts, but without success. The allies then went for a few weeks into winter quarters.

§ 19. The whole Continent was now in arms against Napoleon. During his disastrous retreat from Russia the Emperor Alexander had gathered up his forces and hung upon his rear, and as he approached the west, the Poles, and then the Prussians, rose to join him. A sentiment of the national degradation had at length been aroused among the Prussians which the king dared not venture to oppose. The news of Wellington's glorious campaign in the Peninsula also stimulated the Germans to resistance. Frederick William III., King of Prussia, and Alexander, Emperor of Russia, contracted an alliance offensive and defensive (Feb. 28), which was ratified at Kalisch. This coalition, being the sixth against France, was joined by Great Britain (June 14). Napoleon, however, was still superior in force to the allies. By the most unsparing conscription he had raised 700,000 men, half of whom were dispatched into Germany; but they were raw recruits, necessarily much inferior to those with which he had won his early victories. He gained in May the battles of Lutzen and Bautzen; but they were bloody, and led to little result. The French reoccupied Leipsic and Dresden, and an armistice was agreed upon, from June 5 to August 10, to give time for negotiations mediated by Austria. Napoleon haughtily refused to give up his conquests beyond the Rhine; and at the conclusion of the armistice Austria joined the coalition against him, although the emperor's daughter had been left regent of France. England supplied the Prussians, Hanoverians, and Swedes with money and stores. Then followed the battles at Dresden, Gross Beeren, Dennewitz, and the Katzbach, in all which the French were defeated, and finally the crowning battle of Leipsic, called by the Germans the *Völkerschlacht*, or battle of the nations, from the numbers engaged, at which Napoleon was completely overthrown, and compelled to a retreat as disastrous as that from Moscow, recrossing the Rhine with less than a quarter of the enormous army he had collected in Germany. He reached Paris November 9, though beaten, still arrogant and presumptuous.

In February, 1814, Wellington again took the field, and Soult retired before him across the Gave d'Oléron. On the 27th he was defeated at Orthez with great loss, and Wellington pushed on to the Adour, directing Sir John Hope to invest Bayonne, and

Marshal Beresford to occupy Bordeaux. On the arrival of the last the mayor and citizens proclaimed Louis XVIII. of their own accord, for Wellington studiously avoided all interference in favor of the Bourbons. Soult now retreated upon Toulouse; and Wellington, who reached that city March 27th, found him posted on the right bank of the broad and rapid Garonne. It was the 9th of April before the British army could be conveyed to the other side, and on the 10th, Easter Sunday, was fought the bloody battle which takes its name from the town. The force of Wellington was a little superior, but Soult was much stronger in artillery. His position was carried, but with considerable loss, and on the night of the 11th he evacuated Toulouse and retreated toward Carcassone. In that night he marched 21 miles; yet some French writers have claimed the battle of Toulouse as one of their victories! Wellington entered Toulouse on the 12th, and in the afternoon received intelligence that Napoleon had abdicated at Fontainebleau six days before the battle. Soult at first refused to acknowledge the provisional government established in the name of Louis XVIII.; but, on receiving farther intelligence, a convention was signed on the 18th. On the 14th, General Thouvenot, though apprised of the state of affairs at Paris, brutally made a night sally from Bayonne, in which a great number of men were killed and wounded on both sides.

§ 20. We must now briefly advert to the events which thus put an end to the glorious progress of Wellington. During February and March Napoleon had obstinately contested with far inferior forces the advance of the allies from the Rhine, displaying all his great qualities as a general. During this campaign a congress of the ministers of the allied powers and of France was held at Châtillon-sur-Seine, England being represented by Lord Castlereagh. They offered those boundaries which France pretends to claim as her natural limits—the Pyrenees, the Alps, and the Rhine; but to these proposals Napoleon refused to accede till too late. It does not belong to our subject to narrate this campaign, and it will suffice to say that after several battles the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia entered Paris March 31st. The allied sovereigns now refused to treat with Napoleon, who had retired to Fontainebleau; he was obliged to abdicate, April 11th, and a provisional government was formed to effect the restoration of the Bourbons. At the instance of the Emperor Alexander, Napoleon was allowed to retain the imperial title, the isle of Elba was assigned as his dominion, and he was to receive from France a pension of six million francs. England was no party to this treaty, but afterward assented to it. Louis XVIII., who during his exile had resided in England, entered Paris in state May 3d,

and on the 30th he signed with Great Britain, Austria, Russia, and Prussia a treaty of peace and alliance, by which the French boundaries, with some additions, were determined and secured as they existed in 1792. The possession of Malta and its dependencies was confirmed to England; the Cape of Good Hope had been secured by a previous treaty with Holland; but all the Dutch East India colonies, except Ceylon, were restored. All the colonies possessed by France in 1792 were also restored, except Tobago, St. Lucie, and the Isle of France; and several islands and colonies were likewise given back to Spain. Hanover was raised to the dignity of a kingdom, with succession only in the male line. In June the allied armies evacuated Paris. The Emperor Alexander, the King of Prussia, and many of their most distinguished generals and nobility, then visited England, when there was a solemn thanksgiving in St. Paul's, and a series of grand fêtes and entertainments.

Contemporaneously with the advance of the allies upon Paris, an English force under Sir Thomas Graham, which was afterward joined by Bernadotte and his Swedes, had been engaged in reducing Holland, and the English suffered severely in attempting to storm the formidable fortress of Bergen op Zoom. By the peace of Paris, Belgium was incorporated with Holland. Lord William Bentinck, with an Anglo-Sicilian force, assisted by a squadron under Sir Edward Pellew, succeeded in reducing Genoa, which was annexed to the kingdom of Sardinia; Pius VII. was restored to the papal throne; and Lombardy, with the addition of Venice and several other places, was, after the expulsion of the Viceroy Eugene Beauharnais, made over to Austria. Lord Bentinck appears to have exceeded his powers in proclaiming the independence of Italy, and thus exciting hopes which could not be realized. Ferdinand VII. was restored to the throne of Spain without the exaction of any pledge. Soon after the Duke of Wellington, for such he had now been created, arrived at Madrid to mediate between the contending parties; and he advised Ferdinand to grant the Spaniards a constitution, and to rule with liberality and moderation. On his return home the duke received the thanks of both houses, and a sum of £500,000 was voted to him to purchase an estate.

§ 21. We must now briefly advert to the American war, which, however, after the great events just related, does not present features of much interest. Instructed by the events of 1812, the English government sent out a more powerful class of frigates, and henceforward the engagements went for the most part in favor of the British. One of the most remarkable was that between the Shannon and Chesapeake, a British and an American frigate,

of which the latter was considerably superior in weight of metal. Captain Broke, of the Shannon, sent a challenge into Boston harbor, and a battle was fought June 1, 1813, when, after an action of fifteen minutes, Captain Broke boarded the Chesapeake, and carried her off in sight of the disappointed Americans.

In 1813 and 1814 the Americans renewed their attempts upon Canada, but without success, and it is calculated that their three invasions cost them 50,000 men. Meanwhile our squadrons ravaged the American coast, the lighter vessels penetrating up the rivers and inflicting considerable damage.* In 1814 the British in America were re-enforced with some of the veterans of the Peninsula. On Aug. 15th, General Ross, with only 1600 men, dispersed in half an hour about 8000 Americans posted on some heights near the River Potomac†, entered Washington, the capital of the Union, and burnt the Senate House, the House of Representatives, the Capitol, the president's residence, the arsenal, dockyards, and other public buildings. Several other American towns were taken; but an attack upon Baltimore was repulsed with great loss, including the death of General Ross; and an attempt upon New Orleans in December was still more unfortunate. After the abdication of Napoleon the Americans began to think of peace, and a treaty was signed at Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814. Both parties agreed to use their endeavors to suppress the slave-trade.

§ 22. In January, 1815, a congress of eight of the principal European powers assembled at Vienna to regulate the affairs of Europe; but they had not proceeded far in their labors when they were astounded with the intelligence that Bonaparte had escaped from Elba. He landed at Cannes, March 1, with 1000 men, and the troops joined his standard as he advanced. On the night of April 19th Louis XVIII. fled to Lille, and on the following night Napoleon entered the palace of the Tuileries. The congress at Vienna declared him an outlaw and violator of the common peace, devoted him to public vengeance, and agreed to unite for the

* The amphibious warfare carried on by Admiral Cockburn along the coast, from Delaware Bay to Charleston, was marked by acts of unnecessary cruelty, disgraceful to the British name and fame. Public and private property was every where plundered or destroyed, and many negroes were carried off from the coast plantations and sold for cash in the West Indies. Commodore Hardy's conduct on the New England coast, at the same time, was in most honorable contrast with that of Cockburn.—Am. Ed.

† According to the best authorities, Ross was at the head of 5000 men, while General Winder, the American commander, had only 3000 (one half of them undisciplined militia) until joined by the seamen and marines of Commodore Barney, whose flotilla, lying in the Patuxent, had been burned when Ross approached. The place of the battle was not "on heights near the River Potomac," but inland, at Bladensburg, four or five miles from Washington City.—Am. Ed.

maintenance of the treaty of Paris. The Duke of Wellington, who was present at the congress, was consulted as to the conduct of the war. The duke impressed upon the English ministry the necessity, even on the ground of economy, of making a grand effort to crush the enemy at once. Both the ministry and Parliament were impressed with the soundness of this advice. The budget of the year was raised to the enormous sum of ninety millions, a considerable part of which went to subsidize the Continental nations; and the duke proceeded to Belgium to prepare for the expected campaign.

Napoleon crossed the Belgian frontier June 14th, with about 100,000 infantry, 25,000 cavalry, and 350 pieces of artillery. Wellington lay at Brussels with about 76,000 men, not half of whom were British, and some 84 guns. Blücher was at some distance on his left with 80,000 Prussians and 200 guns. Napoleon advanced by Charleroi; and when Wellington had ascertained that this was the real point of attack, he made the proper dispositions to meet it. On the 15th Marshal Ney advanced beyond Charleroi on the road to Brussels, driving back from Quatre Bras an advanced brigade of the army of the Netherlands under the Prince of Weimar. The position was, however, recovered by the Prince of Orange; and on the next day, General Picton having arrived with the 5th division and some Germans under the Duke of Brunswick, Ney was repulsed from Quatre Bras, though his force was nearly double that of the allies. Meanwhile, on the same day, Napoleon with his main body had attacked the Prussians at Ligny and St. Amand, in front of their head-quarters at Sombref, had driven Blücher back with great loss, and compelled him to retreat to Wavre; but he was so ignorant of his victory that it was not till noon of the 17th that he dispatched Grouchy, with a corps of 32,000 men, in pursuit of the Prussians.

Blücher's retrograde movement necessitated a similar one on the part of Wellington, in order to keep up the communication between the allied armies. On the 17th he made a leisurely retreat, undisturbed except by a few cavalry skirmishes, to the plains of WATERLOO, which he had previously selected for a battle-field. In the course of the same day Napoleon formed a junction with Ney, when their united forces amounted to about 78,000 men. The night was stormy, with thunder, rain, and wind; the following morning, Sunday, June 18th, opened heavily, but the rain had ceased. Wellington occupied a position extending from a ravine near Merke Braine on the right to the hamlet of Ter la Haye on the left, on which side the communication was open with Blücher at Wavre, through Ohain. In front of his right centre was the château of Hougoumont, in front of his left centre the farm-house

of La Haye Sainte, both occupied by our troops. In the rear of the British centre was the farm-house of Mont St. Jean, and still farther back, the village of the same name. The French occupied some heights in front of Wellington's position, and about a mile distant, their right being before the village of Planchenois, and occupying the farm of La Belle Alliance, while their left rested on the Genappe road. It was the first time that Napoleon had come into contact with British troops. He was full of confidence, and is said to have exclaimed, "Enfin je vais me mésurer avec ce Vilainton." About 10 o'clock the French line was observed to be in motion, and soon a violent attack was made on Hougoumont, defended by a brigade of the guards, who held it throughout the day. The French succeeded better at La Haye Sainte, bravely defended by some of the German Legion, who were all slain; but the post was afterward recovered. In other parts of the line repeated attacks were made by heavy columns of French infantry, but without success, and Napoleon then had recourse to some desperate charges of cavalry, which were repulsed by the British infantry formed in squares. To put an end to this, Wellington ordered an advance of the brigade of heavy cavalry under Lord Edward Somerset, consisting of the life guards, horse guards, and 1st dragoon guards, who completely rode down and dispersed the French cuirassiers, 2000 of them being made prisoners in this charge. At 7 o'clock in the evening the British line retained its original position, when Bulow's corps of Prussians arrived at Planchenois and La Belle Alliance, and began to engage the French right. Napoleon's chances were now growing desperate, and, as a last effort, he ordered the advance of his magnificent Old Guard against the British position of La Haye Sainte. Napoleon led the advance some way himself, and then took shelter behind some rising ground, leaving Ney, "the bravest of the brave," to head the charge. The guard advanced up the gently sloping ridge in two dark and threatening columns, galled by a flank fire from the British light division. At the top of that ridge the British guards were lying down to avoid the fire of the French artillery; but as the French columns approached, the duke gave the word to rise, and at the distance of about 50 yards they delivered a terrible volley into the French ranks as they were attempting to deploy into line. Their columns shook and wavered, a charge was ordered, and the Old Guard was hurled down the hill in one mingled mass with their conquerors. The sight of that repulse threw the whole French line into confusion and dismay; Napoleon galloped to the rear, and Wellington, availing himself of the auspicious moment, ordered a general advance. The French army was now in complete rout; Wellington and Blücher met at a house called La

Maison Rouge, not far from La Belle Alliance; and the pursuit of the enemy was left to the Prussians, who were comparatively fresh. Many prisoners were made, and 150 guns fell into the hands of the allies. Napoleon himself narrowly escaped capture. It was computed that in the three days' engagements and in the retreat the French lost 30,000 men; and when the remaining fugitives reached the French frontier, the greater part dispersed never again to meet. But the loss of the allies had also been enormous. It was estimated that nearly half the men actually engaged were either killed or wounded. Among the killed were General Picton and General Sir William Ponsonby; among the wounded, the Earl of Uxbridge (afterward Marquess of Anglesea), General Cooke, General Halkett, Colonel Fitzroy Somerset, and others. The Prince of Orange was also wounded. The Duke of Brunswick had fallen at Quatre Bras at the head of his black hussars.

§ 23. The allies now advanced upon Paris, which the remains of the grand army evacuated July 6th, and the allies took possession. Blücher was for pulling down the column in the Place Vendôme, blowing up the bridge of Jena, and levying 100 million francs on the city; but on all these points he ultimately yielded to the more moderate counsels of Wellington. Napoleon had abdicated June 22d in favor of his young son Napoleon II.; but the allies would be content with nothing less than the restoration of the Bourbons. On July 8th Louis XVIII. re-entered Paris and quietly resumed the government.

Meanwhile Napoleon, his head full of uncertain projects, now thinking of joining the remains of his army beyond the Loire, and now of flying to America, arrived at Rochefort July 3d, where, finding all hope of escape cut off by the numerous British cruisers, he surrendered himself on board the Bellerophon, Captain Maitland, an English ship of the line, which happened to be in the Roads. He had previously written a theatrical letter to the prince regent, claiming the protection of the British people, and comparing himself to Themistocles when he sought the hospitality of Admetus. But Captain Maitland was careful to make him understand that he could give no promises as to his reception, and that he could only undertake to convey him safely to England. Maitland was ordered to proceed to Plymouth Sound, and to allow no communication with the shore. The resolution of the allies was communicated to him July 31st, and on August 7th he was put on board the Northumberland, the flag-ship of Admiral Sir G. Cockburn, and conveyed to the island of St. Helena. Here he lingered out the remainder of his life in fruitless hope and unavailing discontent, till death released him from his sufferings, May 5th, 1821. He was incontestably the greatest general of

modern times, and had taken every capital of importance in Europe except London; yet he wanted some of the qualities which make a great man, and especially dignity and fortitude in the endurance of misfortune.

The peace of Paris, or definitive treaty between France and the allied powers, was signed in that capital November 20th. The settlement of Europe was arranged by the congress at Vienna. The Emperor of Russia, the Emperor of Austria (for such was now his title instead of Emperor of Germany), and the King of Prussia, had also signed what they called the "Holy Alliance"—an agreement to govern on Christian principles; which the Duke of Wellington wisely declined to sign, on the ground that it was too vague.

At the commencement of the war with France in 1793 the English funded debt had been a little under 228 millions. In February, 1816, the unredeemed debt, funded and unfunded, amounted to nearly 800 millions, entailing an annual charge of more than 28 millions. The last three years of the war alone had cost the country very nearly 200 millions.

§ 24. The triumph of the nation was succeeded by a reaction of internal distress and discontent. During the war the excitement of national feeling and the natural exultation of victory had prevented the people from complaining, and it was not till the struggle was over that they began to feel the burdens which it had occasioned. Trade languished from the exhaustion of the Continental nations, and their consequent inability to purchase our goods; while through unfavorable seasons the price of wheat rose before the end of 1816 from 52*s.* to upward of 100*s.* a quarter; and the distress was augmented by the corn law of 1815, which closed the ports to the importation of foreign grain till the price of wheat reached 80*s.* A multitude of persons were thrown out of employment through the depressed state of trade, and their numbers were swelled by the soldiers and sailors discharged at the termination of the war. Hence arose seditions and tumults, which in the agricultural districts were marked by incendiary fires, in the manufacturing towns by the breaking of those ingenious machines by which human labor had been to a great extent superseded. The subject of Parliamentary reform now began to be agitated among the great mass of the people, which previously had been little more than a speculative question with some leading statesmen. A ramification of clubs, called Hampden Clubs, was established throughout the country, that of London being presided over by Sir Francis Burdett. Other leading members were Major Cartwright and the demagogue orator Henry Hunt. Their demand for reform embraced annual Parliaments and universal suf-

frage; and a report of a secret committee of the House of Commons in February, 1817, represented these clubs as meditating nothing short of a revolution. In the preceding December dangerous riots had taken place in Spa Fields, which were with difficulty put down through the firmness and courage of Sir James Shaw and of the lord mayor.

One result of the peace was the suppression of the Algerine pirates. During the war these nests of robbers had been connived at; but in 1816 Sir Edward Pellew (Lord Exmouth) proceeded to Algiers with 25 men-of-war, besides gun-boats, etc., and being joined by a small Dutch squadron under Admiral Van Capellan, almost completely destroyed, after a few hours' bombardment, the formidable fortifications of Algiers (August 27th), together with nine Algerine frigates, etc. A loss, however, of 852 officers and men was sustained by the British. The Dey of Algiers now accepted the terms we dictated, and 1083 Christian slaves, principally Italians, were liberated.

§ 25. The general feeling of discontent among the lower classes, and an outrage committed upon the prince regent, the windows of whose carriage were broken as he was returning from opening the Parliament, January 28th, 1817, led to the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act. At the same time the execution of the law of libel was severely pressed, and numerous *ex officio* informations were filed against political writers. One of the most remarkable of these prosecutions was that against William Hone, a bookseller in the Old Bailey, for a profane libel, consisting of parodies on the Catechism, the Lord's prayer, the commandments, etc. Hone conducted his own defense with considerable ability, and was acquitted by the jury, who seem to have felt that it was the political rather than the profane character of the libels that had excited the indignation of the government. Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough resigned in consequence of this trial, in which he had been to a certain extent foiled and browbeaten by Hone.

The Princess Charlotte, only child of the regent, died this year November 6th, after giving birth to a still-born infant. She had espoused, May 16th, 1816, Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, the present King of the Belgians.

In 1818 the prospects of the country seemed improving. Trade was more active, employment more constant, and sedition consequently less rampant. In September a congress of the allies was held at Aix-la-Chapelle in order to settle the withdrawal of the army of occupation from France, of which the Duke of Wellington was generalissimo. The duke took leave of the troops by an order of the day dated at Cambray, November 7. On his return

to England he was appointed master-general of the ordnance, with a seat in the cabinet.

§ 26. In 1819 was passed the act, commonly known as Mr. Peel's Act, to remove the Bank restriction passed in 1797, and to provide for the gradual resumption of cash payments. May 1, 1823, was assigned as the period for the payment of all notes on demand in the current gold coin of the realm; but the Bank anticipated this period by two years, and began to pay in specie May 1, 1821.

In August, 1819, the demagogue Henry Hunt got up a great meeting in St. Peter's Fields, Manchester, on the subject of Parliamentary reform. The attempt to apprehend him produced a disturbance, in which about half a dozen persons were killed and a score or two wounded. This affair obtained among the "Radicals," as the extreme reform party were now called, the name of the Manchester Massacre, or "Peterloo." Hunt and eight or ten of his friends were captured, and, being tried and convicted of a misdemeanor in the following spring, were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Such was the alarm occasioned in the public mind by these disturbances that Parliament was opened in November, when the ministers brought in and passed six acts: namely, for the more speedy execution of justice in cases of misdemeanor; to prevent military training; to prevent and punish blasphemous and seditious libels; an act for seizing arms; a stamp act, with the view of repressing libels; and an act to prevent seditious meetings and assemblies. But there was something wrong in the state of the nation, of which these seditions were but the outward symptoms. They required something more than repressive treatment, and were not thoroughly healed till a better and more liberal course of legislation was some years later adopted.

On January 23, 1820, died the Duke of Kent, aged 52, leaving an only daughter, her present majesty, born May 24, 1819. In less than a week afterward his father, George III., expired (Jan. 29), at the age of 82, and in the 60th year of his reign, the longest of any sovereign that ever sat on the English throne. His private conduct had been always unexceptionable; and his plain and unostentatious manner, his warmth of feeling, and his attachment to rural pursuits, had endeared him to a large portion of his subjects. As a sovereign he undoubtedly ever had the honor and welfare of the country at heart, though occasionally views somewhat narrow and contracted, arising more from a defective education than any want of natural good sense, prevented him from seeing things in their proper light; and when once he had adopted an opinion, he was apt to cling to it with a firmness which not unfrequently

degenerated into obstinacy. Queen Charlotte had died in November, 1818.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1803. War renewed between England and France.
1804. Pitt's second administration.
" Napoleon assumes the title of emperor.
1805. Battle of Austerlitz.
" Battle of Trafalgar and death of Nelson.
1806. Death of Pitt.
" Lord Grenville prime minister, and Fox foreign secretary.
" Battle of Jena. Berlin Decree.
" Death of Fox.
1807. Duke of Portland prime minister.
" Peace of Tilsit.
" Bombardment of Copenhagen.
" Conquest of Portugal by the French.
1808. Joseph Bonaparte proclaimed King of Spain. Insurrection of the Spaniards.
" Battle of Vimiera and occupation of Lisbon by the British troops.
1809. Battle of Corunna and death of Sir John Moore.
" Sir Arthur Wellesley commander-in-chief in the Spanish peninsula.
" Battle of Talavera.
" Battle of Wagram. Peace of Schönbrunn between France and Austria.
" Walcheren expedition.
" Mr. Perceval prime minister.

A.D.
1810. Battle of Busaco. Lines of Torres Vedras occupied.
1811. The Regency.
" Battles of Fuentes de Onoro and Albuera.
1812. Assassination of Mr. Perceval. Lord Liverpool prime minister.
" Capture of Ciudad Rodrigo and Badajos.
" Battle of Salamanca.
" War with the United States.
" Napoleon's invasion of Russia.
1813. Battles of Vittoria and the Pyrenees.
" Capture of St. Sebastian. Wellington enters France.
" Battle of Leipsic. Napoleon driven out of Germany.
1814. Battle of Toulouse.
" Abdication of Napoleon at Fontainebleau.
" Peace with the United States.
1815. Napoleon's return to France.
" Battle of Waterloo, and second abdication of Napoleon.
" Peace of Paris.
1816. Bombardment of Algiers.
1817. Death of the Princess Charlotte.
1819. Peel's Currency Bill.
" Riots at Manchester.
1820. Death of George III.



Medal of the Battle of Aliwal.

Obv.: VICTORIA REGINA. Head, wearing coronet, to left. **Rev.:** ARMY OF THE SUTLEJ. Victory, holding wreath, to left, and arms. Below, ALIWAL 1846.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

GEORGE IV., WILLIAM IV., AND VICTORIA. A.D. 1820–1858.

§ 1. Accession of GEORGE IV. Cato Street Conspiracy. Prosecution and Death of Queen Caroline. § 2. Ministerial Changes. Commercial Panic. § 3. The Catholic Question. O'Connell and the Catholic Association. Canning's Ministry and Death. § 4. Battle of Navarino. Kingdom of Greece. The Duke of Wellington Premier. Abolition of the Test and Corporation Acts. § 5. Catholic Emancipation. § 6. Death and Character of George IV. § 7. Accession of WILLIAM IV. Earl Grey Premier. § 8. Parliamentary Reform Bill. Rejected by the Lords. Riots at Bristol, etc. § 9. Proposed Creation of Peers. Reform Bill carried. Irish Coercion Bill. § 10. Abolition of Slavery. Lord Melbourne Prime Minister. Sir Robert Peel Prime Minister. Lord Melbourne's second Administration. § 11. Municipal Reform Bill. Death of William IV. § 12. Accession of Queen VICTORIA. Insurrection in Canada. Chartists. § 13. The Queen's Marriage. Sir Robert Peel Minister. Graduated Corn-law. Agitation in Ireland. Conviction and Fall of O'Connell. § 14. Irish Famine, and Abolition of the Corn-laws. Fall of the Ministry. § 15. O'Brien's Rebellion. French Revolution. Death of Sir R. Peel. § 16. Fall of Lord John Russell's Ministry. Lord Derby Premier. Death of the Duke of Wellington. Lord Aberdeen's Ministry. § 17. War with Russia. Campaign in the Crimea, and Siege of Sebastopol. § 18. Lord Palmerston Premier. Russian War. Sebastopol taken. Peace of Paris. § 19. Review of Indian History from the Time of Warren Hastings. § 20. Occupation of Scinde. Annexation of Oude. Revolt of the Bengal Army. § 21. Fall of Lord Palmerston's Ministry. Lord Derby Premier. Abolition of the East India Company. § 22. Review of the Period from the Revolution. Progress of the English political Power. § 23. Progress of English Manufactures, Trade, Population, etc. National Debt. § 24. View of the moral Condition of the People. Religion. § 25. Criminal Law, Education, etc. § 26. Literature and Art.

§ 1. GEORGE IV., 1820–1830.—George, Prince of Wales, now

ascended the throne, with the title of George IV., at the age of 58. As he had been regent during the last ten years, while his father was in seclusion, his accession produced little or no change in the state of affairs.

The excitement of "Peterloo" was followed by the Cato Street conspiracy, so called because the conspirators were captured in a room over a stable in Cato Street, Edgeware Road. They consisted of some twenty or thirty persons, headed by one Thistlewood, a man of desperate character, and their design was to murder all the cabinet ministers when they should be assembled at dinner at Lord Harrowby's. But they were betrayed by one of their own gang: nine of them were captured, and Thistlewood and four more of the ringleaders were executed (May 1).

One of the first steps of George IV. after his accession was to attempt to procure a divorce from his consort, Caroline of Brunswick. The marriage had never been a happy one. It had been, in a manner, forced upon the prince as a condition of having his debts paid. The princess's person and manners were distasteful to him, and she soon became the object of his aversion. They separated soon after their marriage, though she bore him a daughter; and the princess in 1814 went to live abroad. Her conduct in England had already excited some scandal, and in 1818 a commission was appointed to watch her conduct and collect evidence; our embassadors abroad were instructed not to recognize her; and when the king came to the throne her name was omitted from the Liturgy. She determined on returning to England, and arrived June 6, the very day on which Lord Liverpool had opened an inquiry into her conduct in the House of Lords. In July a bill of pains and penalties was brought in, which was to deprive her of her rights and privileges as queen, and to dissolve the marriage. In the trial which ensued Mr. Brougham and Mr. Denman acted as her attorney and solicitor general. She was charged in particular with adultery with one Bergami, a menial servant. Several Italian witnesses were examined, and it can not be doubted that her conduct in Italy had gone far beyond the bounds of discretion; but the witnesses were of a low class, and frequently equivocated; and there was naturally a popular feeling in favor of a woman whose case assumed somewhat the aspect of persecution. At the third reading of the bill, the majority in its favor in the House of Lords had fallen to 9; and as the bill had still to pass the Commons, the ministers were induced to abandon it. The popular feeling was expressed by a general illumination. In the following session the Commons voted her an annuity of £50,000.

The king's coronation having been fixed for July 19, 1821,

Caroline insisted on being crowned with him, and on having her name inserted in the Liturgy. This was of course refused; and when she repaired to the Abbey to view the coronation as a spectator, she was turned back from the door. This disappointment, added to the excitement which she had already undergone, was her deathblow. She expired August 7, at the age of 52, of internal inflammation. Her funeral was attended with riots. The mob compelled the procession to pass through the city, where two persons were shot by the military. The remains were then taken to Harwich to be conveyed to Brunswick.

§ 2. In 1822 Lord Sidmouth retired from the home office, and was succeeded by Mr. Peel. In August the suicide of Lord Londonderry (late Lord Castlereagh) created another vacancy in the ministry. Mr. Canning was now the leading man in the House of Commons, but he had incurred the king's displeasure by refusing to take any part in the proceedings against Queen Caroline, and had therefore been passed over on the preceding occasion. His great talents, however, could not be entirely overlooked, and the East India Company had offered him the governor generalship of India, for which he was preparing; but his services in England were now indispensable; the king was forced to waive his antipathy, and Canning became foreign secretary and leader of the House of Commons. His discharge of that office was marked by a more liberal policy than had prevailed under his predecessor.

For the next two or three years there is nothing material to record. The prosperity of the country went on increasing; but toward the end of 1825 the reckless spirit of speculation produced a panic which was followed by much distress and alarm, upward of 60 banks having stopped payment in December, 1825, and the following month. It was attributed in a great degree to the over-issue of paper money, and measures were taken to restrict the issue of small notes by country bankers as well as by the Bank of England; and branches of the latter were established in several of the larger trading towns. An extensive system of emigration was adopted to relieve the distress of the nation, and its superintendence intrusted to the colonial office.

§ 3. Daniel O'Connell was about this time beginning to make himself conspicuous as the advocate of the claims of the Irish Roman Catholics. George III. had declared that he would never consent to the admission of Catholics to Parliament, and had even attributed his illness to the subject having been forced upon his attention by Mr. Pitt. During the life of that sovereign, therefore, the Catholics had abandoned all hope of relief; but the case was different after the accession of a new sovereign. After the death of Mr. Perceval in 1812, the Catholic question became an

open one in the cabinet. Canning distinguished himself as an advocate of relief, and the subject was frequently debated in Parliament, but nothing was done. In this state of things, O'Connell organized the Catholic Association in the beginning of 1824, supported by a *rent*, levied in Ireland, which was appropriated to his own aggrandizement. In 1825, a relief bill, introduced by Sir Francis Burdett, passed the Commons, upon which the Duke of York went down to the House of Lords, and took a solemn oath that in case he should succeed to the crown he would permit no change. The bill was rejected by the Lords; but the Duke died soon afterward (Jan. 5, 1827).

In February, 1827, Lord Liverpool was seized with paralysis; and as it was evident that he would never again be able to attend to business, the king was reluctantly compelled to send for Mr. Canning (April 11th), who became first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer. The Duke of Wellington, Mr. Peel, Lord Eldon, and some others, resigned; and Sir J. Copley, now created Lord Lyndhurst, became lord chancellor. Nothing, however, was done in Mr. Canning's short administration. By many of the aristocracy he was regarded as an adventurer and an upstart; he had to endure many personal attacks; and anxiety and vexation of mind, added to a violent illness contracted at the Duke of York's funeral, brought him to the grave (August 8th). He was buried in Westminster Abbey, but privately. The king conferred a peerage on his widow. Viscount Goderich* (Mr. Robinson) succeeded Canning as premier.

§ 4. This administration, like the preceding, lasted only a few months, and the sole important event that occurred in it was the battle of Navarino and the establishment of Greek independence. The cause of Greece was supported, from different views, by Russia, France, and England, which powers had squadrons cruising in the Levant, the English being under the command of Sir Edward Codrington. But war had not been declared; the Turkish and Egyptian fleet, under Ibrahim Pasha, lay in the Bay of Navarino, and there was an understanding that it should remain there till the affairs of Greece were arranged. The Turks having attempted to violate this agreement, a general engagement ensued, and the Turkish and Egyptian fleets were completely destroyed in the course of a few hours (Oct. 20, 1827). By this impolitic act England and France played into the hands of Russia, who was anxious to weaken the power of Turkey, and thus pave the way for her long-cherished object of ambition—the possession of Constantinople. The three powers decided that Greece should be erected into a separate kingdom; and the crown, after having been

* He was created Earl of Ripon in 1833.

declined by Prince John of Saxony and Prince Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, was eventually conferred (in 1832) on Prince Otho, a younger son of the King of Bavaria.

In January, 1828, another change of ministry occurred. Lord Goderich having resigned, the Duke of Wellington became premier; when Mr. Goulburn was made chancellor of the exchequer, Mr. Peel home secretary, and Lord Palmerston secretary at war. Most of the other ministers retained their offices. In this session a most important measure was passed—the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts established in the reign of Charles II., of which an account has been already given in the preceding book. The motion for the repeal was made by Lord John Russell, and was at first opposed by Mr. Peel; but the ministers, having been left in a minority, subsequently withdrew their opposition. A declaration, if required by the crown, was now substituted for the sacramental test, by which the person entering upon an office pledged himself not to use its influence as a means of subverting the Established Church. On the motion of the Bishop of Llandaff, the words "on the true faith of a Christian" were inserted in the declaration; a clause which, though not so designed, had the effect of excluding the Jews from Parliament till the year 1858. This measure was naturally regarded as the forerunner of Catholic Emancipation. It was evident that the Duke of Wellington was prepared, with characteristic good sense, to yield to the demands of an enlightened public opinion. He had, indeed, announced his intention at the same time of opposing the Catholic claims, but with the qualification, unless he saw some great change; and this contingency soon afterward occurred.

§ 5. In the course of the year Mr. Huskisson resigned office in consequence of being opposed to his colleagues on an election question, and he was followed by the "Canning" portion of the cabinet, viz., Lord Palmerston, Lord Dudley, Mr. Lamb, and Mr. Grant. Mr. Vesey Fitzgerald, who sat for the county of Clare, having become one of the new ministers, was now, of course, obliged to vacate his seat, and appear again before his constituents, and, being an advocate of Catholic Emancipation, he considered his re-election sure. But O'Connell presented himself, and was returned, affirming that he should be able to take his seat, which, however, he did not attempt to do the remainder of the session. This event brought matters to a crisis. The ministers perceived that it would be impossible any longer to withhold emancipation without creating great disturbances, and in the king's speech on opening the session of 1829 a measure of relief was announced. The Catholic Association was first of all to be dissolved; but, while a bill for that purpose was in progress, the

Association dissolved itself. Mr. Peel had for many years been the ablest opponent of the admission of Catholics to Parliament. He had, session after session, distinguished himself by his eloquent speeches against their emancipation, and he had gained the affection and confidence of the High-Church and Tory party. Great was their indignation to find that their favorite leader was now prepared suddenly to desert them, and to propose in the Commons the very measure which he had so frequently denounced as fraught with ruin to the best interests of the empire. Having felt himself bound in honor to vacate his seat for the University of Oxford, he was beaten by Sir Robert Inglis upon again presenting himself as a candidate. He was, however, returned for Westbury, and introduced the Catholic Relief Bill. By this measure a different form of oath was substituted for the Oath of Supremacy, and there were no offices from which Roman Catholics were now excluded except those of regent, of lord chancellor of England and of Ireland, and of viceroy of Ireland. By way of security, the franchise in Ireland was raised from 40*s.* to £10, and certain regulations were made respecting the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. The bill finally passed the House of Lords April 10th, having been carried through both houses with considerable majorities.

This measure produced a schism in the Tory party, the effects of which lasted for some years. One of its consequences was a duel between the Duke of Wellington and the Earl of Winchelsea. The latter, having attributed sinister motives to the duke in a newspaper letter, received a challenge, and a meeting took place, but without injury to either party. The Catholic Relief Bill was not, however, attended with all the beneficial consequences which its supporters had confidently predicted. It averted, it is true, the immediate danger of a civil war in Ireland, but it failed to convert the Irish Catholics into peaceable subjects, and they soon proceeded to use the new political power which they had obtained more for the interests of the Catholic Church than for the good of the empire.

§ 6. The assenting to the Roman Catholic Relief Bill was the last act of importance performed by George IV. He had been for some time in a declining state of health, and had become so nervous and irritable that he almost entirely secluded himself from public view. There had been considerable difficulty in obtaining his consent to the bill, and, after he had given it, he was filled with alarm for the consequences. He died June 26th, 1830, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the eleventh of his reign. He possessed but few qualities calculated to endear a sovereign to his subjects. His thoughts were more engaged in the pursuit of his

private tastes and pleasures than in the welfare of the nation, and, though his manners were elegant and refined in private society, they were not calculated to win popularity. His abilities were by no means contemptible, and he possessed considerable accomplishments, but they were never turned to any high and useful purpose. With him may be said to have expired the habits and prejudices of the preceding century, and a new era was now to set in of rapid popular improvement.

§ 7. WILLIAM IV., 1830–1837.—On the death of George IV., the Duke of Clarence, his next surviving brother, then in his sixty-fifth year, was proclaimed king, with the title of WILLIAM IV. His political opinions were supposed to be more liberal than those of his predecessor, but no change was made in the ministry. The march of events, however, the repeal of the Test Act, the carrying of Catholic Emancipation by a Tory ministry, and in this summer the revolution which occurred in France—by which Charles X. was hurled from his throne in consequence of his attempts on the Constitution and on the liberty of the press, and Louis Philippe became King of the French—prepared the minds of men for farther progress, and especially for some measure of Parliamentary reform, a subject that had so long occupied the attention and excited the passions of the nation. The result of these feelings was manifested in the new Parliament, which contained a great proportion of liberal members. But the disturbances which had taken place, both on the Continent and at home, where there had been many incendiary fires, instead of inclining the duke and his ministry to concession, had determined them not to yield any thing to popular clamor. The king's opening speech was firm and uncompromising, and in the debates which ensued the Duke of Wellington expressed his determination to oppose any measure of Parliamentary reform. The unpopularity that such a declaration was calculated to excite was increased by the ministers advising the king to decline an invitation to dine with the lord mayor on November 9th. This step was taken in consequence of a communication from Alderman Key, the lord mayor elect, who had warned the duke to come with a strong escort. London was, in consequence, struck with a panic; the country was thought to be on the eve of a revolution; and the funds fell 3 per cent. The ministers, however, were soon released from the cares of responsibility. On November 15th, in a debate on the civil list, Sir H. Parnell having carried a motion for a committee of inquiry, the ministers resigned the following morning. The king now sent for Earl Grey, the leader of the Whig party, under whose auspices as premier a new ministry was formed on the avowed principle of Parliamentary reform. It comprehended Lord Brougham, now

raised to the peerage, as lord chancellor, Lord Althorp chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Lansdowne president of the council, Lord Palmerston foreign secretary, Lord Melbourne (Mr. Lamb) home secretary, Lord Goderich colonial secretary, etc.

§ 8. On March 1st, 1831, a bill for Parliamentary reform was introduced into the House of Commons by Lord John Russell. The alterations proposed were much more extensive than had been anticipated, and were received by the House with shouts and derision. The first reading was carried by a majority of 1; but ministers, having been twice defeated in committee, resolved on summoning a new Parliament, though the present one was only a few months old. The elections presented scenes of great excitement. The Tories were denounced as enemies both of king and people; in some places, especially Scotland, serious riots occurred, and lives were even lost; and in most of the considerable towns only those candidates dared to show themselves who would engage to vote for "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill." The populace had been led by demagogues to regard the measure as an immediate panacea for all their ills; and thus a great and necessary constitutional reform was carried by popular heat and clamor, and with the excitement of expectations that could never be realized. The House of Commons, which assembled June 14th, contained a large majority of Reformers. The bill was again introduced by Lord John Russell, June 24th, and carried by a majority of 136. It was still, however, violently opposed by a powerful party in the state, who regarded the bill as an attack upon their private property—for it was notorious that estates commanding the nomination of a member of Parliament fetched a price very far above their intrinsic value. When the bill was brought up to the House of Lords, it was rejected, after five nights' debate, by a majority of 41 (Oct. 7th). This step was followed by the most disgraceful riots. In London, indeed, the populace, controlled by the admirable organization of the new police, established by Sir Robert Peel, contented themselves with breaking the windows of obnoxious anti-Reformers, but in several of the provincial towns fearful disturbances ensued. At Nottingham, the ancient castle, the residence of the Duke of Newcastle, was burned; at Derby, the jail was forced and the prisoners liberated; while at Bristol, where the riots lasted several days, many of the public buildings and a great part of Queen's Square were destroyed, and about 100 persons were killed or wounded. Ireland also was in a most disturbed state. After the emancipation of the Catholics had deprived O'Connell of that means of collecting the "rent," and of securing himself an income from the pockets of the impoverished Irish, he had raised the cry for the repeal

of the Union, and the most frightful nocturnal disorders, and even midday murders, became frequent. To add to the misery and confusion, England was visited this autumn for the first time by the cholera.

§ 9. The Parliament reassembled in December, and in March, 1832, the Reform Bill again passed the Commons. The Peers now displayed more disposition to yield; but, as it was evident that the bill would be mutilated in committee, Lord Grey proposed to the king the creation of a sufficient number of peers to carry it through. The king demurring, the ministers resigned; but the Duke of Wellington and Lord Lyndhurst having failed to construct a Tory administration, the king was obliged to yield at discretion, and recall his former ministers. But the extreme measure of a large creation was avoided by the good sense of the peers. The Duke of Wellington, and about 100 others, agreed to absent themselves, whereupon the bill was carried and received the royal assent.

The main principle of the Reform Bill was, that boroughs having a less population than 2000 should cease to return members, and that those having a less population than 4000 should cease to return more than one member. By this arrangement 56 boroughs were totally disfranchised, and 31 more lost one of their members. The total number of old borough members thus disfranchised was 143. Their seats were transferred to several large towns, such as Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, etc., which had grown into importance during the last century. Between 40 and 50 new boroughs were created, including the four metropolitan boroughs of Marylebone, Finsbury, the Tower Hamlets, and Lambeth, each of the last returning two members. An aristocratic counterpoise seemed in some degree to be established by the additions to the county members. The larger counties were divided into districts; and while previously there had been 52 constituencies, returning 94 members, there were now 82 constituencies, returning 159 members. But, on the other hand, both the county and borough franchises were extended. In the counties the old 40*s.* freeholders were retained, and three new classes of voters introduced: 1. Copyholders of £10 per annum; 2. Leaseholders of the annual value of £10 for a term of 60 years, or of the annual value of £50 for a term of 20 years; and, 3. Occupying tenants paying an annual rent of £50. In boroughs the franchise was given to all £10 resident householders, subject to certain conditions. Such were the main features of this bill, which undoubtedly formed the greatest revolution the country had experienced since the Revolution of 1688.

The disturbances in Ireland had now reached a frightful pitch.

It had become impossible to collect tithe; the collectors were murdered or mutilated; there were regular engagements between the police and the peasantry; and the Protestant clergy were almost starving. To remedy this state of things the government introduced a coercion bill, which, while it provided a remedy for many of the grievances complained of, enabled the lord lieutenant to prevent all public meetings of a dangerous character, and to place disturbed districts under martial law.

§ 10. The Parliament was dissolved December 3d, and the first reformed House of Commons assembled February 5th, 1833. The Reformers had an overwhelming majority, and fears began to be entertained that the Church, the aristocracy, and all the older institutions would be swept away. But a strong conservative spirit still existed in the nation. Sir Robert Peel, whom the Tory party had now forgiven, and again treated as their leader, revived their desponding spirits, introduced an admirable organization into the party, and pointed out that a return to political power was still far from impossible. This party, dropping the name of Tory, now called themselves Conservatives.

Upon the assembling of the Commons, two principal questions which occupied their attention were the abolition of slavery and the amendment of the poor-law. The agitation of negro freedom in public meetings in England had occasioned a dangerous insurrection among the slaves in Jamaica, which was with difficulty suppressed. A rising had also occurred in the Mauritius. Under these circumstances, the ministers brought in and carried a bill for the total abolition of slavery, which had been so long advocated by Wilberforce, Fowell Buxton, and their party. Of the humanity and justice of this measure, viewed abstractedly, there can be but one opinion; yet, both as a measure of humanity and of policy, it must in a great degree be pronounced a practical failure; for while, in some of our larger sugar-colonies, it has reduced the cultivation to less than half of what it was, and consequently reduced many of the proprietors to beggary, it has also stimulated foreign planters to supply the deficiency of produce thus created by an increased pressure upon their negroes, and even given a stimulus to the foreign slave-trade. The apparently munificent sum of £20,000,000 was voted as a compensation to the slave-owners, but a great part of this was in reality never applied; and the rate of compensation being in some islands about £20 per negro—not a quarter of what they cost the proprietor—the owner of an estate with 100 negroes received about £2000, but found his property utterly ruined from the unwillingness of the emancipated negro to work.

The poor-law question was reserved for another administration.

A considerable portion of Lord Grey's cabinet having resigned, principally on account of a proposed extension of the Irish Coercion Bill, the premier was also obliged to retire (1834). Lord Melbourne now became prime minister, and Lord Althorp resumed his former post of chancellor of the exchequer. A new poor-law was passed, the main feature of which was to abolish local boards and to establish a central board of commissioners. Poor-law unions were formed, and the system of out-door relief in a considerable degree done away with, the consequence of which has been a large diminution of the applications for relief, leading not only to the saving of large sums, but also to the creation of a higher spirit of independence among the lower classes.

§ 11. The conservative reaction had, within the last two years, become so marked, that the king, in the autumn of 1834, availed himself of the death of Earl Spencer and the consequent elevation to the House of Lords of his son, Lord Althorp, the chancellor of the exchequer, to dismiss Lord Melbourne and his colleagues and intrust Sir Robert Peel with the formation of a conservative administration. But the country was not yet ripe for this change. Upon the dissolution of Parliament the Conservatives obtained a vast accession to their numbers in the House of Commons, but they were still left in a minority; and, accordingly, Sir Robert Peel, after holding office for a few months, was obliged to retire, and the Melbourne administration resumed office, with a few slight changes, in April, 1835. The new ministers were entirely dependent on the support of O'Connell, with whom they had now allied themselves. The chief measures which they carried this session were the Municipal Reform Bill, and a bill to allow Dissenters to marry in their own chapels. The next year or two present little of importance. In 1836 an ecclesiastical commission made a new arrangement of sees, by which four old ones were consolidated into two, Gloucester being united with Bristol, and St. Asaph with Bangor, while two new ones were created—Ripon and Manchester. In May, 1837, the king was seized with a dangerous illness, and expired June 20th. His character presents few salient points. His abilities were small, his temper and intentions good, his manners homely and popular, but deficient in kingly dignity.

§ 12. Queen Victoria.—Upon the death of her uncle, William IV., our present gracious sovereign Queen Victoria, the only child of the Duke of Kent, and who had just completed her eighteenth year, succeeded to the throne. As the succession to the crown of Hanover had been settled only in the male line, that country was now separated from the crown of Great Britain, and became the inheritance of Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, the eldest surviving son of George III.

The first year of Queen Victoria's reign was marked by insurrections in Canada, which, though assisted by bodies of adventurers from the United States, were put down without much trouble. The harvests of 1837 and 1838 proved unfavorable, which occasioned much distress among the lower classes, and the opportunity was seized by the seditious in order to excite riots and disorders. There had now arisen a considerable body who called themselves Chartists; that is, they demanded what they called a new charter, or thorough reorganization of the lower house of Parliament on the following five principles, styled the five points of the charter, namely, universal suffrage, vote by ballot, annual Parliaments, the remuneration of members, and the abolition of the property qualification. In the autumn of 1838 many large Chartist meetings were held in the northern counties, and as winter approached they assembled by torch-light. At one of these, held at Kersal Moor, near Manchester, it was computed that 200,000 persons were present. In 1839, a National Convention was formed in London of delegates from the working classes, and a petition was got up of such size that it was necessary to roll it into the House of Commons in a tub. A motion for a committee to consider it having been lost by a large majority, Chartist riots ensued in several of the principal provincial towns, and especially at Newport, where one Frost, a magistrate of the borough, played a principal part. The disturbance was put down with the loss of about twenty lives, and Frost, Jones, and Williams, the ringleaders, were convicted and transported. At the same time, a more orderly and intelligent agitation was proceeding to remove the chief cause of these disturbances. This was the Anti-Corn-Law League, formed at Manchester in September, 1838, to procure the abolition of the corn-laws and the promotion of free-trade principles. The most distinguished advocate of the League was Mr. Richard Cobden, who rapidly acquired great influence in the country.

§ 13. On February 10th, 1840, her majesty was united to her cousin Albert, Prince of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha, who was about three months her junior. The Parliament voted the prince-consort an annuity of £30,000 for life, and passed a bill of naturalization.

The Melbourne ministry had never been very strong, and their close alliance with O'Connell and his "tail," as his score or two of adherents were called, had degraded them in the eyes of the nation. They had also failed in their financial measures, having every year a deficient revenue. In the spring of 1841 Sir Robert Peel carried a resolution of want of confidence in them by a single vote, when they of course resigned, but appealed to the country. Anxious to secure a majority, they intimated their intention of

proposing a repeal of the corn-laws, and substituting a fixed duty of 8*s*. a quarter upon corn; but they did not meet with a popular response, the landed interest strained every nerve to defeat their candidates, and when the new Parliament met the Conservative majority was estimated at nearly 80. An amendment on the address was carried, ministers resigned, and Sir Robert Peel became premier for the second time. The other principal members of the government were, Lord Lyndhurst, chancellor; Mr. Goulburn, chancellor of the exchequer; Sir James Graham, home office; Lord Aberdeen, foreign office; Lord Stanley, war and colonies; Lord Ellenborough, board of control, etc. The Duke of Wellington accepted a seat in the cabinet without any office. In the session of 1842 Sir Robert Peel introduced and carried a new corn-law on the principle of a graduated scale; and, in order to supply the constantly deficient revenue, an income-tax of 7*d*. in the pound was imposed on all incomes above £150. A customs act was also passed, either repealing, or considerably reducing, such duties as pressed most heavily on manufacturing industry, thus making an approximation to free trade.

The influence of O'Connell was now at its height in Ireland. Weekly meetings were held in a building called Conciliation Hall, and large sums were collected for the "Agitator." Other expedients of sedition were the "monster meetings" held at Tara and other places; but that at Clontarf proved a trap for the agitator himself. In consequence of the regulations issued for the meeting, as well as some seditious expressions used at a meeting of the Repeal Association, O'Connell was arrested (Oct. 14, 1843), and condemned, together with some of his coadjutors, of conspiracy and sedition, by the Court of Queen's Bench in Dublin. The judgment was afterward reversed by the House of Lords; but the blow was irrecoverable, and O'Connell never regained his former influence. His health began visibly to decline, and he died at Genoa (May, 1847), on his way to Rome, with the double object of benefiting his health and asking the Pope's blessing.

§ 14. The question which now principally occupied the attention of the public was that of the corn-laws, and this was now approaching its solution through an unexpected dispensation of Providence. The summer of 1845 was wet and cold; it was plain that the harvest would be deficient not only in England, but throughout Europe; and, in addition to this calamity, appeared another hitherto unknown. A disease had invaded the potato-crops; the blackened and decayed leaves exhaled a nauseous odor, and the root became unfit to eat. A famine in Ireland, where the potato formed the staple food, was now imminent. The Anti-Corn-Law League redoubled its agitation, and vast sums were

subscribed in all quarters in aid of its objects. The Whigs hastened to make political capital of the conjuncture. Lord Morpeth joined the League; Lord John Russell addressed a letter to his constituents in the city, in which, amid taunts directed against Sir Robert Peel, he abandoned his scheme of a fixed duty on corn, and declared himself the advocate of a free trade. Peel himself, however, had come to the conclusion that a duty could no longer be upheld, and he had brought over the majority of the cabinet to the same opinion; but he felt that he and his colleagues were not the persons to carry a measure which they had always opposed. On December 11 the ministers resigned, and Peel announced to the queen his intention to support, in his private capacity, any minister she might appoint who should propose to do away with the duty upon corn. Lord John Russell was now sent for by the queen; but he failed in forming a ministry, and the previous one was restored. In January, 1846, Peel brought in a bill by which the duty on wheat was entirely abolished at the end of three years, while in the interval it was reduced from 16*s.* to 4*s.* per quarter, and buckwheat and India wheat were immediately admitted duty free. The measure was accompanied with a reduction of duty on other articles, as silk and cotton manufactures, foreign spirits, etc.; and the duty was abolished on animal food, live animals, vegetables, etc. The bill was carried through both houses with considerable majorities.

The repeal of the corn-laws broke up the powerful Conservative party. The majority not only refused to follow Sir Robert Peel in his recent change of opinion, but regarded him as an apostate and a traitor. There can be no doubt that Sir Robert Peel had changed his opinions from honest conviction; but it was certainly unfortunate for his reputation that a second time in his political career his sense of duty compelled him to desert the party which had raised him to power. This party, which was now known by the name of "Protectionists," looked up to Lord Stanley as their leader—the only distinguished member of Sir Robert Peel's administration who had opposed the repeal of the corn-laws. They soon had an opportunity of avenging themselves on their former chief. As Ireland was still in a very disturbed state, Sir Robert Peel brought in a bill for the better protection of life in that country, whereupon the Protectionists joined the Whigs in defeating it. The ministry resigned, and Lord John Russell became premier (1846).

§ 15. The year 1847 was also marked by great distress both in England and Ireland. The potato-crop again failed; there was a famine in Ireland; and, though the British Parliament voted several millions to buy food for the starving Irish, they nevertheless

rose in rebellion. O'Connell had now vanished from the scene; and Mr. Smith O'Brien, who attempted to sustain his part, had not the requisite qualities for it. His attempt to excite a rebellion in 1848 proved a ridiculous failure: he was captured in a cabbage-garden, convicted of high treason, and transported. The Irish, being deprived of their principal agitators, by degrees settled down into a more tranquil state. A large emigration, the introduction of a more extended corn-cultivation, and the investment of a large amount of English capital, have since much improved the condition of the country; and thus the potato-rot, which at first appeared a curse upon Ireland, eventually turned out a blessing.

The revolution which expelled Louis Philippe from the French throne in February, 1848, and which was felt throughout Europe, was the exciting cause of this rebellion. It also produced a slight effect in England, where, however, the materials of sedition were happily not very formidable. The London Chartists took occasion to display their force by a procession (April 10), and mustered on Kennington Common to the number of about 20,000; but no fewer than 150,000 citizens had enrolled themselves as special constables, the Duke of Wellington had taken the necessary military precautions, and this ridiculous display ended without any breach of the peace.

During the next few years there is nothing of much importance to record. In 1849 a farther advance was made in free-trade principles by a repeal of the navigation-laws.* The prosperity of the country went on rapidly increasing, and Sir Robert Peel was gratified with beholding the success of his measures, when his life was suddenly terminated by a fall from his horse (1850). Thus prematurely perished a minister who understood the commercial interests of this country better than any man who ever governed it, and who, if he did not possess that original and commanding genius which forestalls events and anticipates futurity, was nevertheless, perhaps, the better qualified to discern and provide for the exigencies of the passing time.

§ 16. The following year (1851) witnessed, as it were, the symbolization of free-trade principles by the great exhibition of the industry of all nations in the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park. The insolent pretensions of the Roman court excited this year the greatest indignation in England. Ever since the repeal of the Catholic disabilities in 1830 the papal party had been pursuing an aggressive policy in this country, and the Pope now ventured to divide the whole of England into Roman Catholic sees, nominating Cardinal Wiseman Archbishop of Westminster, and designat-

* On these laws, see Notes and Illustrations C.

ing other Roman Catholic prelates by similar territorial titles. In order to put a stop to this invasion of the queen's prerogative, the ministers introduced the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which was only carried with much difficulty. Next year (1852) Lord John Russell, being defeated on the Militia Bill, resigned, and was succeeded by the Earl of Derby (formerly Lord Stanley). In September the Duke of Wellington expired somewhat suddenly at Walmer Castle—a man who had filled a larger space in the history of his country than had perhaps been previously allotted to any subject. His character as a general may be gathered from the preceding narrative. It was marked by a happy mixture of boldness and prudence; and, though his feats were outshone by the dazzling exploits of Bonaparte, yet, on the other hand, it should be recollected that Wellington never failed in any of his enterprises. As a minister his praise must be limited to that practical good sense and intuitive sagacity which enabled him to discern at a glance the essential bearings of a question, to the modesty which caused him frequently to submit his own judgment to that of more practiced statesmen, and to the moderation and disinterestedness which led him to waive his own party predilections for the good of his country. A magnificent funeral was conferred upon him at the public expense; and on November 18, 1852, his mortal remains, accompanied with every circumstance of military pomp, passed slowly through the streets, which were lined with myriads of his admiring and sorrowing countrymen, to their last resting-place in St. Paul's Cathedral.

Lord Derby, though he dissolved Parliament, and sacrificed the principles of protection, was left in a minority in the new House of Commons, and before the end of the year was compelled to resign. He was succeeded by a sort of coalition ministry under Lord Aberdeen, consisting of the more distinguished friends of Sir Robert Peel, of the great leaders of the Whig party, and of a few Radicals. In the session of 1853 several salutary measures were carried, and the prosperity of the country seemed to be rapidly advancing; but already a cloud was arising in the East which was to throw over it a temporary shade. The Russian emperor had long looked with a covetous eye on Constantinople, and nothing was wanting to seize upon it but a favorable opportunity. Religion, so often the pretext of secular ambition, was made the ground of strife; and an obscure quarrel of some Greek and Latin monks about the holy places of Palestine, with which the Turks had not meddled, served to excuse an attempt to appropriate an empire. The Emperor Nicholas demanded on this ground the control over all members of the Greek Church residing in the Turkish dominions—a demand that was naturally rejected by the Porte. In

consequence of this refusal, Russian troops crossed the Pruth, and took possession of the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, but were defeated by Omar Pasha at the battle of Oltenitza.

§ 17. War was now fairly kindled between Russia and the Porte. The Emperor Nicholas calculated on the subservience of Germany, the disturbed state of France, and the connivance of England, to which he offered Egypt as her share of "the sick man's" inheritance, for the success of his plans. But England was not ambitious of farther acquisitions, and least of all by such means; Turkey claimed her assistance on the faith of treaties; and France, now under the absolute sway of Napoleon III.,* cordially united with Great Britain to repress the ambition of Russia. Austria and Prussia stood aloof; but a combined English and French fleet proceeded to the Black Sea, and shut up the Russians in the harbor of Sebastopol.

Negotiations with Russia were continued during the winter, but, having failed, war was declared against her by England and France in the spring (1854), when a French army under Marshal St. Arnaud, and an English one under Lord Raglan, assembled at Varna in Turkey, while an English fleet under Sir Charles Napier was dispatched to the Baltic. Thus, for the first time after many centuries, the English and French, who had been so often arrayed against each other, were seen fighting side by side against a common enemy. Our limits will permit us to give only a very slight sketch of a war the principal incidents of which must be present to the minds of most even of our younger readers. The gallant defense of the Turks on the banks of the Danube having dissipated all alarm in that quarter, it was determined, toward the end of summer, to transport the allied army from Varna to the Crimea, and to attack Sebastopol. They were landed without opposition (Sept. 14) at Eupatoria, on the west coast of the Crimea. Prince Menschikoff, the commandant of Sebastopol, had posted a force of about 60,000 men on the heights which crown the left bank of the little river Alma, in order to oppose their advance on that fortress, and he had fortified this naturally strong position with great care, so that he confidently reckoned on holding it at least three weeks; but it was carried after a few hours' fight, on September 20, by the allied armies, though with considerable loss. The Russians flung away their arms and fled; many of their guns were captured, together with Menschikoff's carriage and dispatches; and nothing

* In 1848 Louis Napoleon was elected President of the French Republic. By the *coup d'état* of December 2, 1851, he dissolved the existing Constitution, and made himself the supreme ruler of France under the name of President, which he changed into the title of Emperor in 1853.

saved their army from annihilation but the want of cavalry to pursue it. It is probable that, had the allies been in a condition to move forward immediately, they might have entered Sebastopol along with the flying enemy; but the care of the wounded and the interment of the dead demanded some delay. The march was then directed toward the harbor of Balaklava, the ancient Portus Symbolon, to the south of Sebastopol, which enabled the army to derive its supplies from the sea. The southern heights of Sebastopol were occupied, and preparations made for commencing a siege. This was rendered difficult by the rocky nature of the soil, and it was not till October 17 that the allies were able to open their fire upon the place. The Russians had availed themselves of the interval to fortify it with great skill, and the large fleet shut up in the harbor assisted them with the means of defense.

This siege lasted nearly a twelvemonth, and became one of the most memorable in history. Soon after its commencement, a Russian army of 30,000 men, under Liprandi, endeavored to raise it by an attack upon our position at Balaklava (Oct. 25), but which, after a severe struggle, was repulsed. This battle is chiefly memorable by the charge of the light cavalry brigade under the Earl of Cardigan, when, by some confusion in the orders, a body of 600 or 700 men charged the whole Russian army, got possession for a little while of their artillery, and cut their way back through a body of 5000 horse, leaving, however, more than two thirds of their number upon the field!

On November 5, the Russians, having been re-enforced, again attempted our position at Inkermann. Advancing early in the morning under cover of a fog, they took our men somewhat by surprise; but, though outnumbered by ten to one, the British troops held their ground with unflinching heroism, till General Canrobert, who had succeeded to the command of the French army after the death of General St. Arnaud, sent a division to their assistance. The Russians were now hurled down the heights, while the artillery made terrible havoc in their serried ranks. Their loss is said to have been as many as the whole number of allies with whom they were engaged. General Pennefather's division, and the brigade of guards under the Duke of Cambridge, were the troops principally engaged on this occasion. After this terrible lesson the Russians were cautious of venturing another battle; but the defense of the town was conducted with skill and obstinacy, and many desperate sorties took place. Attempts were made by the fleet under Admirals Dundas and Lyons upon the seaward batteries, but they were found to be impregnable. During the winter the men suffered more from the weather on those exposed and stormy heights, and from excessive fatigue, than from

the enemy; and their sufferings were increased by the defective and disorganized state of the commissariat department. A young and accomplished lady, named Florence Nightingale, devoted herself to the alleviation of these sufferings; and, proceeding with a staff of nurses to the army hospitals at Scutari, undertook the most repulsive offices in tending the sick and wounded.

§ 18. The misfortunes which overtook the army, and which were attributed to want of care and foresight in the ministry, rendered them very unpopular, and led to the resignation of Lord Aberdeen early in 1855. He was succeeded by Lord Palmerston as premier. It was expected that the death of the Emperor Nicholas, which took place somewhat suddenly, might have led to the re-establishment of peace; but the war was continued under his son and successor Alexander. Its interest was principally concentrated at Sebastopol. The Baltic fleet under Admiral Napier, though re-enforced by a French squadron, had effected nothing except the destruction of the fortress of Bomarsund in the Aland Islands. In 1855 Napier was superseded by Admiral Dundas, who, however, was able to do little more than his predecessor. The Black Sea fleet was more successful. A squadron under Sir Edmund Lyons proceeded into the Sea of Azof, captured Kertch, Yenikale, and other towns, destroying vast granaries whence the Russians chiefly derived their supplies, and thus hastening the surrender of Sebastopol.

While Austria and Prussia, the two states most deeply interested in checking the power of Russia, stood selfishly aloof, the Sardinians, with British aid, dispatched a well-equipped little army, under General de la Marmora, to the scene of action, which proved of considerable service. In June Lord Raglan was carried off by cholera, and was succeeded in the command by General Simpson. About the same time the French commander, General Canrobert, was superseded by General Pélissier. Soon after the arrival of the latter the French took an outwork called the Mamelon; and on the 5th of September the general and final bombardment took place. On the 8th an assault was deemed practicable, and the French effected a lodgment in the fort or tower called the Malakoff. The English storming party also succeeded in gaining possession of the fort called the Redan, but, not being properly supported, were obliged ultimately to retire. The possession of the Malakoff, however, which commanded the town, decided its fate, and in the course of the night the Russians evacuated the place.

After the fall of Sebastopol the war was virtually at an end; but we can not close this account without noticing the heroic defense of Kars, in Asiatic Turkey, by our countryman, General Williams, who commanded the Turkish garrison. Time after

time the vastly superior numbers of the Russians, who rushed to the assault, were driven back with terrible loss; and when at length a capitulation became necessary, the conqueror, Mouravieff, dismissed General Williams with all the honors of war, and expressions of the highest admiration for his bravery.

The allied armies established their winter quarters amid the ruins of Sebastopol, and, had the war proceeded, there can be little question that the whole of the Crimea would have fallen into their hands; but negotiations for peace, begun under the mediation of Austria, were brought to a happy conclusion in January, 1856. Had it not been for the eagerness of France to terminate the war, better terms might perhaps have been obtained; but, on the whole, the objects of it may be said to have been accomplished. The Russian protectorate in the Danubian principalities was abolished, the freedom of the Danube and its mouths was established, both Russian and Turkish ships of war were banished from the Black Sea, except a few small vessels necessary as a maritime police, and the Christian subjects of the Porte were placed under the protection of the contracting powers. On these bases a definitive treaty of peace was signed with Russia at Paris (March 30, 1856.)

§ 19. From this period there is little to attract our attention till the Indian revolt in 1857. We have already sketched the history of India down to the time of Warren Hastings (see p. 665–670), who was succeeded as governor general by Lord Cornwallis. The chief feature in the latter's administration was the reducing of Tippoo Saib, Sultan of Mysore, to obedience (1792); but, under the weak government of Sir John Shore, the successor of Lord Cornwallis, Tippoo again rose and endeavored to effect an alliance against us with the French. This attempt was put down under the more vigorous administration of Lord Mornington (Marquess Wellesley), when, under the conduct of General Harris, Tippoo's capital, Seringapatam, was captured by General Baird, and himself slain (May, 1799.) Soon afterward, Arthur Wellesley, brother of the governor general, began to distinguish himself in India. Three Mahratta chieftains—Holkar, Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar—encouraged by French intrigues, having combined against their sovereign the peishwah, residing at Poonah, in the Deccan, the governor general dispatched two armies against them, one commanded by his brother, the other by Lord Lake. The former invaded the territories of the Rajah of Berar, took Ahmednuggur, and defeated the rajah and Scindiah at Assaye, although they had 30,000 men and a numerous artillery, commanded by French officers, while Wellesley's force was not above a sixth of that number. They were again defeated at Argaum,

compelled to sue for peace, and to cede large tracts of valuable territory. Lake was equally successful in northern India. He defeated a large native force under the French General Perron, stormed and took Alighur, and then advanced against Delhi, where the cause of Scindiah was supported by another French officer named Bourguien. After defeating him on the banks of the Jumna, Delhi, the capital of Hindostan, and residence of Shah Alum, the last Mogul emperor, easily fell into Lake's hands. Soon afterward, the capture of Agra, and final defeat of the remnant of Scindiah's forces at Laswarea, annihilated his power in that district. By these victories French influence in India was abolished, and a great accession of power and territory accrued to the Company.

In 1805 the Marquess Wellesley returned home, and Lord Cornwallis again assumed the government. He was soon succeeded by Lord Minto, but neither of them effected much for our Indian dominion. In 1813 the Marquess of Hastings (Lord Moira) became governor general; and under his auspices, and chiefly by the courage and abilities of Sir John Malcolm, the Mahrattas, and their allies the Pindarees, were reduced to obedience. Lord Hastings held the government till 1823, when he was succeeded by Lord William Bentinck. The next event of importance was the war with the Burmese in 1824, who had annoyed Bengal; but they were reduced to obedience in 1826, and ceded several provinces. Lord Combermere reduced Bhurtpore in January of that year, which had resisted the arms of Lake, and was esteemed the strongest fortress in India. In the administration of Lord Auckland, Soojah, the expelled usurper of Cabool, was replaced on the throne by the English arms, led by Sir John Keane; but in November, 1841, the Affghan insurrection broke out in that city, and the English were obliged to evacuate the country. They endured the most dreadful sufferings in their winter retreat, both from the inclemency of the weather and the attacks of the Affghans. In the Coord Cabool Pass alone no fewer than 3000 men are said to have fallen; and ultimately, of the whole retreating army of 17,000 men, scarcely one survived. It was the greatest disaster that the English arms had ever experienced in India. Lord Auckland was superseded in 1842 by Lord Ellenborough, who adopted a more vigorous line of policy. General Sale was still holding out at Jellalabad. He was relieved by General Pollock, who afterward, in conjunction with General Nott, advanced against Cabool, and recovered that city (Sept., 1842). Cabool was then again evacuated, after giving this signal proof that it was not done as a matter of necessity.

§ 20. The Affghan war was followed by the occupation of

Scinde, a district on the lower Indus, where our disasters had encouraged a confederacy of the ameers, or princes, against us. This was effected by Sir Charles Napier, a Peninsular officer, who in this war displayed feats of the most daring boldness. In the battle of Meeanee (Feb. 17, 1843) he defeated between 30,000 and 40,000 men with a force of only about 2000. This victory was followed by the capture of Hyderabad, the capital. By another victory near that town the whole country was reduced and annexed by Lord Ellenborough to the Company's dominions. In the same year the district of Gwalior was reduced by Generals Gough and Grey. In 1844 Lord Ellenborough was succeeded by Sir H. Hardinge. In December, 1845, the Sikhs of the Punjab, or Lahore territory, declared war upon us, and, crossing the Sutlej, advanced on Ferozepore. They were the most warlike enemies we had yet encountered in India. The governor general himself, an experienced officer, and Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, both advanced against them. A great many obstinate engagements followed, till at length the victories of Aliwal and Sobraon (1846) put an end to the campaign and secured our influence in that country. In 1848, however, the city of Mooltan rose in revolt, and, though the courage of Lieutenant Edwardes prevented any serious consequences, it held out for some months. This encouraged other Sikh princes, and they made a stand against Lord Gough at Chillianwallah, inflicting upon us great loss (Jan. 13, 1849); but in the following month they were defeated and subdued at Goojerat, when Lord Dalhousie, now governor general, annexed the Punjab to the British possessions.

The whole of the Indian peninsula was now subject to our empire, from Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains and the Indus. Not, indeed, that all the states were annexed, yet even those that remained under their native princes owed us allegiance and were subject to our surveillance. The last great acquisition was by the annexation of Oude in 1856, effected by a not over strict regard to the faith of treaties. Our empire seemed too firmly established to be shaken, yet already for some years the elements of mutiny had been fomenting in the Bengal army. Symptoms of a discontented and rebellious spirit had been observed as early as 1844, and many other instances subsequently occurred which were treated with too much leniency and forbearance. At length the introduction of the Enfield rifle necessitated the use of greased cartridges. The grease was mutton fat and wax, but it was whispered among the discontented that it consisted of the fat of swine and cows, abominations both to the Hindoo and the Mohammedan; and it was asserted that the intention was to deprive the Brahmin sepoys of their caste. Symptoms of insubordination and violence

began to appear early in 1857. In May many regiments of the Bengal army were in open mutiny. In that month Delhi, the ancient capital of India, and still the residence of the representative of the Moguls, was seized by the insurgents, with all its immense military stores. Although it was the great arsenal of our artillery, it had been left without the protection of a British force. Such was the blind confidence reposed in our sepoys. The capture of Delhi was followed by the revolt of the remaining Bengal regiments. Fortunately, the Madras and Bombay armies, with a few exceptions, remained faithful; but the whole of Bengal was lost for a time, and many, both in this country and on the Continent of Europe, believed that the English would be driven entirely out of India.

Into the horrors of this rebellion, and the determined energy and courage with which it was met, our space will not permit us to enter. It has served to bring out British valor in high relief, and the names of Lawrence, of Havelock, and the other numerous officers who distinguished themselves at this trying and difficult conjuncture, will not soon die from the memory of their countrymen. The rebellion received a decisive blow by the recapture of Delhi by General Wilson on Sept. 21, 1857; and the subsequent victories of Sir Colin Campbell, who went out to India as commander-in-chief, have brought the contest almost to a close.

§ 21. The mutiny of the Bengal army proved the deathblow of the East India Company. This celebrated company, originally an association of merchants for the purpose of trading to the East, had been deprived of its right of commercial privileges upon the renewal of its charter in 1833; but the Court of Directors, elected by the proprietors of East India Stock, still continued to govern India under the superintendence of the Board of Control, originally instituted by Mr. Pitt. (See p. 664.) Upon the meeting of Parliament at the beginning of 1858, the prime minister, Lord Palmerston, introduced a bill abolishing the East India Company, and placing the government of India in the hands of the crown. But before this bill passed into a law Lord Palmerston's ministry was overthrown. An attempt to assassinate the Emperor Napoleon, concocted by some Italian refugees in England, roused the indignation of France; and Lord Palmerston proposed an alteration in the English law, by which such an offense might be punished with greater certainty and severity. A bill was introduced for this purpose, but was rejected by the House of Commons (Feb. 20), whereupon Lord Palmerston resigned, and Lord Derby became prime minister a second time. The new ministry introduced a new India Bill, which differed in no material point from that of their predecessors. This bill passed through both houses

of Parliament and received the assent of the crown; and on September 1, 1858, the East India Company, which had founded and governed a mighty empire with pre-eminent ability and success, ceased to exist. India is now governed by a secretary of state, assisted by a council of 15 members; and the millions of that vast country acknowledge Queen Victoria as their only sovereign.

The only other legislative measure of this session which requires notice is the admission of the Jews to Parliament. A bill for this object had for several years passed the Commons, but had been as often rejected by the Lords. It was evident, however, that this collision between the two branches of the Legislature could not much longer continue, and Lord Derby now persuaded the Lords to give way. This measure excited little interest among the great body of the people, but it was proposed and opposed as a matter of principle by two powerful parties in the state, one party supporting it as the last stone needed to complete the edifice of religious liberty, and the other party resisting it on the ground of its destroying the Christian character of the British Legislature.

§ 22. On casting a retrospective glance at the period comprised in this Book, our attention is chiefly arrested by the progress of the country in material power. The principal steps taken for the advance or security of our political rights may be summed up in a few words: they are—the passing of the Bill of Rights and Act of Settlement, and the securing of the independence of the judges and the liberty of the press, in the reign of William III.; the abolition of general warrants in that of George III.; the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, and the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, under George IV.; and the Reform Bill under William IV. The events under the Stuart dynasty had left little to be done for our constitutional freedom, but every thing to be achieved for our national greatness. The union with Scotland, and subsequently that with Ireland, combined the three kingdoms into an imperial whole. The position of England as a European power, damaged by the weak or profligate reigns of the Stuarts, was restored by the wars of William and Anne, and by the military genius of Marlborough. This revived reputation was not ill sustained in the reign of George II.; but it was the struggle for self-preservation forced upon us by the wars with the French republic and empire which displayed all the energy and resources of the nation, and made Great Britain the leading power in Europe. During the same period, from our maritime supremacy,

our colonial empire received a vast extension. An ill-considered policy cost us, indeed, the loss of our finest possessions in North America; but this was soon more than replaced by the subjugation of India, and the establishment of a new empire in the East. Even in America, the Canadas, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, etc., and several of our sugar-colonies, were either retained or newly acquired. In Europe, the acquisition of Gibraltar, Malta, and the Ionian Islands secured us the command of the Mediterranean; in Africa, the Cape of Good Hope affords valuable assistance to our Indian commerce. Farther southward, at our very antipodes, Australia and its dependencies will form eventually a new British continent; and at no very distant period a very large portion of the habitable world will be peopled by a race of Anglo-Saxon origin. Compared with these results, the conquests of the Romans, when viewed as to their abiding consequences, will shrink into insignificance. Their settlements, like ours in India, were for the most part mere military occupations—provinces, not colonies; and did not much serve to spread the Italian race.

§ 23. During the period under review, the trade, wealth, and population of Great Britain have been in a continual progress of rapid increase. They received a considerable impulse during the long and peaceful administration of Sir Robert Walpole; but the beginning of the reign of George III. is the epoch of the great increase of our trade and manufactures. The potteries began to flourish under Wedgewood; the cotton manufactures were developed in Lancashire and Yorkshire. In 1775 James Watt procured an act vesting in him "the sole use and property of certain steam-engines, commonly called *fire-engines*, of his invention." About the same time Arkwright began to spin by rollers; James Hargreaves, a poor weaver, invented the spinning-jenny; Samuel Crompton introduced the mule in 1779. In consequence of these inventions, the cotton manufactures of Manchester and the North increased a hundred-fold. In order to convey them, and to facilitate internal traffic, a net-work of canals was constructed, and the highways were improved; while ultimately both these means of conveyance have been in some degree superseded by the invention of railways. The origin of English canals may be dated from the act of 1755. The Duke of Bridgewater obtained his first act in 1759. The length of the canals in England now exceeds 2200 miles. Even till toward the end of last century the roads in many parts of England were execrable. The best coaches on a long journey cleared no more than 4 or 5 miles an hour. After the peace the roads were very much improved by the use of broken stones and granite introduced by M'Adam, and the pace was in many instances accelerated to 10 miles an hour. But this rate,

through the introduction of railways, was soon to appear a snail's pace. The first act for a public railway was passed in 1801. It was not intended for passengers. Even the Liverpool and Manchester line was principally constructed with a view to the conveyance of goods, and it was not anticipated that passengers would venture to avail themselves of it to any great extent. But when it was opened in September, 1830, it was found that its greatest success would be derived from the number of persons conveyed by it. An inestimable advantage derived from railways is the facility and cheapness of postal communication. Under the old system, and in the days of mail-coaches, a single letter conveyed 400 miles paid 1*s*. People wrote no more then than they could help, and stratagems of all sorts were used to evade the post; so that between 1815 and 1835 it was found that the post-office revenue had actually decreased, although, in the ratio of the progress of trade and population, it ought to have increased half a million. To improve this state of things, Mr. Rowland Hill's scheme of postal reform, by which the postage of all single letters, to whatever distance carried, was reduced to 1*d*., was adopted by the ministry, and came into full operation in January, 1840. Many now living remember the introduction of steam-vessels as well as of railroads. The former did not come into general use till after the peace; and went on gradually increasing from 8 English-owned steam-vessels in 1815, to 1142 in 1849. The other wonderful inventions that have been brought into public use during the last half century—such as gas-lighting, steam-printing, photography, the electric telegraph, etc., and which can be here only indicated —will render it to the future historian one of the most memorable eras of the world.

The progress in our home manufactures and trade was accompanied with a corresponding increase of foreign commerce. The warehousing system, introduced by Mr. Pitt in 1803, by which the duties on goods, instead of being paid immediately on their landing, were collected on their delivery to the purchaser, proved of great service in extending trade by husbanding the capital of our merchants. But, above all, the free-trade measures of Sir Robert Peel have been attended with the greatest benefit, and promise to augment our commerce to an unlimited amount.

The surprising increase in industry and wealth during the last century has naturally been attended with a corresponding increase of population. Before the establishment in 1801 of a regular census, to be taken every 10 years, there were no means of estimating very accurately the number of the people; but, from the best calculation that can be made, it seems probable that the population of England and Wales at the time of the Revolution of 1688

did not much exceed 5½ millions. The whole increase during the first four reigns of the Stuart dynasty was not perhaps more than half a million. During the 18th century, and especially in the latter half of that period, the population went on steadily increasing, and the first census of 1801 shows a population in England and Wales of 9,872,980. Since that time the increase has been still more rapid, the last census in 1851 showing a population of 17,927,609. A corresponding increase has also taken place in Scotland and Ireland. It is chiefly among the portion of the people employed in manufactures and trade that this increase has occurred; for while the persons engaged in these occupations have increased at the rate of upward of 30 per cent., those employed in agriculture have increased only 2½ per cent.

The vast augmentation of the national debt during this period is a remarkable feature in the history of the country. At the accession of the house of Hanover (1714) it did not much exceed 50 millions, and it remained some years at about that amount. Yet in 1736 we find it complained of in the *Craftsman* as the source of all the national distress; and twenty years afterward it was predicted, in the *Letters* of Samuel Hannay, that if it ever reached 100 millions the nation must become bankrupt. Yet a little afterward, at the close of George II.'s reign, and chiefly through the wars of that monarch, it had reached upward of 108 millions without the occurrence of the anticipated consequence. Even Hume, in the 3d volume of his *History of England*, written in 1778, when the debt was about 150 millions, observed that it "threatened the very existence of the nation." In 1793, when the first war with revolutionary France broke out, the amount of the debt was little short of 228 millions; at the peace of Amiens in 1802, it was nearly 500 millions. From that period till 1815, during the portentous struggle with Napoleon, it was increased, as we have already said, by 224 millions; yet the country seems to carry this burden with a lighter step than when it was seven times smaller.

§ 24. Turning our view from the material to the moral condition of the nation, we shall also be sensible of a great advance, though not, perhaps, in the same proportion. With regard to religion, one great feature of the period is the societies that have sprung up with a view to the propagation of Christianity, such as the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, founded in 1699; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in foreign Parts, established in 1701; the Church Missionary Society, and the British and Foreign Bible Society, both founded in 1804; besides numerous others. Several of these societies enjoy a revenue of upward of £100,000. The sect of the Methodists, founded by

Wesley and Whitefield about the middle of last century, is likewise a remarkable growth of the age. The naturally religious disposition of the English has, however, sometimes a tendency to degenerate into fanaticism, and even in the present enlightened century has occasionally indulged in the most fantastic delusions. Thus, in 1814, an old woman named Joanna Southcote, in her 65th year, gave out that she was pregnant with the Shiloh, and found believers even among the educated classes. In 1831 several followers of the celebrated Edward Irving imagined themselves to be endowed with the gift of unknown tongues; and even in the present times we have our Mormons, and other strange sectaries.

§ 25. One great symptom of moral improvement was the mitigation of the severity of our criminal law, introduced about the commencement of the present century by the humane and enlightened Sir Samuel Romilly, and afterward pursued by Sir James Macintosh and others. Previous to 1808 the offense of privately stealing 5*s.* from the person was punishable with death, as well as a great many other offenses, such as sheepstealing, shoplifting, forgery, etc.; and it was no uncommon thing to see a score of criminals executed together at Newgate on a Monday morning. At length the feeling of juries began to revolt against such exorbitant punishments. They refused to convict, and thus the laws became virtually inoperative. Yet some of the judges, as Lord Ellenborough and Lord Eldon, continued to support the old system. In 1833 a royal commission was first appointed to examine the state of the criminal law. One of the first results of their report was the bill passed in 1836 for allowing counsel to prisoners indicted for criminal offenses; and in 1837 a bill was passed remitting the penalty of death in 21 out of 31 cases in which it was previously inflicted, while in the remaining 10 cases it was considerably restricted. Other ameliorations have subsequently taken place.

The present century has likewise witnessed a great advance in the education of the people, especially of the middle and lower orders. Lord Brougham is the most conspicuous name at the head of this movement, and he has been ably seconded by a host of enlightened men. In 1823 the London Mechanics' Institute was founded, and was soon followed by others in different parts of the country. The establishment of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1826, and the opening of the University of London* in 1828, tended still farther to promote sound education,

* The *present* University of London is a different body, having been founded by the Crown in 1836, with the power to grant degrees in Arts, Law, and Medicine.

especially among the middle classes. The result of all these steps has been a decided improvement in the manners of the people; and drunkenness, debauchery, prize-fighting, and other brutal sports are decidedly less frequent than formerly.

§ 26. Our literature underwent during this period a great revolution. During the earlier part of it the French taste introduced at the Restoration continued to prevail. Style received its last polish from the writers of Queen Anne's reign; and in this respect the prose of Bolingbroke, Addison, and Swift, and the versification of Pope, have never been surpassed. This continued to be regarded as the Augustan age of our literature till toward the close of last century. The conventional taste of the latter period is exhibited in the lectures of Blair and the criticisms of Dr. Johnson. Even the great writers of the Elizabethan age were almost ignored, and any poet before Waller was scarcely deemed worth opening. But a taste for our older literature was even then beginning to spring up, and was fostered by the writings and the editorial cares of Warton, Tyrwhitt, and others. At present our more cosmopolitan taste, though still ready to do justice to the polish and sparkle of Queen Anne's authors, can at the same time relish more nature and profundity. Cowper introduced a new school of domestic poetry, which, if not so brilliant, was at all events more natural than the preceding one. The French Revolution shook the European world of thought to its centre, and opened up fresh veins of literature. Subsequently the study of the German writers has introduced new elements of thought. The greatest names of the present century—we speak not of living writers—are those of Coleridge, Wordsworth, Southey, Scott, Crabbe, Campbell, Byron, and Moore. One of the most marked features of the later period is the increase of periodical literature; our grandfathers were content with the Gentleman's Magazine and one or two other reviews and periodicals; at present they may be counted by the score.

This period may be said to have witnessed the birth of a British school of art. Till about the middle of last century and the time of Sir Joshua Reynolds and Hogarth, we can hardly be said to have had an English school of painting; but at the present time, illustrated as it is by the names of Gainsborough, Wilson, Wilkie, Turner, Lawrence, and a long list of eminent artists, we need not shrink from a comparison with any modern school. In sculpture our progress has not been so decided; yet we may point with satisfaction to the names of Chantrey, Bailey, Westmacott, and others.

CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS.

A.D.
1820. Accession of George IV.
" Trial of Queen Caroline.
1821. Death of Queen Caroline.
1825. Commercial panic.
1827. Canning prime minister. His death. Lord Goderich prime minister.
". Battle of Navarino and establishment of Greek independence.
1828. Duke of Wellington prime minister.
" Repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.
1829. Catholic Relief Bill.
1830. Death of George IV. and accession of William IV.
" French Revolution.
" Resignation of the Duke of Wellington. Earl Grey prime minister.
1831. Parliamentary Reform Bill introduced.
1832. Parliamentary Reform Bill passed.
1833. Abolition of slavery.
1834. Lord Melbourne prime minister.
" New poor-law.
" Sir Robert Peel prime minister.
1835. Lord Melbourne's second administration.
1836. Municipal Reform Bill.
1837. Death of William IV. and accession of Queen Victoria.
1841. Sir Robert Peel's second administration.

A.D.
1846. Repeal of the corn-laws.
" Resignation of Sir Robert Peel. Lord John Russell prime minister.
1847. Irish famine.
1848. French Revolution.
1849. Repeal of navigation-laws.
1850. Death of Sir Robert Peel.
1852. Resignation of Lord John Russell. Lord Derby prime minister. Resignation of Lord Derby. Coalition ministry, with Lord Aberdeen prime minister.
" Death of the Duke of Wellington.
1853. War between Russia and Turkey.
1854. England and France declare war against Russia.
" Battle of the Alma.
" Siege of Sebastopol. Battles of Balaklava and Inkermann.
1855. Resignation of Lord Aberdeen. Lord Palmerston prime minister.
" Capture of Sebastopol.
1856. Peace with Russia.
1857. Revolt of the Bengal army.
1858. Resignation of Lord Palmerston. Lord Derby prime minister.
" Abolition of the East India Company.
" Admission of the Jews to Parliament.

NOTES AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

A. POOR LAWS.

In the statute 12 Rich. II. (1388) we first find mention of the "impotent poor," who are directed to remain and abide in certain places; either those in which they were at the time of the proclamation of the statute, or the places in which they were born. But no provision is made for their maintenance. Indeed, during the Roman Catholic times, begging was allowed on the part of the impotent poor, who were chiefly supported by the abbeys, convents, and other religious establishments. Thus, even so late as 1530, just before the breach with Rome, the statute 22 Hen. VIII., c. 10, which inflicts severe punishment on sturdy vagabonds and valiant beggars "being whole and mighty in body," allows the aged and impotent poor to beg and live off alms, provided they confined themselves to certain districts; and they received a letter authorizing them to beg within those limits. The chief object in all the early enactments upon pauperism was to restrain vagrancy. The first act for the relief of the impotent poor was passed in 1535 (27 Hen. VIII., c. 25), by which collections were ordered to be made in the parishes for their support. But by the same statute incorrigible vagrancy is, on a third conviction, made felony, with the penalty of death. The dissolution of the religious houses in that reign had the effect both of increasing the number of vagabonds and beggars, and of diminishing their means of support. The increase of pauperism is shown by several severe statutes on the subject passed in the short reign of Edward VI. But, at the same time, provision was made for the relief of the poor; and the voluntary collections, such as had been first ordered under 27 Hen. VIII., c. 25, were by a long series of statutes almost insensibly converted into compulsory assessments.

At length, by the 43 Eliz., c. 2 (1601), compulsory assessment for the relief of the poor was fully established, and this statute was till recent times the text-book of the English poor-law. The overseers of each parish were directed by this statute to raise by taxation the necessary sums "for providing a sufficient stock of flax, hemp, wool, and other ware or stuff, to set the poor on work, and also competent sums for relief of lame, blind, old, and impotent persons, and for putting out children as apprentices." The justices were empowered to send to prison all persons who would not work, and to assess all persons of sufficient means for the relief of their children and parents. Power was given to the parish officers to build, at the expense of the parish, poor-houses for the reception of the impotent poor only. These are the chief provisions of this celebrated statute. Work-houses were first established in 1722 by 9 Geo. I., c. 7. They were not at first intended so much as a refuge for the poor, or as a test by which real desti-

tution might be discerned, but, as their name implies, with a view to derive profit from the labors of the poor. The work-houses were in fact a kind of manufactories carried on at the risk of the poor-rate; and though they at first diminished the cost of relief, they ultimately increased it, by pauperizing the independent laborer. In the reign of George II. the amount expended in relief was under three fourths of a million. In 1775 it amounted to £1,720,000. From that period it went on rapidly increasing, and in 1818 it reached its maximum of nearly £8,000,000. This large fund was subject to great abuses of administration, which begot habits of improvidence among the poor by encouraging early marriages, etc. Laborers' wages were frequently paid in part from it; and thus a portion of the farmer's labor was done at the expense of the parish. At length, in 1832, a commission was appointed to inquire into the practical operation of the poor-laws. In February, 1834, they made their report, and a bill founded upon it, the Poor Law Amendment Act, was soon afterward introduced by Lord Althorp, and received the royal assent August 14, 1834. By this act, all bodies charged with the relief of the poor are placed under the control of a central board of three commissioners, who are to make rules and regulations, binding upon the local boards. One important power given to them is that of uniting several parishes for the purpose of a more economical administration. The system of paying wages out of the poor-rate is abolished; and, except in extreme cases, to be determined by the commissioners, relief is only given to the able-bodied poor within the work-house. After this period, in the face of a rapidly-increasing population, the sums expended have rapidly diminished. On this subject see Sir G. Nicholls' *Hist. of the English Poor Law*, 2 vols. 8vo; Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, sect. I., ch. 4; and the article PAUPERISM in the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

B. CORN LAWS.

The earliest enactments on this subject were to forbid the exportation of corn, while its importation was freely admitted; but in later times the policy of the Legislature was altogether different. The first statute extant on corn is the 34 Edw. III., c. 20 (1360), which forbids its exportation, except to certain places where it was necessary to the king's interest, and to be named by him. At a later period, in the reigns of Richard II. and Henry VI., we find this policy reversed, and liberty given to export to any places; though subject, in the latter reign, to restriction in case the price of corn reached 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter for wheat. Since no attempt was made to prevent the importation of corn, we may infer that it was produced in England as cheap, or cheaper, than in neighboring countries. In the reign of Edward IV. we find the first protective law in favor of the agriculturist, importation of corn being forbidden by 3 Edw. IV., c. 2, unless the price of wheat exceeded 6*s.* 8*d.* the quarter. But, from some cause or another, agriculture seems to have much declined in England toward the end of the reign of Henry VIII. and in that of Edward VI., which was probably in some degree owing to the great change of property consequent on the dissolution of the abbeys and religious houses. Thus the statute 25 Hen. VIII., c. 2, positively forbids the exportation of corn; and the statute 5 and 6 Edw. VI., c. 5, entitled "An Act for the Maintenance and Increase of Tillage and Corn," attempted to make the cultivation of corn compulsory, by exacting a fine of 5*s.*, payable by each parish on every acre of land in each deficient in tillage when compared with the quantity that had been tilled at any period after the accession of Henry VIII.

The act of Hen. VIII. forbidding the exportation of corn was repealed in the reign of Mary; but the price at which exportation was allowed was gradually raised, till in 1670 it was enacted that wheat might always be exported as long as it was under 53*s.* 4*d.* a quarter. At the same time heavy import duties were imposed; and the design of the Legislature seems to have been to keep wheat at an average of about 53*s.* 4*d.* Nay, in 1689 the landowners obtained the payment of a bounty of 5*s.* per quarter on the exportation of wheat when the price did not exceed 48*s.*, and on other grain in proportion. These bounties were not repealed by law till 1815, though they had been for some time virtually inoperative.

Regulations were also made respecting the home trade in corn; and in the reign of Elizabeth it was made an offense under the name of *engrossing*, and punishable with imprisonment or the pillory, to buy corn in one market in order to sell it in another. The act 15 Chas. II., c. 7, legalized engrossing when the price of wheat did not exceed 48*s.* Till a very recent period engrossing continued to be regarded by public opinion as a heinous offense, and even Lord Kenyon violently denounced from the bench a corn-factor accused of it.

By a bill of 1773 importation was allowed at the nominal duty of 6*d.* whenever the price of wheat should be above 48*s.* Subsequently, in 1791 and 1804, this price was raised to 54*s.* and 63*s.*; and in 1815 the importation of wheat for home consumption was positively forbidden when the price was under 80*s.*, and other corn in proportion. Various modifications were introduced between that time and 1829, when the principle of a graduated duty or sliding scale was introduced; the duty, when the price was 62*s.*, being 24*s.* 8*d.*, and gradually diminishing as the price advanced, till at 73*s.* and upward it fell to 1*s.* The operation of the principle, however, was found to be inconvenient and unsalutary; and at length, by Peel's bill of 1846, of which an account has been given in the text, the trade in corn was ultimately left entirely free. See the article CORN in the *Penny Cyclopædia*.

C. NAVIGATION LAWS.

The first Navigation Act was introduced by Whitelock in the time of the Commonwealth (1651), and was intended as a blow to

Dutch commerce; but the act which till very recently formed the foundation of our commercial system in this respect was the 12 Chas. II., c. 18. By this act it was provided that no goods should be imported into England from Asia, Africa, or America, except in an English-built ship, navigated by an English master, and having at least three fourths of its crew English. With regard to Europe, goods imported into England from any European state in a foreign ship were subject to a higher rate of duty than if imported in an English one. The first deviation from this act arose from the treaty of Ghent with the United States of America in 1815. The States, soon after the establishment of their independence, had retaliated on England by a navigation-law similar to her own; but this restrictive system was mutually found to be so inconvenient and unprofitable, that it was abandoned at the period mentioned, and the ships of the two countries placed reciprocally on the same footing. With this exception, all the provisions of the act were maintained till 1822, when Mr. Wallace, president of the Board of Trade, introduced five bills effecting various important relaxations. The provisions respecting Asia, Africa, and America were repealed, and also that clause which forbade foreign goods to be brought into England from Europe in a foreign ship, except direct from the place of production, and in ships belonging to the country of production. Certain enumerated goods were also allowed to be brought from any port in Europe in ships belonging to the port of shipment; and Dutch ships, which by the Navigation Act were forbidden to enter English ports with cargo, were placed on the same footing as those of other nations. Other relaxations were made in favor of our West India colonies.

In the following year, the Prussians having notified that unless some relaxation were made in favor of their ships heavy retaliatory duties would be imposed on English ships entering their ports, Mr. Huskisson, now at the head of the Board of Trade, introduced what are called the Reciprocity Acts (4 Geo. IV., c. 77, and 5 Geo. IV., c. 1), by which the king was authorized to permit, by order in council, the importation and exportation of goods in foreign vessels at the same duties as those imported in British vessels were liable to, in the case of those countries that should levy no discriminating duties on goods imported in British vessels; and the vessels themselves of such countries were to pay no higher tonnage duties than were chargeable on British vessels. On the other hand, power was given to impose additional duties on the goods and shipping of those countries which should levy higher duties on British vessels than on their own. Under these acts treaties of reciprocity were concluded with most of the principal nations of the world. But in 1849, in the ministry of Lord John Russell, and on the motion of Mr. Labouchere, the navigation-laws were entirely repealed.—See Porter's *Progress of the Nation*, sect. iii., ch. 9.

D. AUTHORITIES FOR THE PERIOD COMPRISED IN BOOK VI.

The principal authorities for the reigns of William III. and Anne are, Bishop Burnett's *History of his Own Times;* Evelyn's *Diary;* Principal Carstairs' *State Letters and Papers;* Macpherson's *Original Papers* (1688–1714); Macpherson's *Hist. of Great Britain from the Restoration to the House of Hanover;* Harris, *Hist. of Life and Reign of William III.;* Coxe, *Correspondence of the Duke of Shrewsbury with King William;* Bolingbroke's *Letters and Correspondence;* Somerville's *Political Transactions from Restoration to end of William III.;* *Mémoires du Duc de Berwick;* Ker of Kersland's *Memoirs of Secret Transactions;* Boyer's *Annals of the Reign of Queen Anne;* Lockhart's *Memoirs and Commentaries on the Affairs of Scotland;* Coxe, *Memoirs and Correspondence of the Duke of Marlborough;* *The Letters and Dispatches of John, Duke of Marlborough*, 1702–1712, edited by General Sir G. Murray; Swift's *Four last Years of the Reign of Queen Anne;* Somerville's *Hist. of Great Britain during the reign of Queen Anne.*

It would be quite impossible within the limits of this work to recite all the works that might be used for the Georgian era, and we shall therefore content ourselves with indicating a few of the principal ones; Coxe, *Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole;* idem. *Memoirs of the Pelham Administration;* Dr. Wm. King's *Anecdotes of his Own Times* (relating to the Pretender Charles Edward); Bubb Doddington's *Diary* (1749–1761); Orford (H. Walpole), *Mem. of last Ten Years of George II.;* *Memoirs of Reign of King George III.;* the *Annual Register* (commencing 1758); Lord Mahon's *Hist. of England, from Peace of Utrecht to Peace of Versailles*, 1783; Adolphus, *Hist. of George III.;* Craik and M'Farlane's *Pictorial History during Reign of George III.;* H. Martineau, *History of England during Thirty Years' Peace*, etc.

TABLE OF THE PRINCIPAL CONTEMPORARY EUROPEAN

The Years show the Com-

England.		Scotland.		France.	
William I.	1066	Malcolm III.	1057	Philip I.	1060
William II.	1087	Donald VII.	1093		
		Duncan II.	1094		
Henry I.	1100	Donald VII. restored.			
		Edgar.	1098		
		Alexander.	1107	Louis VI.	1108
		David.	1124		
Stephen.	1135			Louis VII.	1137
Henry II.	1154	Malcolm IV.	1153		
		William the Lion	1165		
				Philip II.	1180
Richard I.	1189				
John.	1199				
Henry III.	1216	Alexander II.	1214	Louis VIII.	1223
				Louis IX.	1226
		Alexander III.	1249		
Edward I.	1272			Philip III.	1270
		Margaret.	1285	Philip IV.	1285
		John Baliol.	1292		
Edward II.	1307	Robert I. (Bruce)	1306	Louis X.	1314
				Philip V.	1316
Edward III.	1327	David II. (Bruce)	1329	Charles IV.	1322
		Edward Baliol	1332	Philip VI.	1328
		David II. restored	1342	John II.	1350
				Charles V.	1364
		Robert II. (Stuart)	1371		
Richard II.	1377			Charles VI.	1380
		Robert III.	1390		
Henry IV.	1399				
		James I.	1406		
Henry V.	1413				
Henry VI.	1422				
		James II.	1437	Charles VII.	1422
Edward IV.	1461	James III.	1460	Louis XI.	1461

SOVEREIGNS FROM THE PERIOD OF THE CONQUEST.

mencement of their Reigns.

GERMANY.		SPAIN.		POPES.	
Henry IV.	1056			Alexander II.	1061
		CASTILE.		Gregory VII.	1073
				Victor III.	1086
		Sancho II.	1065	Urban II.	1088
		Alfonso VI.	1072	Pascal II.	1099
		Alfonso VII.	1109	Gelasius II.	1118
Henry V.	1106	Alfonso VIII.	1126	Calixtus II.	1119
Lothaire II.	1125	Sancho III.	1157	Honorius II.	1124
Conrad III.	1138	Alfonso IX.	1158	Innocent II.	1130
		Henry I.	1214	Celestine II.	1143
		Ferdinand III.	1217	Lucius II.	1144
		Alfonso X.	1252	Eugenius III.	1145
Frederick Barbarossa	1152	Sancho IV.	1284	Anastasius IV.	1153
		Ferdinand IV.	1294	Adrian IV.	1154
		Alfonso XI.	1312	Alexander III.	1159
		Peter the Cruel	1350	Lucius III.	1181
		Henry II.	1368	Urban III.	1185
		John I.	1379	Gregory VIII.	1187
		Henry III.	1390	Clement III.	1187
Henry VI.	1190	John II.	1406	Celestine III.	1191
Philip	1198	Henry IV.	1454	Innocent III.	1198
Otho IV.	1208			Honorius III.	1216
Frederick II.	1212			Gregory IX.	1227
		——		Celestine IV.	1241
Conrad IV.	1250			Innocent IV.	1243
William	1250			Alexander IV.	1254
Interregnum	1256	ARAGON.		Urban IV.	1261
				Clement IV.	1265
Rodolph	1273	Sancho Ramirez	1063	Gregory X.	1271
		Peter of Navarre	1094	Innocent V.	1276
		Alfonso I.	1104	Adrian V.	1276
		Ramiro II.	1134	John XXI.	1277
		Petronilla and Raymond	1137	Nicholas III.	1277
		Alfonso II.	1162	Martin IV.	1281
Interregnum	1291	Peter II.	1196	Honorius IV.	1285
Adolphus	1292	James I.	1213	Nicholas IV.	1288
		Peter III.	1276	Celestine V.	1294
Albert	1298	Alfonso III.	1285	Boniface VIII.	1294
Henry VII.	1308	James II.	1291	Benedict XI.	1303
Interregnum	1313	Alfonso IV.	1327	Clement V.	1305
Louis IV. and Frederick	1314	Peter IV.	1336	John XXII.	1316
		John I.	1387	Benedict XII.	1334
Louis IV.	1330	Martin I.	1396	Clement VI.	1342
Charles IV.	1347	Ferdinand of Sicily	1412	Innocent VI.	1352
Wenceslaus	1378	Alfonso V.	1416	Urban V.	1362
		John II.	1458	Gregory XI.	1370
				Urban VI.	1378
				Boniface IX.	1389
		CASTILE.		Benedict XIII.	1394
Frederick	1400			Innocent VII.	1404
Rupert	1400			Gregory XII.	1406
Jossus	1410	Ferdinand V.	1474	Alexander V.	1409
Sigismund	1410	(Marries Isabella of Castile, 1479, and unites Castile and Aragon.)		John XXIII.	1410
				Martin V.	1417
Albert II.	1438			Eugenius IV.	1431
Frederick III.	1440	Joan	1504	Nicholas V.	1447
				Calixtus III.	1455
		——		Pius II.	1458

England.		Scotland.		France.	
Edward V.	1483			Charles VIII.	1483
Richard III.	1483				
Henry VII.	1485	James IV.	1488	Louis XII.	1498
Henry VIII.	1509				
		James V.	1513	Francis I.	1515
Edward VI.	1547	Mary	1542	Henry II.	1547
Mary	1553			Francis II.	1559
Elizabeth	1558	James VI.	1567	Charles IX.	1560
		(Unites the crowns on the death of Elizabeth, 1603.)		Henry III.	1574
				Henry IV.	1589
		RUSSIA.			
		Emperors from Peter the Great.			
James I.	1603	Peter the Great	1689	Louis XIII.	1610
		Catherine I.	1725		
		Peter II.	1727		
Charles I.	1625	Anne	1730	Louis XIV.	1643
Commonwealth	1649	Ivan VI.	1740		
Charles II.	1649	Elizabeth	1741	Louis XV.	1715
(Restored 1660.)		Peter III.	1762		
		Catherine II.	1762	Louis XVI.	1774
		Paul	1796		
James II.	1685	Alexander I.	1801	Louis XVII.	1793
William III.	1689	Nicholas	1825	(Died in prison, 1795, aged 10.)	
Anne	1702	Alexander II.	1855		
George I.	1714			*Republic.*	
George II.	1727	PRUSSIA.		Napoleon I. emperor	1804
George III.	1760	(*From the Establishment of the Kingdom.*)		Louis XVIII.	1814
		Frederick I.	1701	Charles X.	1824
		Frederick William I.	1713		
George IV.	1820	Frederick II. (the Great)	1740	Louis Philippe	1830
William IV.	1830	Frederick William II.	1786		
		Frederick William III.	1797	Republic	1848
Victoria	1837	Frederick William IV.	1840	Napoleon III. emperor	1853

LIST OF THE ARCHBISHOPS OF CANTERBURY

1533. Thomas Cranmer. Burned at Oxford, March 21, 1555.
1556. Reginald Pole, Cardinal. Ob. Nov. 17, 1558.
1559. Matthew Parker. Ob. May 17, 1575.
1576. Edmund Grindal. Translated from York. Ob. July 6, 1583.
1583. John Whitgift. Translated from Worcester. Ob. Feb. 29, 1604.
1604. Richard Bancroft. Translated from London. Ob. Nov. 2, 1610.
1611. George Abbot. Translated from London. Ob. Aug. 4, 1633.
1633. William Laud. Translated from London. Beheaded Jan. 10, 1645. The See vacant 14 years.
1660. William Juxon. Translated from London. Ob. June 4, 1663.
1663. Gilbert Sheldon. Translated from London. Ob. Nov. 9, 1677.
1678. William Sancroft. Deprived Feb. 1, 1691. Ob. Nov. 24, 1693.
1691. John Tillotson. Ob. Nov. 22, 1694.
1694. Thomas Tenison. Translated from Lincoln. Ob. Dec. 14, 1715.

GERMANY.		SPAIN.		POPES.	
				Paul II.	1464
				Sixtus IV.	1471
				Innocent VIII.	1484
Maximilian I.	1493			Alexander VI.	1492
		SPAIN.		Pius III.	1503
				Julius II.	1503
Charles V.	1519	Ferdinand V.	1512	Leo X.	1513
		Charles I.	1516	Adrian VI.	1522
				Clement VII.	1523
				Paul III.	1534
				Julius III.	1550
Ferdinand I.	1558	Philip II.	1556	Marcellus II.	1555
Maximilian II.	1564	Philip III.	1598	Paul IV.	1555
Rodolph II.	1576			Pius IV.	1559
				Pius V.	1566
				Gregory XIII.	1572
				Sixtus V.	1585
				Urban VII.	1590
				Gregory XIV.	1590
				Innocent IX.	1591
				Clement VIII.	1592
Matthias	1612			Leo XI.	1605
Ferdinand II.	1619	Philip IV.	1621	Paul V.	1605
Ferdinand III.	1637	Charles II.	1665	Gregory XV.	1621
Leopold I.	1658			Urban VIII.	1623
Joseph I.	1705	Philip V.	1700	Innocent X.	1644
Charles VI.	1711			Alexander VII.	1655
Maria Theresa	1740			Clement IX.	1667
Charles VII.	1742	Ferdinand VI.	1745	Clement X.	1670
Francis I.	1745			Innocent XI.	1676
Joseph II.	1765	Charles III.	1759	Alexander VIII.	1689
Leopold II.	1790	Charles IV.	1788	Innocent XII.	1691
Francis II.	1792			Clement XI.	1700
(With this prince the title of Emperor of Germany was dropped for that of Emperor of Austria).				Innocent XIII.	1721
				Benedict XIII.	1724
				Clement XII.	1730
				Benedict XIV.	1740
				Clement XIII.	1758
				Clement XIV.	1769
				Pius VI.	1775
				Pius VII.	1800
AUSTRIA.		Ferdinand VII.	1808	Leo XII.	1823
Francis I. (the preceding)	1804	Joseph Bonaparte.		Pius VIII.	1829
Ferdinand	1835	Ferdinand restored	1814	Gregory XVI.	1831
Francis Joseph	1848	Isabella II.	1843	Pius IX.	1846

FROM THE TIME OF THE REFORMATION.

1715. William Wake. Translated from Lincoln. Ob. Jan. 24, 1737.
1737. John Potter. Translated from Oxford. Ob. Oct. 10, 1747.
1747. Thomas Herring. Translated from York. Ob. March 13, 1757.
1757. Matthew Hutton. Translated from York. Ob. March 19, 1758.
1758. Thomas Secker. Translated from Oxford. Ob. Aug. 3, 1768.
1768. Frederick Cornwallis. Translated from Lichfield and Coventry. Ob. March 19, 1783.
1783. John Moore. Translated from Bangor. Ob. Jan. 18, 1805.
1805. Charles Manners Sutton. Translated from Norwich. Ob. July 21, 1828.
1828. William Howley. Translated from London. Ob. Feb. 11, 1848.
1848. John Bird Sumner. Translated from Chester.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOUSE OF BRUNSWICK.

GEORGE I. (son of the Duke of Brunswick Luneburg, afterward Elector of Hanover, and Sophia, youngest child of the Elector Palatine and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of James I.—see p. 368). b. May 28, 1660. d. June 11, 1727. m. Sophia Dorothy of Zelle.

GEORGE II. b. Oct. 30, 1683. d. Oct. 25, 1760. m. Wilhelmina Carolina of Brandenburg-Anspach.

Sophia Dorothy, m. 1706, Frederick William, afterward King of Prussia.

Frederick, Prince of Wales, b. Jan. 20, 1707. d. Jan. 29, 1751. m. Augusta of Saxe Gotha.

William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland, b. 1721. d. 1765 (unm.).

Anne, m. Prince of Orange. d. 1759.

Amelia, d. 1786 (unm.).

Elizabeth, d. 1758 (unm.).

Mary, m. Landgrave of Hesse Cassel. d. 1771 (leaving issue).

Louisa, m. Frederick V., King of Denmark. d. 1751 (leaving issue).

GEORGE III. b. June 4, 1738. d. Jan. 29, 1820. m. Sophia Charlotte of Mecklenburg Strelitz.

Edward Augustus, Duke of York, d. 1767 (unm.).

William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, b. 1743. d. 1805. m. Countess Waldegrave.

Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, b. 1745. d. 1790. m. Lady Luttrell (no issue).

Augusta, m. Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbuttel.

Caroline Matilda, m. Christian VII., King of Denmark.

Frederick, present King of Denmark.

Frederick William, Duke of Gloucester. b. 1776. d. 1834. m. Princess Mary, daughter of George III. (no issue).

Sophia Matilda, b. 1773. d. 1844.

Charles Frederick William, Duke of Brunswick, fell at Quatre Bras, June 16, 1815.

Charlotte, m. Duke of Wurtemberg, d. 1788.

CAROLINE, m. George, Prince of Wales (GEORGE IV.). d. Aug. 7, 1821.

Charles Frederick, Duke of Brunswick, b. 1804. Charles Maximilian, Duke of Brunswick, after his brother's expulsion, b. 1806.

GEORGE IV. b. Aug. 12, 1762. d. June 26, 1830. m. Caroline of Brunswick.

Princess Charlotte, b. Mar. 7, 1796. d. Nov. 6, 1817. m. Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, now King of the Belgians (no surv. issue).

Frederick, Duke of York, b. 1763. d. 1827. m. Frederica of Prussia (no issue).

WILLIAM IV. Duke of Clarence, b. Aug. 24, 1765. d. June 20, 1837. m. Adelaide of Saxe Meiningen (no surv. issue).

Edward, Duke of Kent, b. 1767. d. 1820. m. Victoria, of Saxe Coburg Saalfeld.

VICTORIA, b. May 24, 1819. m. Feb. 10, 1840, ALBERT, second son of Ernest I., Duke of Coburg and Gotha, b. 1819.

Ernest, Duke of Cumberland and King of Hanover, b. 1771. d. 1851. m. Frederica of Mecklenburg Strelitz.

George V., King of Hanover, b. 1819 (has issue).

Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex, b. 1773. d. 1843.

Adolphus Frederick, Duke of Cambridge, b. 1774. d. 1850. m. Augusta of Hesse Cassel.

George, Duke of Cambridge, b. 1819.

Augusta, b. 1822. m. Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz (has issue).

Mary Adelaide, b. 1833.

Charlotte, b. 1766. d. 1828. m. King of Wurtemberg (no issue).

Augusta, b. 1768. d. 1840 (unm.).

Elizabeth, b. 1770. d. 1840. m. Landgrave of Hesse Homburg (no issue).

Mary, b. 1776. d. 1840. m. her cousin, the Duke of Gloucester (no issue).

Sophia, b. 1777. d. 1848 (unm.).

Amelia, b. 1783. d. 1810 (unm.).

Albert, Prince of Wales, b. Nov. 9, 1841.

Alfred, b. Aug. 6, 1844.

Arthur, b. May 1, 1850.

Leopold, b. April 7, 1853.

Victoria, Princess Royal, b. Nov. 21, 1840. m. Frederick, Prince of Prussia, 1858.

Alice, b. April 25, 1843.

Helena, b. May 25, 1846.

Louisa, b. Mar. 18, 1848.

Beatrice, b. April 14, 1857.

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